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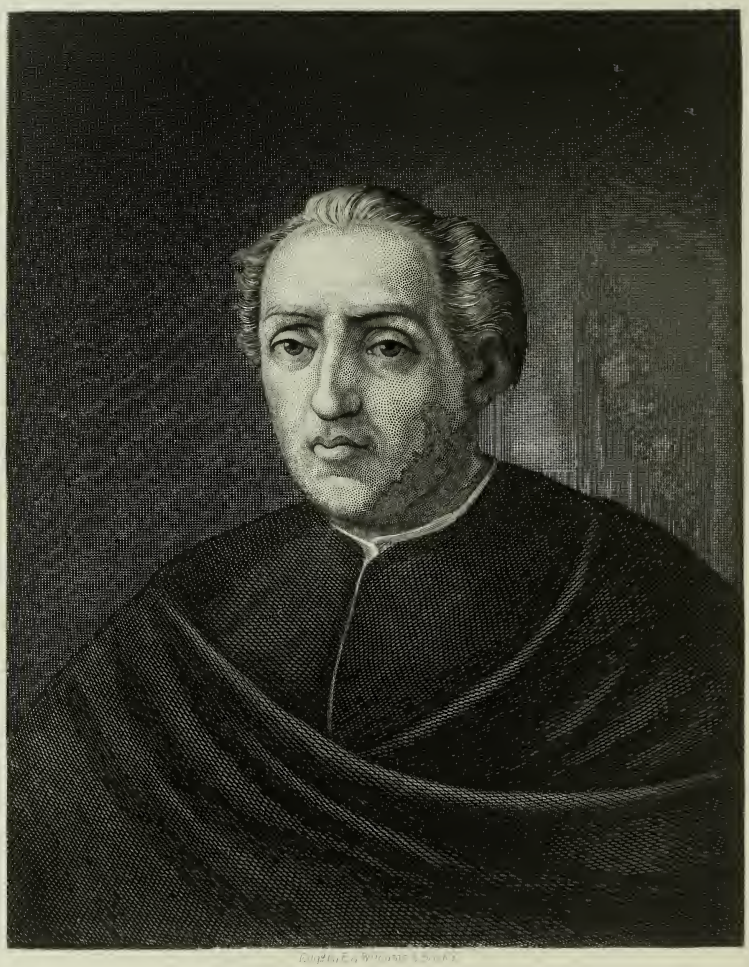

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EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COAST PREVIOUS TO THE VOYAGE OF HENRY HUDSON.

One of the earliest Greek dreams, prominent in the classic literature, was that of a beautiful island in the ocean at the far West. Perhaps, nevertheless, we have been accustomed to think of the conception too much as a dream, a piece of pure imagination; for it is absolutely certain, as Pliny and Strabo prove, that bold Phenician navigators passed far beyond the Pillars of Hercules into the vast Atlantic, discovering and naming the Canary Islands, pushing their observations far and wide. Possibly, like Columbus, as on his first voyage, they sailed over tranquil seas, smooth as the rivers in Spain, and through ambient air, soft as the air of Andalusia in spring, until they reached the Edenic Cuba, and thus furnished the foundation of that Greek conception of an exquisitely fair isle, the home of the immortals, an Elysium on whose happy, fragrant shores the shrilly-breathing Zephyrus was ever piping for the refreshment of weary souls.

In the fifteenth century the islands in the west formed the object of many a voyage, but even in 1306 Marino Sanuto laid down the Canaries anew, while Bethencourt found them in 1402. The Azores and the Madeira Islands appear in the chart of Pizigani in 1367, and the sailors of Prince Henry the Navigator went to the Azores, the Isles of the Hawks, in 1431, as preparatory to those voyages which, beginning with the rediscovery of the Cape Verde Islands in 1460, were destined to prepare the way for the circumnavigation of Africa, and thus open the way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. Long before this, however, the Spaniards were credited with the establishment of colonies in the western ocean, and on

the globe of Martin Behaim, in 1482, may be seen the legend crediting Spanish bishops with the founding of seven cities in a distant island in the year 734. In 1498 De Ayala, the Spanish ambassador in England, reported to his sovereign that the city of Bristol had for seven years sent out ships in search of the island of Brazil

FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

and the Seven Cities, which were commonly laid down in maps, together with the great island of "Antillia," by many supposed to refer to the American Continent.

In the time of Columbus enterprise was generally active, and men everywhere were eager to realize the prediction of Seneca, who declared that the Ultima Thule, the extreme bounds of the earth, would in due time be reached. But Columbus would win something more than beautiful islands. He aimed at a continent, and would reach the eastern border of Asia by sailing west, in accordance with the early philosophers, who had accepted the spherical form of the earth, not dreaming that, instead of a few islands, scattered like gems in the ocean, a mighty continent barred the way. Dominated by the antique notions of the classic writers, Columbus, after encountering and overcoming every discouragement, finally sailed towards the golden West, finding the voyage a pleasant excursion, interrupted only by the occasional fears of the sailors, lest the light breeze might prevent their return to Spain, by blowing all the time the one way. At a given point of the voyage Columbus met with an experience, and made a decision, that perhaps determined the destiny of North America. October 7, 1492, Martin Pinson saw flocks of parrots flying southwest, and argued that the birds were returning to land, which must lie in that direction. He accordingly advised the Admiral to change the course of the ship. Columbus realized the force of the argument and knew the significance of the flights of birds, the hawk having piloted the Portuguese to the Azores. He was now sailing straight for the coast of North Carolina, and must inevitably have discovered our continent, but the parrots were accepted as

guides, the course was changed to the southwest, and in due time the Island of San Salvador rose before their expectant eyes. All his efforts, therefore, after this memorable voyage, were devoted to the West Indies, and in the fond belief that he had reached fair Cathay. Consequently John Cabot was left to discover North America at least one year before Columbus sighted the southern portion of the western continent. Even then Columbus held that South America was a part of India, and he finally died in ignorance of the fact that he had reached a new world.

His error proved a most fortunate one for the English-speaking people; since, if he had contined on the western course, the Carolinas would have risen to view, and the splendors and riches of the Antilles might have remained unknown long enough for Spanish enterprise to establish itself on the Atlantic coast. This done, the magnificent Hudson would have become the objective point of Spanish enterprise, and a Spanish fortress and castle would to-day look down from the Weehawken Heights, the island of New York yielding itself up as the site of a Spanish city.

The mistake of Columbus, however, was supplemented by what, perhaps, may properly be called a series of blunders, all of them more or less fortunate, or at least in the interest of a type of civilization very unlike that of Spain, especially as expanded and interpreted in Central and South America. It is, therefore, to the series of nautical adventures following the age Columbus, and extending down to the voyage of Henry Hudson, the Englishman, in 1609, that this article is mainly devoted, showing how this

ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

entire region was preserved from permanent occupation by Europeans, until it was colonized by the Walloons under the Dutch, who providentially prepared the way for the English.

First, however, it may be interesting to glance at voyages made during the Middle Ages, considering whether they had any possible connection

with the region now occupied by the city of New York.

That Northmen visited the shores of North America no reasonable inquirer any longer doubts. Even Mr. George Bancroft, who for about half a century cast grave reflections upon the voyages of the Northmen, and inspired disbelief in many quarters, finally abandoned all allusion to the subject, and subsequently explained that in throwing discredit upon the Icelandic narratives he had fallen into error.*

The probability now seems to be that the Irish had become acquainted with a great land at the west, and gave it the name of "Greenland," which name was simply applied by Eric the Red to a separate region, when he went to the country now known as Greenland in the year 985. The next year Biarne Heriulfsson, following Eric, was blown upon the north Atlantic coast, and in the year 1000-1 Leif, son of Eric, went in quest of the land seen by Biarne, reaching what is generally recognized as New England. Others followed in 1002 and 1005, while from 1006 to 1009 Thorfinn Karlsefne visited the same region, then known as "Vinland the Good," and made a serious but abortive effort to found a colony. Freydis, daughter of Eric the Red, visited New England in 1010 to 1012. Vague accounts in the Icelandic chronicles tell of a visit of one Are Marson to a region called White Man's Land (Hvitrammanaland) in 983, antedating Eric's appearance in Greenland. We also hear of Biörn Asbrandson in 999, and of the voyage of Gudlaugson in 1027. Certain geographical fragments refer to Bishop Eric, of Greenland, as searching for Wineland in 1121, while in 1357 a small Icelandic ship visited "Markland," the present Nova Scotia. The voyages of Asbrandson and of Gudlaugson are generally viewed as standing connected with a region extending from New England to Florida, known as White Man's Land, or Ireland the Great. In these accounts there is found no definite allusion to the region of the Hudson, though Karlsefne's explorations may have extended some distance southwesterly from Rhode Island; while later adventurers, who came southward and followed the course of Are Marson, who was discovered in the country by Asbrandson, must have sailed along our shores. Still no record of such a visit now remains, which is not at all singular, since many a voyager went by, both before and afterwards, with the same failure to signalize the event for the information of posterity. "They had no poet and they died."

Turning to the voyages of the Welsh, who, some think, reached the western continent about the year 1170, led by Madoc, Prince of Wales, there is the same failure to connect them with this region. Catlin, who visited the White or Mandan Indians, supposes that the Welch sailed down

*Letter addressed to the writer in 1890.

the coast to the Bay of Mexico and ascended the Mississippi; although there is just as much reason to hold, if the Mandans were their descendants, that they entered the continent and found their way westward from the region of Massachusetts or New York. The latter, however, might be favored, for the reason that our noble river forms to-day the most popular and certainly the most splendid gateway to the far West.

The voyages of the Zeno brothers, who are believed by most competent critics to have reached America about the close of the fourteenth century, and who left a chart, first published in 1558, show a country called "Drogeo," a vast region which stretched far to the south, whose inhabitants were clothed in skins, and subsisted by hunting, being armed with bows and arrows, and living in a state of war. The description would apply to our part of the coast. At this period the Red Indians had come from the west, and dispersed the original inhabitants, known to the Northmen as Skraellings. The red man on this coast was an invader and conqueror, not the original proprieter of the land. In a very brief time, however, he forgot his own traditions and indulged in the belief that he was the first holder of this region, which was deeded to him by the Great Father in fee simple; and it was in this belief that, in turn, the simple savage conveyed vast tracts of territory to the white man, in consideration of trinkets and fire-water.

So far as can be discovered, the Skraelling was the first proprietor, and

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

by the Skraelling is meant what is called the "Glacial Man," who appeared on this coast when the great ice-sheet that once covered the highlands of America was melting and sliding into the sea. The evidences of the so-called glacial man are found at the present time in the gravels of the Trenton River, of New Jersey, consisting of stone implements that seem to have been lost while engaged in hunting and fishing. With the disappearance of the ice and the moderation of the climate, these men of the ice-period spread along the Atlan-

tic coast from Labrador to Florida, their descendants being the modern Eskimo and Greenlander, whose ancestors were driven northward by the red man when he conquered the country. The immediate region of the Hudson has thus far afforded none of the

VERRAZANO.

stone implements that abound at Trenton, yet it may be regarded as beyond question that the first inhabitant of New York was a glacial man, ruder than the rudest red savage, and in appearance resembling the present Eskimo.

We turn, however, to note what, in this immediate connection, may be styled the course of maritime enterprise, the first voyage of interest in connection with our subject being the voyage said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot along the coast from Newfoundland in 1515. Upon this initial voyage many Englishmen based their claim, but in the present state of knowledge the expedition itself is considered debatable by some. That John Sebastian Cabot saw the continent in 1498, or one year before Columbus saw South America, can hardly be doubted; but convincing testimony is required respecting the alleged voyage down this part of the coast in 1515. If we accept the voyage as a fact, this expedition, whose objective point was Newfoundland, may be regarded as the first known English expedition to these shores.

Before this time, however, the Portuguese were very active, and had run the coast from Florida to Cape Breton, evidence of which they left in the "Cantino" Map, and in the Ptolemy of 1513. This was in continuation of the enterprise of the Costas, or "Cortereals," who made voyages to the north in 1500–1–2. The expedition made along our coast at this period left no memorials now known, save the maps to which allusion has been made. As early as 1520 the Spaniards began to navigate to the north from the West Indies, and in that year Ayllon reached the coast of Carolina, on an expedition to capture slaves, though Martyr speaks of the country he visited as "near the Baccaloos," a term applied at that time to the region far south of Newfoundland. Nevertheless, in the year 1524, we reach a voyage of deep interest, for in this year the Bay of

New York comes distinctly into view, Europeans being known for the first time to pass the Narrows. Reference is here made to the voyage of the celebrated Italian, Giovanni da Verrazano, in the service of Francis I. of France.

This celebrated navigator is supposed to have been the son of Piero Andrea di Bernardo de Verrazano and Fiametta Capella. He was born at Val di Greve, a little village near Florence, in the year 1485. At one time a portrait of Verrazano adorned the walls of a gallery in Florence. This portrait * was engraved for the well-known work entitled, "Uomini Illustri Toscani." A medal was also struck in his honor, but no copy of it can now be found. The family, nevertheless, appears to have maintained a definite place in local history, the last known Florentine representative being the Cavaliere Andrea da Verrazano, who died in 1819.

Verrazano, the great explorer of the American coast, seems to have had a large experience as a sailor upon the Mediterranean, eventually entering the service of Francis I. of France, as a privateer or corsair, in which calling Columbus and many of the old navigators shone conspicuously, the profession at that time being quite creditable, even though dangerous. In 1523 Verrazano was engaged in capturing Spanish ships that brought the treasures of Montezuma from Mexico. In the following year he made his voyage to America, and one statement makes it appear that, subsequently, he was captured by the Spaniards and executed. Ramusio tells us that on a second voyage he was made a prisoner by the savages, and was roasted and eaten in the sight of his comrades. The light which we have at the present time does not suffice for the settlement of the question relating to the manner of his death, but we have overwhelming evidence of the reality of his voyage in 1524, which is vouched for by invaluable maps and relations contained in a lengthy letter addressed to his employer, Francis I.

This letter is of unique interest, especially for the reason that it contains the first known post-Columbian description of the North Atlantic coast, and the first pen-picture of the Bay and Harbor of New York. In connection with our local annals Giovanni da Verrazano must hold a high place. As might be supposed, the narrative of Verrazano has exerted a commanding influence upon historical literature. For more than three centuries it has furnished quotations. This fact has not prevented one or two occasional writers from questioning the authenticity of the Letter of Verrazano, though the discussion which followed simply resulted in the production of additional proof, especially that found in two maps previously unknown, establishing the authenticity of both voyage and letter, and taking the subject from the field of controversy.

The voyage of Verrazano was projected in 1523. On April 25th of that

* The vignette on preceeding page is a faithful representation of the Florentine portrait.

year, Silveira, the Portuguese embassador at the Court of Francis I., wrote to his master : "By what I hear, Maestro Joas Verrazano, who is going on the discovery of Cathay, has not left up to date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, be-

VESPUCIUS.

tween himself and his men. . . I shall continue to doubt unless he takes his departure." It appears that he first went to sea with four ships, but met a severe gale and was obliged to return to port, apparently with the loss of two ships. After making repairs, he sailed for the Spanish coast alone in the Dolphin, the captain of the remaining ship leaving Verrazano, and giving color to the story of Silveira, that he had quarreled with his men. In the Carli correspondence, there is a reference to one Brunelleschi, "who went with him and unfortunately turned back."

On January 17, 1524 (old style), Verrazano finally sailed from a barren rocky island, southeast of Madeira, though Carli erroneously says that he departed from the Canaries. The discrepancy is useful, in that it proves an absence of collusion between writers in framing a fictitious voyage. Steering westward until February 14th, he met a severe hurricane, and then veered more to the north, holding the middle course, as he feared to sail southward, by the accustomed route to the West Indies, less he should fall into the hands of the Spaniards,[1] who with the Portuguese, claimed the entire New World, in accordance with the decree of Pope Alexander. Hence the navigator, to avoid the Spanish cruisers, held his course westward in sunshine and storm, until the shores of the American continent appeared above the waves. March 7th he saw land which "never before had been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times," a statement that he was lead into by the desire to claim something for France. He knew that his statement could not be exactly true, because, like all the navigators of his day, he was familiar with the Ptolemy of 1513, containing a rude map of the coast from Florida to 55° N. Evidently he did not attach any value to the explorations of the Portu-

1. This and other figures refer to notes at

guese as represented by the maps, and hence, after sighting land in the neighborbood of 34° N., he sailed southward fifty leagues to make sure of connecting with the actual exploration of the Portuguese, and then began coasting northward in search of a route through the land to Cathay. Columbus died in 1508, believing that he had reached Cathay, but in the day of Verrazano it was understood by many that the land found formed a new continent, though this was not everywhere accepted until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Navigating northward, Verrazano reached the neighborhood of the presest site of Charlestown, South Carolina, describing the country substantially as it appears to-day, bordered with low sand-hills, the sea making inlets, while beyond were beautiful fields, broad plains, and vast forests. On landing they found the natives timid, but by friendly signs the savages became assured, and freely approached the French followers of Verrazano, wondering at their dress and complexion, just as, in 1584, Barlow, in the same locality, said that the natives wondered "at the whiteness of our skins." The descriptions of Verrazano were so faithful that Barlow, though without credit, employed his language, especially when he says, speaking of the forests before reaching the land, "We smelt so sweet and strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden." As Verrazano held northward, his descriptions continued to exhibit the same fidelity, being used by Barlow and confirmed by Father White They were also confirmed by Dermer, who ran the coast in 1619, finding the shores low, without stones, sandy, and, for the

most part, harborless. When near Chesapeake Bay, Verrazano found that the people made their canoes of logs, as described by Barlow and Father White. The grapes-vines were also seen trailing from the trees, as indicated by these writers; and, speaking of the fruit, Verrazano says that it was "very sweet and pleasant." This language, being used early in the season, led to the rather thoughtless objection that Verrazano never made the voyage. The simple explanation is that the natives were accustomed to preserving fruits by drying them; and hence Hud-

son, in 1609, found dried "currants," which were sweet and good, meaning by the word, "current" what all meant at that period, namely, a dried grape. The letter of Verrazano contains exaggerations, like all similar productions. Cortez made Montezuma drink wine from cellars in a country where both wine and cellars were unknown. Cartier caused figs to grow in Canada, and Eric the Red called the ice-clad hills of the land west of Iceland, "Greenland." Verrazano, however, falls into none of these flat contradictions, and often the objection to the authenticity of the voyage has grown out of the ignorance of the critic of very common things.

Leaving Delaware Bay, Verrazano coasted northward, sailing by day and coming to anchor at night, finally reaching the Bay of New York, which forms the culmination of the interest of the voyage, so far as our present purpose is concerned. After proceeding a distance roughly estimated, on the decimal system, at a hundred leagues, he says: "We found a very pleasant situation among some little steep hills, through which a very large river (grandissimariviera), deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea," and he adds: "From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet." This is about the average rise at the present time, and the fact is one that could have been learned only from actual observation. It points to the "bar" as then existing, and gives the narrative every appearance of reality. Many things observed were noted in what Verrazano calls a "little book," and evidently it was from data contained in this book that his brother compiled the map which illustrates the voyage. Verrazano, however, was cautious, as he possessed only one ship, and he says: "As we were riding at anchor in a good berth we would not venture up in our ship without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore," he says, "we took the boat and, entering the river, we found the country on its banks well-peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers of birds of various colors." The natives, by their action, showed that their faith in human nature had not been spoiled by men leading expeditions like those of Ayllon in 1521, to the Carolinas for slaves. They were still a simple and unaffected people, not spoiled by European contact, as in the time of Hudson, and accordingly, unlike the sly people met where Ayllon's kidnappers had done their work. "they came towards us with evident admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat." Continuing, the narrative says: "We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us." This "beautiful lake" (bellissimo lago) was,

so far as one is able to judge, the Bay of New York.

Verrazano passed the bar and anchored at the entrance of the Narrows, the position being defined as between "little steep hills" (infra piccoli colli eminenti), which exactly describes the heights of Staten Island, and the shore of Long Island as far up as Yellow Hook, the present Bay Ridge. Then far and wide the spacious harbor was surrounded by well-wooded shores, upon which Verrazano and his followers, evidently the first of Europeans to enter the port, gazed with admiration. It would appear that they did not cross the harbor, but they probably espied in the distance the island upon which our city now stands, clothed in the dusky brown, touched only here and there with patches of the evergreen pine. Nothing is said of the beauty of the foliage in this region, since in March none could have been apparent, though the population was evidently numerous, and from the shores the smoke of many wigwams was seen by day, with the distant illuminations that filled the eye of the sailor by night. Verrazano little dreamed of the value of the situation. It never occurred to him that on this "beautiful lake" would one day stand a city which in wealth and importance would eclipse the far-famed city of Montezuma. The situation was pleasing, but it did not offer what Verrazano sought, namely, an opening to India. He learned that he was at the mouth of a swift river that poured out a powerful tide from between the hills, and he saw the unreasonableness of continuing his search at this place What conclusion he might have reached eventually, had his stay been prolonged, we cannot predict, but he was soon hurried away. He says: "All of a sudden, as it is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals." By a glance at the chart it will be seen that the ship lay in a position in the lower bay perilous for a stranger, and in case of a gale she would be in danger of being driven upon the shore of either Long Island or Staten Island. Verrazano would not take his ship through the Narrows into the harbor, on account of his ignorance of the situation, and when the wind set upon shore from the sea he at once decided to get out of danger. Accordingly he says: "Weighing anchor we sailed fifty leagues towards the east, the coast stretching in that direction, and always in sight of it." Thus he coasted along the shores of Long Island, and "discovered an island in triangular form, some ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the Island of Rhodes." This was Block Island, and we mention the circumstance here, in order that the reader may appreciate the fact that Verrazano first visited New York, and

that he properly describes the coast. Block Island is distinctly a triangular island. Then he went to a harbor in the main, identified as Newport Harbor.[2] The natives who appeared in the harbor, it will be noticed, had some thirty small boats (barchettes). The word itself does not indicate the manner of their construction, but, when at Newport, Verrazano says distinctly, that these barchettes were hollowed out of single logs of wood (un sole fusto di legno). The Dutch found the natives using the same kind of boats here in the early days, though the bark canoe was also employed. The objections urged against the authenticity of the voyage of Verrazano have simply resulted in fresh investigation and the production of proofs that establish beyond question the truth of the narrative, which is supplemented by a long series of maps. The series begin with the map of Verrazano, drawn in the year 1529, by Hieronimo da Verrazano, brother of the navigator, and the Maijolla map, which also represents the voyage, giving particulars not given in the narrative of Verrazano. The map of Verrazano is now preserved in the museum of the "Propaganda Fide" at Rome,[3] and forms a wonderful advance upon the Ptolemy of 1513, which, after passing Florida, is vague and, upon the whole, quite useless as respects our present purpose, since it shows no knowledge of the Bay and Harbor of New York, and calls for no particular notice here.

It has already been observed that much of that which is wanting in the Letter is furnished by the map of Verrazano, noticeably the Shoals of Cape Cod. The map was constructed by the aid of the "little book," in which, as Verrazano told Francis I., there were many particulars of the voyage, and it forms the best sixteenth century map of the coast now known to be extant in the original form. After Verrazano the delineation of the coast, as a whole, gradually, in the neglect of cartography, became more and more corrupt, culminating in the monstrous distortions of Mercator.

On the map of Verrazano the Cape of Florida is most unmistakable, though by an error in following Ptolemy, the draftsman placed the cape nine degrees too high, thus vitiating the latitudes, also failing to eliminate the error before reaching Cape Breton. This however, does not prevent us from recognizing the leading points of the coast. At Cape "Olimpo" we strike Cape Hatteras, and near "Santanna" is the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. "Palamsina," a corruption perhaps of Pallavicino, marks the entrance to the Delaware. "Lamuetto," possibly Bonivet after the general of that name, distinguishes what apparently was intended for Sandy Hook; while "San Germano" and "La Victoria" stand on the lower Bay of New York. Verrazano did not know enough about the river of "the steep hills" to enable him to give it a pronounced name, though in after times the Hudson, as we shall see, was called "the river of

EXTRACT FROM THE

VERRAZANO MAP

REVISED 1891

the mountains." It will be readily recognized that San Germano is a name given out of compliment to his patron by Verrazano, as it recalls the splendid palace of Francis I., at St. Germaine-en-Lay. If circumstances had favored, the name of Francis might have been affixed to a great French metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson.

The influence of the Verrazano Map upon succeeding charts was most marked down even to 1610, when all obscurity in regard to the position of the Harbor of New York had passed away. The same is true of the exhibition of the relation of New York Bay to Rhode Island and the Island of Luisa. The influence of Verrazano upon the Globe of Vlpius, 1542, was most emphatic, as will be noticed later; though it is to be remembered that Verrazano's voyage was pictured on the Map of Maijolla before the Verrazano Map was drawn, notes from Verrazano, probably out of the "little book" that he mentions, affording the requisite material. Verrazano evidently furnished an abundance of names for localities, and the various draftsmen seemed to have exercised their judgment to some extent respecting their use. It would, however, prove wearisome to the reader to peruse any minute statements of the contents of the many maps that indicate the Bay of New York; since neither the authenticity nor the influence of the voyage of Verrazano can now be questioned. In directions where it was never suspected, the Letter of Verrazano to Francis I. had a decided influence, as will be noted hereafter, though attention may again be called to the fact that Barlow, in his voyage to North Garolina, 1584, used the Letter without credit, according to the custom of the time; while, when Gosnold visited New England, in 1602, he sailed, as tacitly acknowledged, with the Letter of Verrazano, translated by Hakluyt as his guide.

Next, however, the reader's attention must be directed to the voyage of Estevan Gomez, who followed Verrazano in 1525. This adventurer was a Portuguese in the service of Spain. While Verrazano was abroad on his voyage, Gomez attended the nautical congress at Badajos, in Spain, when, we are told, Sebastian Cabot was present. At this congress Portugal opposed the plan presented for an expedition to the Indies, being very jealous, as usual, of the power of Spain. The differences of the two powers were nevertheless reconciled, and the king of Spain, with the aid of several merchants, fitted out a caravel and put Gomez in command. Gomez, if he did not stand as high as some men of his time, was a navigator of experience. In 1519 he sailed as chief pilot with Magellan, but incurred much odium by leaving him in the Straits which now bear Magellan's name, and returning to Spain. Peter Martyr, who gives an account of the congress at Badajos, says: "It is decreed that one Stephanus Gomez, himself a skilful navigator, shall go another way, whereby, between Baccalaos and

Florida, long since our countries, he says he will find out a way to Cataia. Only one ship, a caravel, is furnished for him," and, the chronicler continues, "he will have no other thing in charge than to search out whether any passage to the great Chan from among the various windings and vast compassing of this our ocean is to be found." Of the voyage out from Spain few particulars are now available, though the account of the return was penned by Martyr subsequently to November 13, 1525, and probably before the close of the year. The voyage was, upon the whole, a short one. Martyr, however, says that he returned at the end of "ten months," while Navarrete states that he sailed in February. Galvano tells us that, having failed to obtain the command of an expedition to the Moluccas, he went on the coast of the new world in search of a passage to India, observing that "the Earl Don Fernando de Andrada, and the doctor Beltram, and the merchant Christopher de Serro, furnished a galleon for him, and he went from Groine, in Gallicia, to the Island of Cuba, and to the Cape of Florida, sailing by day because he knew not the land." Galvano tells us, likewise, that he passed the Bay of Angra and the river Enseada, and so "went over to the other side, reaching Cape Razo in 46º N." This means that he sailed up from Florida past the coast of Maine. Martyr, writing after the return of Gomez, indulges in a strain of ridicule, and says: "He, neither finding the Straight, nor Cataia, which he promised, returned back in ten months after his departure;" and continues: "I always thought and supposed this worthy man's fancies to be vain and frivolous. Yet he wanted not for suffrages and voices in his favor and defense." Still, Martyr admits that "he found pleasant and profitable countries agreeable with our parallels and degrees of the pole."

The results of the voyage along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland are indicated on the Map of Ribeiro, 1529, which represents a new exploration, as nothing seems to have been borrowed from either the voyage of Verrazano or from the voyages made by the Portuguese, with the exception that Ribeiro used old Portuguese maps of Newfoundland, which was the case with Verrazano. We must, however, confine our observations to things that relate to this immediate region, and notice what the accompanying maps so fully exhibit, the difference of the delineation of Sandy Hook and Long Island. On the Ribeiro Map Sandy Hook appears as "Cabo de Arenas," the Sandy Cape, exaggerated in size, while Long Island is hardly distinguishable, as the coast line runs too close to the north. It is indicated by the section of the coast between two rivers, "Montana Vue," evidently one of the hills of Long Island that the navigator now views from the sea. On the Verrazano Map, the region of Sandy Hook is "Lamuetto" and "Lungavilla," while Long Island is indicated as a

part of the mainland, bearing the names of "Cabo de Olimpo" and "Angolesme," the bay of "San Germano" lying between. The delineations of Verrazano exhibit his short stay and hasty departure, while the survey of Gomez must have occupied

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more time, at least around Sandy Hook. That this map resulted from the voyage of Gomez is evident from the legend, which calls the land "Tierra de Estevan Gomez ;" (the country of Stephen Gomez) while eastward, where the coast of Maine is delineated, is the "Arcipelago" of Gomez. On this Map of Ribeiro the lower Bay of New York is indicated by "B. de S. Xpoal," with several Islands. A river appears between this bay, given in later documents as Bay of "St. Chrispstabel," and Long Island, but the name of the river is not given. "B. de S. Antonio," however, is given which indicates the upper bay or harbor, and subsequently we shall see the river itself indicated as the river "San Antonio," while the place of Sandy Hook in the old cartography will be fully established and identified with Cape de Arenas. Ribeiro evidently had pretty full notes of the calculations and observations of Gomez.

As the reverential old navigators were often in the habit of marking their progress in connection with prominent days in the Calendar, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hudson was discovered by Gomez on the festival of St. Anthony, which falls on January 17. Navarrete indeed says that he left Spain in February, but the accounts are more or less confusing. If Martyr, who is more particular, is correct, and Gomez was absent "ten months," he must have sailed early in December, which would have brought him to our coast on the festival of the celebrated Theban Father. At this time the navigator would have seen the country at its worst. Evidently he made no extended exploration of the river, as in January it is often loaded with ice and snow.

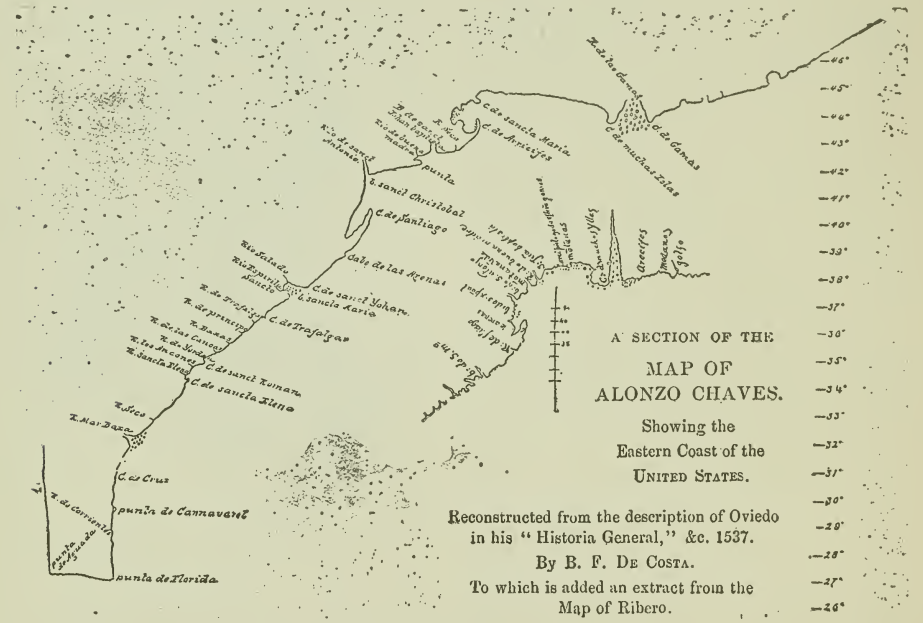
Gomez was laughed at by the courtiers, and had no disposition to return to the American coast. The legend on the Map of Ribeiro proclaiming

his discovery, that is, exploration of the coast, declared that here were to be found "many trees and fruits similar to those in Spain," but Martyr contemptuously exclaims, "What need have we of these things that are common to all the people of Europe? To the South! to the South!" he ejaculates, "for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoxial," adding, "They that seek riches must not go to the cold and frozen North." Gems, spices, and gold were the things coveted by Spain, and our temperate region, with its blustering winters, did not attract natures accustomed to soft Andalusian air.

After the voyage of Gomez, which, failing to find a route to the Indies, excited ridicule, there is nothing of special interest to emphasize in this connection until 1537. In the meanwhile, the English were active, and in 1527 two ships, commanded by Captain John Rut, were in American waters. It has been claimed that he sailed the entire coast, often sending men on land "to search the state of these unknown regions," and it has been affirmed that this is "the first occasion of which we are distinctly informed that Englishmen landed on the coast." Also that, "after Cabot, this was the second English expedition which sailed along the entire east coast of the United States, as far as South Carolina." Granting, however, that the expedition of Rut actually extended down the American coast, there is no proof that he gave any attention to the locality of the Hudson.

We turn now to the account of our particular locality, as given by Oveido in 1537, who wrote an account of the coast based largely upon the Map of Alonzo Chaves. It appears that, in 1536, Charles V. ordered that the official charts should "be examined and corrected by experienced men, appointed for that purpose." Acting under their instructions, Alonzo Chaves drew up a chart, embodying the information that he had been able to collect from maps and narratives. It is evident that he had notes of the voyage of Gomez, and that he used the Ribeiro Map, but he had no information about the voyage of Verrazano or that of Cartier in 1534. His delineation of the coast began in the Bay of Mexico, and extended to Newfoundland. Oviedo, in his "History of the Indies," used this map, and describes the coast by its aid. The Map of Chaves does not appear to be accessible, but its American features have been reconstructed from the descriptions of Oviedo, and this portion of the Map is given herewith, the latitudes and distances being exactly preserved. From the Cape of Florida, Oviedo moves northward in his descriptions, which are distinctly recognizable. "Cabo de Sanct Johan" stands at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and from this place "Cabo de los Arenas" is thirty leagues to the north-northeast. The latter cape is 38° 20′ N. From "Arenas" the coast runs thirty leagues to "Cabo de San-

tiago," which is 39° 20′ N. On this map Sandy Hook appears as Cape Santiago, but generally the name of "Arenas," the Sandy Cape, is affixed to the Hook4. Oviedo, on reaching the end of Sandy Hook, proceeds to give an unmistakable delineation of the


A SECTION OF THE
MAP OF
ALONZO CHAVES.
Showing the
Eastern Coast of the
UNITED STATES.
Reconstructed from the description of Oviedo
in his "Historia General," &c. 1537.
By B. F. DE COSTA.
To which is added an extract from the
Map of Ribero.

Bay and Harbor of New York, and of the river which is now known as the Hudson. "Thence," continues Oviedo, with his eye on the Map of Chaves, "the coast turns southwest twenty leagues to the Bay of Sanct Christobal, which is in 39°, passes said bay, and goes thirty leagues to Rio de Sanct Antonio, north and south with the bottom of this bay; and the 'Rio de Sanct Antonio' is in 41° N." Dr. Kohl says that "it is impossible to give a more accurate description of the Hudson River," but this is not quite true. It was an excellent description for that period, considering the material at hand; yet it must be remembered that all the distances are given as general estimates on the decimal system. Besides, the Map of Chaves, like all the maps, was drawn on a small scale, and Sandy Hook and the Lower Bay are both exaggerated, as on the Map of Ribeiro, which will be seen by a comparison of the two maps, placed side by side to facilitate investigation. Both Ribeiro and Chaves had erroneous measurements of distances, and made the Lower Bay quite a large gulf, while the latitude of "Rio Sanct Antonio" is placed one

degree too high. Ribeiro, however, gave the Hook its right name, "Arenas." The size of the Hook is exaggerated on the Maijolla Map, 1527, though not on the Verrazano, 1529. These things show free-hand drawing on the part of the map-makers, and defective rule-of-thumb measurements by the navigator, who probably viewed the waters behind the Hook when veiled in mist, failing to test his own estimates.

Oviedo says that "from the Rio de Sanct Antonio the coast runs northeast one-fourth east forty leagues to a point (punta), that on the western side it has a river called the Buena Madre, and on the eastern part, in front of (de lante) the point, is the Bay of Sanct Johan Baptista, which point (punta) is 41° 30′ N."; or, rather, correcting the error of one degree, in 40° 30′ N. This point is Montauk Point, Long Island being taken as a part of the main. The Thames River in Connecticut answers to the River of the Good Mother, and the Bay of John Baptist is evidently the Narragansett. Oviedo then goes on to the region of Cape Cod, varying from the general usage, and calling it "Arrecifes," or the Reef Cape, instead of "Cabe de Baxos," which signifies substantially the same thing. Under the circumstances, the description of Long Island is remarkably exact, as its shore trends northward almost exactly half a degree in running to Montauk Point. What, therefore, lies on either side of the River San Antonio fixes beyond question the locality of the Hudson, and proves that it was clearly known from the time of Gomez to 1537.

The next navigator whose work touched our part of the coast was Jehan or Jean Allefonsce, who, in 1542, came to Canada as pilot of Roberval, and gained considerable knowledge of the North Atlantic shores. This hardy sailor was a native of Saintonge, a village of Cognac, France. After following the sea for a period of more than forty years, and escaping many dangers, he finally received a mortal wound while engaged in a naval battle in the harbor of Rochelle. Melin Saint-Gelais wrote a sonnet in his honor during the year 1559. It can hardly be doubted that Allefonsce himself ran down the coast in one of the ships of Roberval, probably when returning to France.

With the aid of Paulin Secalart he wrote a cosmographical description, which included Canada and the West Indies, with the American coast. Very recognizable descriptions are given as far down as Cape Cod and the islands to the southward. The manuscript also possesses interest in connection with the region of the Hudson, though farther south the description becomes still more available.

Allefonsce after disposing of the region of New England, turns southward, and says: "From the Norombega River," that is, the Penobscot, "the coast runs west-southwest about two hundred and fifty leagues to a large bay (anse) running inland about

twenty leagues, and about twenty-nine leagues wide. In this bay there are four islands close together. The entrance to the bay is by 38° N., and the said islands lie in 39° 30′ N. The source of this bay has not been explored, and I do not know whether it extends further on. . . . The whole coast is thickly populated, but I had no intercourse with them." Continuing, he says: "From this bay the coast runs west-northwest about forty-six leagues. Here you come upon a great fresh-water river, and at its entrance is a sand island." What is more, he adds: "Said island is 39° 49′ N."

From the description of Allefonsce, it is evident that the "great fresh-water river" is the Hudson, described five years before by Oviedo, out of the Map of Chaves, as the River of St. Anthony, while the "island of sand" was Sandy Hook.

Turning from the manuscript of Allefonsce to the printed cosmography, we discover that the latter is only an abridgement, it being simply said that after leaving Norombega, the coast turns to the south-southeast to a cape which is high land (Cape Cod), and has a great island and three or four small isles. New York and the entire coast south have no mention. The manuscript, however, suffices for our purpose and proves that the coast was well known.

It has been already stated that it would be impossible to say when the first Englishman visited this region; yet in the year 1567–8, evidence goes to prove that one David Ingram, an Englisnman, set ashore with a number of companions in the Bay of Mexico, journeyed on foot across the country to the river St. John, New Brunswick, and sailed thence for France. Possibly he was half crazed by his sufferings, yet there can be little doubt that he crossed the continent and passed through the State of New York, traveling on the Indian paths and crossing many broad rivers. If the story is true, Ingram is the first Englishman known to have visited these parts.

In April, 1583, Captain Carline wrote out propositions for a voyage "to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America," and, in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had this region under consideration Hakluyt observing on the margin of his "Divers Voyages" that this was "the Countrey of Sir H. G. Uoyage." Hays says in his account of the region, that "God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation" and, also that "God would raise him up an instrument to effect the same." All this is very interesting in connection with English claims and enterprise. In the same year the French were active on the coast, and one Stephen Bellinger, of Rouen, sailed to Cape Breton, and thence coasted southwesterly six hundred miles "and had trafique with the people in tenne or twelve places." Thus the French were moving from both the north and the south towards

this central region ; but we cannot say how far south Bellinger actually came, as there is nothing to indicate his mode of computation. It is not improbable that he knew and profited by the rich fur-trade of the Hudson.

In 1598 and there about, we find it asserted that the Dutch were upon the ground, for, in the year 1644, the Committee of the Dutch West India Company, known as the General Board of Accounts, to whom numerous documents and papers have been intrusted, made a lengthy report, which they begin as follows: "New Netherland, situated in America, between English Virginia and New England, extending from the South [Delaware] river, lying in 34½ degrees to Cape Malabat, in the latitude of 41½ degrees, was first frequented by the inhabitants of this country in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements, only as a shelter in winter. For which they built on the North [Hudson] and the South [Delaware] rivers there two little forts against the attacks of the Indians. Mr. Brodhead says that the statement "needs confirmation." Still it is somewhat easy to understand why a statement of this kind coming from such a body should require confirmation ; but the Committee had no reason for misstating the facts, and ought to have been accurately informed. Yet if confirmation is insisted upon, we are prepared to give it, such as it is, from an English and, in fact, an unexpected source. Our authority is no less a personage than Governor Bradford, of Plymouth Colony, whose office and inclinations led him to challenge all unfounded claims that might be put forth by the Dutch. Nevertheless, writing to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the father of New England colonization, who likewise was hostile to the pretensions of the Dutch, Bradford says, under date of June 15, 1627, that the Dutch on the Hudson "have used trading there this six-or-seven-and-twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time, and now have reduced their trade to some order." Bradford lived in Holland in 1608, and had abundant opportunities for knowing everything relating to Dutch enterprise. It is perfectly well known that the Plymouth Colonists of 1620 intended to settle at the Hudson, though circumstances directed them to the spot pointed out by Dermer in 1619, when in the service of Gorges. Thus, about seventeen years before the Committee of 1644 reported, Governor Bradford, an unwilling, but every way competent and candid witness, carried back the Dutch occupancy, under the Greenland Company, to the year 1600. Besides, on the English map of the voyage of Linschoten, 1598, there is a dotted trail from the latitude of the Hudson, 40° N. to the St, Lawrence, showing that the route was one known and traveled at that time. It is evident, from a variety of considerations, that both the Dutch and French resorted to the Hudson at this period to engage in the trade. Linschoten

was one of the best informed of Dutch writers, and probably understood the significance of the representation upon his map. The probability is that this route was known a long time before, and that it may be indicated by Cartier, who, when in Canada, 1534, was told of a route by the way of the river Richelieu, to a country a month's distance southward, supposed to produce cinnamon and cloves, which Cartier thought the route to Florida. Champlain, writing in Canada, says that, in the year previous, certain French who lived on the Hudson were taken prisoners when out on an expedition against the northern Indians, and were liberated, on the ground that they were friends of the French in Canada. This agrees with the report of the Labadists, who taught that a French child, Jean Vigné, was born here in 1614. Evidently the French had been on the ground in force for some years, and were able to make expeditions against the savages. Very likely the French were here quite as early as the Hollanders.

There seems to be, however, another curious piece of confirmation, which comes from the writings of the celebrated Father Isaac Jogues, who was in New Amsterdam during the year 1646. In a letter written on August 3d of that year, he says that the Dutch were here, "about fifty years" before, while they began to settle permanently only about "twenty years" since. The latter statement is sufficiently correct, as 1623 was the year when a permanent colony was established by the Dutch. The former statement carries us back to the date of the "Greenland Company."

So far as present evidence goes, it is perhaps unnecessary to say anything more in vindication of the statement of the Dutch Committee of 1644, claiming that representatives of the Greenland Company wintered here in 1598, Nevertheless, as a matter of interest, and to show how well the Hudson was known at this time by both Dutch and English, we may quote from the English translation of the Dutch narrative of Linschoten, which clearly describes the coast. He says: "There is a countrey under 44 degrees and a halfe, called Baccalaos." This country of Baccalaos reached nine hundred miles, that is, from the Cape de Baccalaos [Cape Race] to Florida.

The distances are given approximately, of course, by Linschoten, being on the decimal system, but they distinctly mark the principal divisions of the coast and fix the fact beyond question that the Hudson was perfectly well known.

On the general subject it may be said, that the record of the "Greenland Company" is not satisfactory, yet the word "Greenland" at that time had a very general use, and all that the Committee of Accounts may have meant by the phrase was, that a company or association engaged in the fur and fish trade, which for centuries, even, had been prosecuted at the north, had sent some ships to this region in 1598.

There is certainly nothing unreasonable in this supposition, the coast being so well known. Various adventurers of whom we know nothing doubtless came and went unobserved, being in no haste to publish the source from which they derived such a profitable trade in peltries. The Committee of Accounts either falsified deliberately or followed some old tradition. Why may not a tradition be true?

We turn next to examine a map recently brought to notice and which is of unique value. Formerly the map usually pointed out as the oldest seventeenth century map of this region was the Dutch "Figurative" Map, which was found by Mr. Brodhead in ihe Dutch archives. We have now, however, an earlier map of 1610, which was prepared from English data for James I., a copy finding its way to Philip III., by Velasco, March 22, 1611. Sandy Hook, though without name, is delineated about as it appears in later maps, while Long Island is shown as a part of the main, with no ndication of the Sound, though Cape Cod and the neighboring islands are well delineated, and Verrazano's Island of "Luisa" appears as "Cla[u]dia," the mother of Francis I. Clearly at this time neither Block nor any other Dutch navigator had passed through Hell Gate into Long Island Sound.

There is nothing whatever in this map relating to explorations by any nation later than 1607. Jamestown appears on the Virginia portion, and Sagadehoc in Maine. It was simply a copy of a map made soon after the voyage to New England and Virginia in 1607. The compiler had not heard of Hudson's voyage, as that navigator did not reach England until November 7, 1609. If he had received any information from Hudson, he would have shown the river terminating in a shal low, innavigable brook, whereas the river is indicated, in accordance with Captain John Smith's idea, as a strait, leading to a large body of water. Further, the map contradicts Hudson, who represents the Hoboken side of the river as "Manhatta," while this map puts the name on both sides, "Manahata," on the west and "Manahatin" on the east. It is not unlikely that Hudson had with him a copy of the map, for his guidance on the voyage in the Half-Moon.

Though this map bears a date subsequent to Hudson's voyage, the contents prove that the original could not have been drawn later than 1608. It was evidently one of the various maps of which Smith spoke and which he underrated. Its substance indicates that it was drawn from a source independent of the Dutch and French, showing that the English knew of the Bay of New York and its relation to Sandy Hook, and that they supposed the great river delineated was a broad stream which, in some way, communicated with the Pacific. On the original map of which Velasco's example was a copy, the land west of the river was colored blue, and the legend says tha

it is described by information drawn from the Indians. What we need now is the original map, which may still exist in some obscure collection in England or Holland, and quite as likely in the archives of Spain, sent thither by jealous Spanish spies, who lingered,

SIR WALER RALEIGH.

like Velasco, at the court of James I., to learn what they could with respect to English enterprise in America. At all events we have in this English map the first seventeenth century delineation of this region, and one showing that the English knew the form and general character of the country which the crown conveyed to the colonists of North and South Virginia in 1606. So far as now known, it was clearly the English who first became acquainted with the name that the Aborigines applied to the island upon which our great metropolitan city stands. Whether or not this was an aboriginal word or a corruption of a Castilian term future investigators nay decide. The unexpected finding of this old English map in the Spanish archives revives our hopes relating to the discovery of new sources of information concerning early voyages to this coast. English enterprise and adventure on the Virginia coast, extending from Raleigh's expedition, 1584, to Gosnold's fatal quest, 1603, must have brought Englishmen into the Bay of New York, unless miracle was balanced against curiosity and chance. There are archives yet to be opened that may give the origin of the delineations of this region found in the remarkable map from Samancas, and we need to be cautious in making claims even for the priority of the Dutch in 1598.

The period under consideration was a period of reconnoissance, one that offered some romantic incident, but more of disappointment and mortification. Here was a site for one of the noblest cities in the world, but the voyager was blind. The river offered no route to the gorgeous Indies, and Verrazano had little inclination to test its swift tide. Gomez, in the short January days of 1525, had no desire to ascend, for when his ship met the drift ice tossing on the cold, swirling stream, he thought of Anthony in his desolate

retreat on the Red Sea, put the river under his charge, and sailed away in search of happier shores. Sailors of other nationalities, doubtless, ascended the river ; but, finding it simply a river, they took what peltries they could get, and, like Gomez, turned the whole region over to the care of the solitary Saint, who for nearly a century stood connected with its neglect. Much remained to be done before steps could be taken with regard to colonization. The initial work, however, was inaugurated by the sturdy Englishman, Henry Hudson, and the proud Spanish caravel disappears, while the curtain rises upon the memorable voyage of the quaint Dutch fly-boat, the Half-Moon.

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1. The usual course was to sail southward and reach Florida coasting north, or to sail to Newfoundland and coast southward. It required especial boldness to take the direct course, and, in 1562, when Ribault followed this course, he was proud of the achievement. The fact that Verrazano sailed the direct course at that time proves the authenticity of his voyage, as a forger would not have invented the story.

2. On the Map of Verrazano, to which attention will be directed, this triangular island is delineated. The voyager approaching the island from the west comes to a point of the triangle where he can look away in the easterly direction, and at a glance take in two sides ; while on reaching the eastern limit the third side plainly appears. In sailing past Block Island, as Verrazano did, from west to east, the navigator could not fail to discover its triangular shape. Indeed it is so marked that one is struck by the fact.

3. The story of this map is curious. The American contents were first given to the public by the writer in the "Magazine of American History," and afterward reprinted in "Verrazano the Explorer."

4. In "Cabo de Arenas," the coast names taken from a large collection of maps are arranged in parallel columns, illustrating three main divisions of the coast, showing that Cabo de Baxos was the name applied to Cape Cod, and Cabo de Arenas to Sandy Hook. Cape Cod in the early times was not a sandy cape, but a beautiful and well-wooded cape. Sandy Hook ever since it was known has borne its present character.

5. Those who have fancied that Cape Arenas was Cape Cod, and that the bay behind it was Massachusetts Bay, have the same difficulty as regards dimensions. Students of American cartography understand perfectly well that latitudes in the old maps were often more than two degrees out of the way, the instruments of that period being so defective.

6. To convince himself of this fact the reader may compare the reconstructed Map of Chaves with the coast surveys, when the main difference will be found to consist in the exaggeration of Sandy Hook. The "Narrative and Critical History of America," dealing with this point, suppresses all allusion to the fact that Kohl recognizes the cape on the Map of Chaves with the names "Santiago" and "Arenas" as Sandy Hook, which follows, as the river inside of the Hook he identifies with the Hudson. Dr. Kohl, though generally very acute, failed to see that Oviedo's description of the Map of Chaves was, substantially, the description of Ribeiro, and that in identifying, as he chanced to, the "Arenas" of Ribeiro with Cape Cod, he stultified his own reasoning. Nor did he consider this, that if the great

Cape "Arenas" was intended for Cape Cod, there is no representation whatever of Sandy Hook and the Hudson in the old cartography and that all the voyages to this region geographically went for nothing. *Credat Judaeus Appellus!* This exaggeration of Sandy Hook is conceded, yet the inlets along the New Jersey shore may have been viewed as connected by Gomez; and indeed, so great have been the changes along the coast that no one can well deny that they were connected in 1525, and formed a long bay running down behind Sandy Hook. It will prove more historic to follow the writer, who says, "that the coast of New York and the neighboring district were known to Europeans almost a century before Hudson ascended the 'Great River of the North,' and that this knowledge is proved by various maps made in the course of the sixteenth century. Nearly all of them place the mouth of a river between the fortieth and forty-first degrees of latitude, or what should be this latitude, but which imperfect instruments have placed farther north."—Nar. and Crit. His. of Amer., 4 : 432.

EARLY AMERICAN LITERATURE.

Seventy-odd years ago the Rev. Sydney Smith wrote in the Edinburg Review as follows: "Literature, the Americans have none—no native literature, we mean. It is all imported. They had a Franklin, indeed, and may afford to live for half a century on his fame. There is, or was, a Mr. Dwight, who wrote some poems, and his baptismal name was Timothy. There is also a small account of Virginia, by Jefferson, an epic by Joel Barlow, and some pieces of pleasantry by Mr. Irving. But why should the Americans write books, when a six weeks' passage brings them, in their own tongue, our sense, science and genius in bales and hogsheads?"

Times have changed since Mr. Smith wrote this somewhat sarcastic summary of our native literature; for, while it is true that we still import British "sense, science, and genius in bales and hogsheads," it is done now on principles of reciprocity, and we return quite as good and perhaps nearly as much as we receive.

Americans do not instance Mr. Dwight, whose "baptismal name was Timothy," or Mr. Barlow, the author of the epic so sneeringly referred to, as the chiefs of American poesy; yet we need not blush for either of them; for the first was a distinguished scholar the President of Yale College, and the author of the hymn so dear to many pious hearts:

> "I love thy kingdom, Lord!
> The house of Thine abode;
> The church our blest Redeemer saved
> With His own precious blood."

The other, Mr. Barlow, was a well-known man of letters and politician in his day, author of the "Columbiad," the epic referred to by Mr. Smith, and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to the coast of France at a critical period of our history. As to the "Columbiad," it has been pronounced by competent critics to be equal in merit to Addison's "Campaign," and surely it is no disgrace to have equalled Addison.

It was the fashion in those days for Englishmen to sneer at Americans; and so we find in another review, written by the same gentleman in 1820, this language: "During the thirty or forty years of their independence, they have done absolutely nothing for the sciences, for the arts, for literature, or even for the statesmanlike studies of politics or political economy. * * In the four quarters of the globe who

reads an American book? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? What have they done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets?" In the very same year that this array of rather insolent queries was propounded by Sydney Smith, the genial Washington Irving, in the advertisement to the first English edition of his Sketch Book, remarks: "The author is aware of the austerity with which the writings of his countrymen have been treated by British critics." We have not a particle of doubt as to the "austerity" in question. The salvos of Old Ironsides and the roar of Jackson's guns at New Orleans, were unpleasant facts not yet forgotten by Englishmen.

But Sydney Smith was not quite fair towards our countrymen. It was "during the thirty or forty years of their independence" referred to that Fulton's steamboat revolutionized navigation, that Rittenhouse developed a matematical skill second only to that of Newton; that West delighted even royalty itself with the creations of his pencil; while in "the statesmanlike studies of politics or political economy," it was during this very period that Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and their coadjutors did more to develop the true principles of government and politics than had ever been done before in the history of the world. True, we had not much to boast of, but it would have been only just to give us credit for what we were worth. Moreover, in a small way, but to the extent it was possible under the circumstances, the English colonists in America had cultivated letters from the beginning. In 1685, Cotton Mather wrote his Memorable Providences; in 1732, Franklin began to issue his Poor Richard's Almanac; in 1749, Jonathan Edwards published his Life of David Brainerd, and in 1754, his famous treatise on The Freedom of the Will and Moral Agency. Besides these, which perhaps stand out most conspicuously, there were many minor works of more or less excellence, over most of which the iniquity of oblivion, to use the fine phrase of Sir Thomas Browne, hath scattered her poppy.

The moment that the Edinburg Review was thus dealing our fathers these heavy blows seemed to be the real starting point in our career of literary greatness. William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, James K. Paulding, Richard H. Dana, James Fenimore Cooper, Mrs. Sigourney and a host of others were giving direction to that stream of literature that has since flowed broad and free over our land, imparting life and vigor and beauty to our society and institutions. It is, however, anterior to the year 1820, the

thirty or forty years of our national independence, during which Mr. Smith says we have done "absolutely nothing" in literature, science or art, to which we must more particularly advert. The literary product of those years was scanty enough, it is true. The student of this period will not find much, and not all of that of the first order, to reward his labor—not much, at least, as compared with other nations at the same time. But may there not have been some sufficient reason for this, outside of any downright intellectual deficiencies on the part of our fathers? Let us for a moment consider the condition of things at that time in this country.

In the first place, at the time referred to, the citizens of the United States were in a daily struggle with the material difficulties of their situation. The country was new. The region west and north of the Ohio and Mississippi was yet an almost unbroken wilderness, while the country east and south of those rivers was but sparsely populated. At the same time the tide of immigration was sweeping into the country, and with it all the rush and turmoil incident to life in a new country was going on. Forests were to be cut down; farms were to be cleared up; houses were to be built; roads were to be made; bridges were to be thrown across the rivers; while a livelihood was to be compelled from the forests, the streams, and the fields. The conditions of a new country are not favorable to the cultivation of the arts, of sciences, or of literature. Why do not Englishmen twit the people of Australia because during the past forty or fifty years in which they have prospered so greatly in material things, they have not produced a Macaulay, a Tennyson, a Gladstone, a Tyndall, or a Huxley? It would be just as fair to do it.

Not only was there this hand to hand contest with their physical environment, but the political conditions were also unfavorable to any general dalliance with the Muses. Only in times of tranquility and ease is it possible.

> "To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair."

The country at the period referred to, had just emerged from a long and exhausting war. Society was almost broken up; the arts of peace were well nigh forgotten; the finances were in almost hopeless confusion; the form of government was unsettled, and scarcely yet determined upon. The first thing to do was to evolve some system and some security out of this chaos. Politics alone occupied the moments of leisure. When, finally, authority had crystallized into definite government the people were not allowed to be at rest. Murderous wars with the Indians on the frontiers; the machinations of French emissaries; British oppression of American commerce, and at length another long and bloody war with England, harassed the minds of the people, and prevented them

from giving themselves up more generally to the kindly and refining influences of literature and art. When we consider all the circumstances in the case, there seems a degree of severity in Sydney Smith's sneers and taunts.

But though circumstances were thus unfavorable to the cultivation of letters, yet something was done in this direction nevertheless. Smith refers flippantly enough to Dwight, Jefferson, Barlow and Irving. But besides these there were others, not brilliant luminaries perhaps, yet stars shining in the darkness according to their orders and degrees. We do not design here to enter upon any discussion of their respective merits, but we may mention as a writer of that period no less a character than George Washington, whose greatness in other spheres of life has entirely eclipsed any fame of which he may be worthy as an author, yet whose Farewell Address alone would entitle him to a place among the most accurate writers of English. Among others we may name John Adams, whose pen was scarcely less eloquent than his tongue; Francis Hopkinson, author of The Battle of the Kegs and many other pieces, of which it has been said, that "while they are fully equal to any of Swift's writings for wit, they have nothing at all in them of Swift's vulgarity;" Dr. Benjamin Rush, a distinguished writer on medical and social topics; John Trumbull, the author of McFingal and The Progress of Dullness; James Madison, afterward President of the United States, one of the ablest writers in The Federalist; Philip Freneau, a poet of the Revolution and the period immediately following; Alexander Hamilton, a contributor to The Federalist, and one of the clearest of political writers; Joseph Dennie, the author of The Lay Preacher, and editor of The Portfolio; Joseph Hopkinson, author of Hail, Columbia; Charles Brockden Brown, author of Wieland, Arthur Mervyn, and other works, and who was perhaps the first American who wholly devoted his life to literary pursuits; William Wirt, author of the British Spy, the Life of Patrick Henry, and other works; and Lyman Beecher, the author of a work on Political Atheism, and several volumes of sermons and public addresses. This list might easily be extended, but its length as it now stands, as well as the merits of the writers adduced, is sufficient to contradict effectually the statement that America had "no native literature," and that during the thirty or forty years immediately subsequent to the Revolution she had done "absolutely nothing" for polite letters. Much of this early literature still remains, and is read; many of these authors are still familiar to this generation, and it is generally admitted that the writer whose fame survives a century is assured of a literary immortality. Sydney Smith was an acute man, a learned man, a great wit, a ready and elegant writer, a trench-

ant critic, but the names of some of these humble Americans whom he did not deign to mention, or mentioned only to scoff, bid fair to stand as long in the annals of literature as his own.

On the eastern slope of the Andes are a thousand springs from which the slender rills, half hidden at times by the grass, scarcely at any time seen or heard, trickle down the side of the immense mountain range, here and there falling into each other and swelling in volume as they flow, until at length is formed the mighty Amazon, that drains the plateaus and valleys of half a continent. So the beginnings of our literature, like the beginnings of every literature, are small, indistinct, half hidden; but as they proceed, these little rills of thought and expression grow and expand, until the mighty stream is formed that irrigates the whole world of intellectual activity.

This stream, as we have said, first began to assume definite form and direction about the time that Sydney Smith was uttering his tirades against the genius and achievements of our countrymen. In 1817, appeared in the North American Review a remarkable poem called "Thanatopsis." The author was a young man named William Cullen Bryant, only twenty-three years of age; yet the poem had been written four years before. The annals of literature do not furnish another example of such excellence at so early an age. The poem yet stands as one of the most exquisite in the language. A recent critic has characterized it as "lofty in conception, beautiful in execution, full of chaste language and delicate and striking imagery, and, above all, pervaded by a noble and cheerful religious philosophy." This first effort on the part of Bryant was succeeded by a long career of eminence in the field of literature. In 1818 appeared a volume of miscellanies called "The Sketch Book," by Washington Irving, a young man who had already acquired some slight reputation as a dabbler in literature of a trifling or humorous kind. The Sketch Book was almost immediately honored by republication in England. This initial volume was followed by a second series of miscellanies called "Bracebridge Hall," which was published in London in 1822. In the preliminary chapter the author pleasantly adverts to the general feeling with which American authorship was regarded in England. "It has been a matter of marvel to my European readers," says he, "that a man from the wilds of America should express himself in tolerable English. I was looked upon as something new and strange in literature; a kind of demi-savage, with a feather in his hand instead of on his head; and there was a curiosity to hear what such a being had to say about civilized society." In the same year with Irving's Sketch Book appeared Drake's Culprit Fay, a poem that has not been surpassed in its kind since Milton's Comus. In 1821 Percival issued his first volume of

poems, Dana his Idle Man, and Cooper, his Precaution. His last named volume was at once followed by a long list of works including such famous titles as The Spy, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, and The Deerslayer. It marked the advent of our most distinguished novelist—a man who has been styled the Walter Scott of America. He justly stands in the same rank with the mighty Wizard of the North, and has no other equal. Thus the stream of American literature rolled on its course, and was swelled as it flowed by the contributions of Everett, Prescott, Bancroft, Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe, Willis, Holmes, Whittier, Lowell, and a host of others, whose names the world will not willingly let die.

America has not yet produced a Shakespere or a Milton; but it must be remembered that England has produced but one, each of these in a period of a thousand years. Anywhere below these two great names, American literature of the last seventy years is able to parallel the best work that has been produced by our kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic. In wealth and elegance of diction, in depth of thought or feeling, in brightness and grace of expression, in any of the thousand forms and flights in which genius seeks to express himself, the current literature of America stands on a level with the current literature of England; and Sydney Smith's sneers, which must have touched our fathers to the quick, find no response now except the smile of contempt which alone they ever deserved.

T. J. Chapman.

THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK.

I.

THERE are many things that link the capital city of financial and commercial America, to the State of Ohio, that New England enterprise, and New York encouragement, and Virginian patriotism, did so much to build beyond the Alleghenies. It is not merely in the associations and connections of to-day that New York and Ohio are bound together. A pregnant era of the early past, was disposed toward good results forever, by the patriotic generosity of the Empire State, at a time when Ohio was but a name in the far off wilderness; a promise that many things must nurture, before it could be realized.

Historians will recall, when this much has been said, the events that were pressed close upon each other, before the soil upon which Ohio now stands, was declared the property of the nation, disentangled from the conflicting claims of jealous States, and how New York by her self-renunciation, led the way to harmony. For a century had Virginia and Connecticut made their claims to the vast westward territory; vaster than the imagination of any living man then conceived. When the French were driven from the lands west of the bounds of Pennsylvania, the contention commenced, and claims were urged from time to time, until both voices of dispute were temporarily silenced by the war in which the rivals fought side by side for the freedom of both. When that conflict was ended, the question again arose; not, this time, with the English Crown as the greater power, but with the loose jointed Confederation, under which America endeavored to work out a national salvation. Virginia, made her demand under the grant of James, in 1609, which gave her: "All those lands, countries and territories, situated, lying, and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of the eastern land called Cape or Point Comfort, all that space and circuit of land lying, from the seacoast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest, and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of the both seas of the precinct aforesaid."

This generous King, who was giving away so much that did not belong to him, was really giving more than he dreamed of; for the writer of the grant evidently believed that the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, was but little westward of the Altantic, and never dreamed that he was extending

his line so as to take in the magnificent Western and Northwestern empire of to-day.

Connecticut made her claim under Charles the II, who in 1662, gave to the colony "All that part of our dominion in New England, in America, bounded on the east by the Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea, and on the north by the line of the Massachusetts plantation, and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the line of the Massachusetts colony, running from east to west; that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay, on the east to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereto adjoining."

It was under this very vague, but very extensive grant, that Connecticut laid claim to, and maintained that claim, for that part of Ohio known the world over, as the "Connecticut Western Reserve."

While Virginia, Connecticut and Pennsylvania were warring in the courts, in the legislatures, and before the people over their various claims, there were many others who virtually assumed that the whole unoccupied and unorganized land to the west, belonged to the nation at large, and that no state had a right to exclusive jurisdiction. This discussion threatened all sorts of difficulties, at a time when peace and prosperity could only come through a mutual helpfulness and internal harmony, and the wisest and most patriotic declared themselves willing to waive all personal claims, and allow the national government to administer the general estate for the general good. Congress so viewed it, and appealed to the States to yield their claims. The first response came from New York, which conceded all her possible ownership to western territory, to the general government, and the other States followed in her wake. Virginia followed New York; and Massachusetts Virginia; and eventually Connecticut came into line.

In the appeal of Congress to the States there was no ambiguity as to the purpose to which these lands were to be devoted. The act of October 10, 1780, resolved that "the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular State," should be disposed of "for the common benefit of the United States, and shall be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the Federal Union, and have the same right of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States; that each which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit, that the necessary and reasonable expense which any particular State shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed."

It was further agreed that said lands should be "granted or settled at such times and under such regulations" as should be thereafter agreed upon by the United States, or any nine or more of them.

In less than six months after the issuing of this broad invitation, New York set an example of generosity to her young sister States, which had so much yet to learn in the way of mutual concessions for the general good. And she made no conditions in her surrender. She simply said that she would draw a line across the western end of Lake Ontario, north and south, and that while all east of it should be hers, all west would be forever quit-claimed to the nation. It took Virginia three years to make up her mind, and when she waived her claim in March, 1784, she yet reserved nearly four million acres to the south and east of the Ohio. The year following, Massachusetts came in with no conditions, while Connecticut followed, in the fall of 1786, conditioning that she should retain the magnificent Western Reserve, upon which a New Connecticut was eventually built in the wilderness—that Reserve that has played so important a part in the history, and the moral development of the republic. South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia, at last straggled, one by one, into the path of manifest destiny; although the century had turned the point of time by two notches, before the last hand was lossened, and the Nation became in law what she had already been in fact —the architect and master of the splendid empire that stretched from the western edge of the civilization of that day, to where the Spaniard and the Frenchman still held a nominal right to the westward of the Mississippi.

With these cessions, the territorial system of our government came into existence. That which Georgia gave, became the Mississippi Territory; that from the Carolinas, the Southwest Territory; and all that north of the Ohio River, the Northwest Territory; and this brings us to a point where New York again had a part in creating the State of Ohio, and in dedicating the soil upon which she was reared, forever to the cause of human liberty.

It was within the limits of her chief city that the very foundation stones, not only of the one State but of many, were laid with a far-seeing wisdom and prophetic foresight that mark the men of that early Congress as among the sages of legislative wisdom. In the old hall, that stood at the corner of Wall and Broad streets, where the restless oceans of a financial world roll in a flood that never rests, and to which the lines of monetary interest center from all the far-off corners of the land, upon the spot now hallowed to the memory of Washington by a collossal statue of bronze, there was enacted, in the midsummer of 1787, an ordinance that has well been called* "The

*"The founding of Ohio," an address of Senator George F. Hoar, at Marietta, Ohio, April 7, 1888.

most important legislatative act in American History"—there came into existence a law that gave Ohio and Indiana, and that galaxy of northwestern states to the Union; those free states, without which that Union never could have been saved in the day of its imminent peril.

Many States have been created, many important acts have been passed by the various Congresses that have sat in New York, in Philadelphia, and in Washington, but there was in this measure something that saved the nation from being sometime all slave; that reserved for freedom an empire that by mere stress of moral example if in nothing else, was a menace forever before the slaveholder. In that ordinance was one little clause that made Ohio and Wisconsin and Illinois what they afterwards became.

"There shall be," it recited, "neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes." Simple enough these words sound now, when human bondage upon American soil is but the echo of a dead past, but for the day in which they were uttered, they were the clarion call of a new era—the death knell of a monster wrong; and the voice was none the less that of God speaking in human legislation, because many of the men who had become His instrument, had no dream of the great things to which they had put their hands, and to which they had given their votes.

So, in one sense, Ohio may be said to have had her beginning in New York. From the days of her earliest childhood, she has been a willing neighbor, willing to give and take of friendly offices with her elder sister to the East. Two of her chief magistrates were the sons of the Empire State; she has borrowed not a little of her legislation from the experience of the older State; she patterned her canals after those which DeWitt Clinton had so largely aided to bring into being; she has developed many of her native resources by New York's financial aid; she has sought to build her railways so that they should lead direct to the metropolis; she has in a thousand ways acknowledged the commercial and financial supremacy of the greater city and State; and last, but not the least, she has sent scores of her sons to the East, to prove that the Buckeye is capable of gaining and holding his own among the best, in any lines of human labor or human thought—and it is with this subject largely, that we have at present to deal.

There hangs in certain cheerful rooms at No. 236 Fifth avenue, a modestly framed document that is more significent in that which it suggests, than in what it declares. It is a call for a meeting, and a pledge of certain gentlemen whose names are attached, that they will do what lies within their power to create in this great metropolis, a hearthstone around which those who claimed Ohio for a mother or a foster-mother, might congregate now and then, for such

mutual help or association as would keep the memory of the old home alive in the new. The beginning was modest and quiet, and yet out of it has grown an organization that is in many ways a model of its kind, and that certainly has fulfilled the intentions of its originators.

"We the undersigned," to quote from the language of the call, "hereby agree to unite with each to form an association to be known as The Ohio Association in New York, and to that end will meet at any place designated, for the purpose of completing such organization upon notice given to us whenever twelve persons shall have signed this agreement. There is to be no expense incurred until the organization is completed, and assented to by each member."

"New York, October 7th, 1885."

Attached to this document were names that would have carried weight in many of the walks of the business and professional life of the metropolis. General Thomas Ewing, an honored member of the New York Bar, Samuel Thomas and Calvin S. Brice, of the more active fields of Wall Street and the railway world, C. W. Moulton, Col. W. L. Strong, one of the leading merchants of the city, Hugh J. Jewett, Wallace C. Andrews, Homer Lee, J. W. Harman, Warren Higley, Milton Sayler, Anson G. McCook, Col. Fogg , Mahlon Chance, J. Q. Howard, General Henry L. Burnett, and others who had acquired reputation at home, before making New York the scene of later operations and more recent successes. There was more than mere formal agreement in this compact; it was understood by all that such a society should come into being, and all were in one mind that then was the time for beginning.

Other attempts looking in the same direction had been made in times past, but had come to naught. Early in the days of the great war, many of the sons and daughters of Ohio, residing in this city, met at the Murray Hill Hotel, and took steps to give active aid to the soldiers in the field; but these weekly gatherings ended with the noble purpose that called them into being. In the first annual report of the Ohio Society, its first secretary, Homer Lee, gives a brief sketch of this effort, and of the things that followed in its wake. "The object," says Mr. Lee, "was to send supplies, clothing, medicines, etc., to the soldiers at the front. A handsome silk and satin banner was made at a cost of some $500, upon which was a beautifully embroidered Coat of Arms of the State of Ohio, to be presented to the bravest Ohio regiment. As might have been expected there was much rivalry for the possession of this prize, as glowing descriptions of the beautiful souvenir were given by the newspapers at that time. The commanding officers were appealed to, but could not be prevailed upon to decide the question, because, as one officer put it 'It could not easily be decided which

was the bravest, where all the regiments by their valor and heroism had covered themselves with glory.' At the close of the war the 7th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, of Cleveland, secured the prize."

Another organization, somewhat similar in character and purpose, was called into being about the same time. It was the Ohio Soldier's Aid Society, and Theron R. Butler, was its president, and Mr. John R. Cecil the treasurer. Its members made it their duty to call upon the Ohio soldiers in the New York hospitals, and to minister to their wants. In various forms of help, this society expended over fifteen thousand dollars, and performed many eminent services for the wounded and the sick, and like its companion organization above described, its days ended with the close of the war.

In 1877, the subject of an association of Ohio men was again discussed, when a number of gentlemen had been called together by the death of Chief Justice Chase, but it came to naught. Again, in 1874, some of the younger sons of the Buckeye State in this city, held various meetings and talked organization, but nothing came of the movement beyond talk. It was reserved for the call above quoted to produce enduring results, and to bring into being the flourishing society that has bound the Ohioans of New York together with bonds of enduring union.

When the twelve, and more, had signed the call and thus made it operative, a meeting was held in the office of General Ewing, No. 155 Broadway, on November 13, 1885. There was then no question of success, and the gentlemen present went to work in a mood to make that success of the most pronounced character. General Ewing was elected president pro tem., and Mr. David F. Harbaugh secretary pro tem. A committee of ten upon permanent organization were appointed, and consisted of the following gentlemen: C. W. Moulton, William Perry Fogg, Cyrus Butler, J. Q. Howard, Mahlon Chance, M. I. Southard, David F. Harbaugh, Warren Higley, Calvin S. Brice, and Joseph Pool. When an adjourned meeting was held, on the 20th of the same month, additions were made to this foundation committee, in the persons of Messrs. Carson Lake, John W. Harman, and Homer Lee.

The committee were already prepared with a report. They had drafted a provisional constitution, and prepared by-laws, and proposed that these should be printed and sent to the Ohio men in New York, to discover how many would favor the movement, and agree to support it. Such action was ordered, the new fundamental law of a society not yet organized was sent broadcast, and responses invited. One hundred subscribing names were made the requisite; they were furnished, and twenty-five in addition. Thus encouraged, there was a call from the President, and on

the evening of January 13, 1886, over one hundred of the sons of Ohio were found together in the parlors of the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

The meeting was prolific of results. The Ohio Society of New York, was called into being. Officers were elected; arrangements made for the preparation of a constitution that would be in exact accord with the purposes there delared. The first officers there chosen constituted a corps which was of itself a guarantee of successful results. General Thomas Ewing was elected president; Whitelaw Reid, General Wager Swayne, Col. William L. Strong, Hon. Hugh J. Jewett, and Algernon S. Sullivan were chosen vice-presidents. Homer Lee was made recording secretary and Carson Lake, corresponding secretary; while Col. William Perry Fogg was assigned to the responsible position of treasurer. A governing committee consisting of Henry L. Burnett, chairman, Calvin S. Brice, Andrew J. C. Foye, A. D. Juilliard, George Follett, Stephen B. Elkins, Jerome D. Gillett, C. W. Moulton, Joseph Pool, were selected. The president and vice-president were directed to prepare the constitution; the invitations of certain hotels managed by Ohio men to use their parlors for gatherings until permanent quarters could be secured, were accepted; and the president-elect delivered a striking address upon assuming office, that throws so strong a light upon the purpose and spirit of the gathering, that the writer is tempted to quote somewhat freely therefrom.

"We have met to-night" said General Ewing, "as sons and foster sons of Ohio resident in New York City to complete the foundation of a new society in our National Metropolis. Full as this city is of organizations of men, she has, I think, none such as this. The ties of religion, charity, politics, science, art, literature and common occupation draw and hold people together in numberless associations which have filled Manhattan Island with splendid edifices. So, too, the sympathies of a common race and history have founded Societies of St. Patrick, St. Andrew, St. George and many others, at whose annual reunion, the wit, song and sentiment of the fatherlands warm the hearts of their sons in this land beyond the sea. And here, also, is an American society which has at several crises in the last fifty years exerted a considerable influence on public opinion, and the annual reunions of which are watched with eagerness everywhere throughout our land where the sons of New England, from their distant homes, look proudly and fondly back on their grand old mother.

"But the New England Society is composed of the sons of six States. This is a society of the natives or former residents of a single State—Ohio, the State first born of the American Republic. I do not say she was the first received into the Union, for Vermont,

Kentucky and Tennessee all preceded her. Vermont was admitted in 1791, Kentucky in '92, Tennessee in '96 and Ohio not until the 29th day of November, 1802. But these three older States begun life as Colonies of Colonies, each exclusively owned by and settled from its parent colony—Vermont from New York, Kentucky from Virginia, and Tennessee from North Carolina. 'The territory northwest of the Ohio river' was the first land ever owned by the United States. It was a vast and pathless wilderness—an Empire in embryo—when, in 1784, Virginia, with magnificent generosity, presented it to the Union. It was not until ten years later, when the savages, who had been allies of Great Britain throughout the War of the Revolution, were routed and subdued by Mad Anthony Wayne, that agricultural settlements, except under the shadow of block-houses, first became possible. Then the veteran soldiers of the Revolution, broken in fortune, but aflame with the love of liberty and triumphant from the long struggle for independence, flocked there from every one of the glorious thirteen; hewed out homes in the primeval forest, paid for lands in the long-dishonored certificates of indebtedness given for their service in the Revolutionary War, and thus founded the first State which sprung from the womb of the Republic.

"We are proud of Ohio," continued the General, "for her heroic birth, her honorable achievements, and her glorious destiny. She 'sits in the centre,' belongs to no section, and is a bond of all. Her sons who meet here to-night are at home in New York. We do not come together as strangers in a strange land to seek relief from the depression of inhospitable influence. No; New York is not inhospitable. She is merely too big and too busy to note who comes or goes. Her gates landward and seaward, are thrown open to the world. She is a focus of all the great forces of American life. Much that is best and worst in it is developed here; and the struggle of a new comer for a footing is always severe, and generally unsuccessful. But New York is more truly cosmopolitan than any other city in the United States, or, perhaps, in the world; and there is little of race or sectional prejudice to bar the path of merit from whatever quarter it may come.

"We found this Society because we love Ohio, and would cherish her history, her traditions, her recollections of home and camp and forum. How often do we look back to the days and scenes of our life there to revive the sweetest influence and the dearest memories of existence.

"But we have aims for our Society beyond the culture of the memories and affections of other days. We hope to make it felt in this great field of thought and action as a generator of wholesome intellectual and moral forces. When this meeting was called for permanent organization there were one hundred and fifteen signers of our Constitution. Under the direction of a

judicious Governing Committee, the number will doubtless be increased to several hundred. Our membership of non-residents will perhaps be equally large. We should make something more of such good and abundant material than a mere social club. I am far from insensible to the pleasures of convival reunions, and hope our society may have many of them, and that I may long be of the number present. But we can have some good work out of it as well as plenty of recreation. For instance, with the aid of our western and southwestern brethern, who, like ourselves, have drifted into this fence corner of the Republic, we might help it to throw off its colonial subserviency to English politics and manners, and gradually Americanize it. We can thus repay in kind the debt of gratitude we owe the East for its missionary efforts a generation ago, when it was the seat of power in the Union, and the now imperial West was but a half subdued wilderness.

"Ere long we can command means, I hope, to fit up and maintain an accessible, commodious and permanent club house, the halls of which will be a pleasant rendezvous for members and their friends, where the ideas and policies of East and West may meet in intelligent and friendly encounter, and where sectional prejudice may be worn off in the attrition of social intercourse; where we may see files of the Ohio newspapers, and note the current of life at our old homes; where our brethern who come East may meet, or learn where to find their friends, and get information and help in their business; where Ohio men and women who are eminent or rising in any worthy field of effort may have cordial recognition and a helping hand, if needed; and where those who have unfortunately fallen in the struggle for a foothold here will not be forgotten. In conclusion, gentlemen, I venture to express the hope that our Society may be from the outset, and continue to the end, so aristocratic that wealth can not buy a membership for vice, and so democratic that none will be excluded by needless cost of membership from an association which their virtues and talents would adorn."

The foundation was thus laid; the story of the superstructure will be deferred for the present.

General Thomas Ewing—First President of the Ohio Society.

The connection of General Thomas Ewing with the founding of the Ohio Society of New York has been already shown. At this point some mention may profitably be made of the chief points in his public and professional career; as others of the same Buckeye group will be considered from time to time.

General Ewing came into the busy life of the world at a time, and under auspices, calculated not only to develop the best that was in him, but to call into active play the strongest elements of his nature. Ohio was in its youthful days; schools and culture had not yet reached that point where a finished education was the rule and expectation of the great mass of the youth as now. The freedom of pioneer life was around him, and while he learned the lessons of refinement and culture within his parental home, he was learning the lessons of self-reliance, courage and personal responsibility, from the outdoor environments of his day and neighborhood.

It was, also, a time when the great public questions of the day were debated from the stump, in the home circle, and at the caucus, and not left to the newspapers as at present. The young man was not merely a reader—he was compelled to think, and often talk for himself. He must know something of public life, and he usually had a personal acquaintance with the public men of his day and neighborhood. In the case of General Ewing, one of the chief men of Ohio history was a member of his own household—his father, Thomas Ewing, the Senator from Ohio, and Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinets of the elder Harrison and Tyler, and Secretary of the Interior under Taylor.

Thomas Ewing, the son, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, August 7, 1829. Not only was he the natural heir to the qualities that had made his father one of the great statesmen and lawyers of his day, but he could find back among the family names that of Findley Ewing, who distinguished himself under William of Orange, in the famous war of 1688, and was presented with a flag by that monarch, for gallant service at the siege of Londonderry; George Ewing, his grandfather, an ensign and lieutenant of the Revolutionary War; Neil Gillespie—a man of mark, in the early days of the Monongahela, and great-grandfather to James G. Blaine and himself; and his mother's father, Hugh Boyle, who, in youth was driven from Ireland because of the part he

had taken in the Emmet rebellion, and afterward served the State of Ohio for forty years, as clerk of the Supreme Court for Fairfield county.

The public life of young Ewing commenced at an early age. When but nineteen, he was appointed secretary of the commission to settle the still vexed question as to whether the boundary between Virginia and Ohio was the high water mark or the low water mark, on the north side of the Ohio River. A year later, he became one of the private secretaries of President Taylor, and after Taylor's sudden death, entered Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island, from which he was graduated in 1854.

He had already chosen the profession of the law, as the work of his life, and immediately entered the Cincinnati Law School, from which he was graduated in 1855. The next year he married Ellen E. Cox, a daughter of Rev. Wm. Cox, a Presbyterian minister of Piqua, Ohio, celebrated for his eloquence and zeal, and in the fall of '56 removed to Leavenworth, Kansas, which he had chosen as the opening point of his professional career. His partners in the first firm whose sign-board bore his name, were two gentlemen afterwards to win great distinction in a war then farther off in the minds of men than in the dread certainties of fact—General Dan McCook, who afterwards fell at Kenesaw, and William T. Sherman, whose recent death the world is yet lamenting. The name of the firm was Sherman, Ewing & McCook.

The success of Mr. Ewing was brilliant from the start. He had not only the magnetic presence by which friends are made, but the "natural genius for law" that made him a safe counsellor, a brilliant pleader, and a wary contestant in the varied fields of litigation. He was soon one of the recognized leaders of the bar of Kansas, and it was inevitable that he should soon be called to a commanding place in the field of politics as well. It was a time and place where no man could be silent, and when the most sluggish was compelled to become partisan. The young advocate from Ohio left no one in doubt as to which side he took in the struggle to make Kansas a free State. He bore an active and conspicious part in the struggle on the side of freedom, and was one of the Republican leaders of the West. He represented Kansas in the Peace Conference, which assembled in Washington on the call of Virginia in 1860, and at the early age of twenty-nine was elected the first chief justice of the Supreme Court of his State—a position he ably held for two years, until the great rebellion swept him from the bench into the ranks of the Union army.

Some more detailed mention of General Ewing's part in that great historic struggle to make Kansas a free State is needed, to fully explain the public service he rendered in those days of danger. In the fall of 1857, the Pro-

Slavery constitutional convention of Kansas, formed the Lecompton constitution, of which only the slavery cause was submitted to popular vote. The question thus left to the people was whether they would accept a fundamental law with slavery, or without. Thus the voter was compelled to favor the Lecompton constitution if he voted at all—a constitution hateful to the Free State majority, as it had been framed by a fraudulently chosen convention, composed largely of residents of Missouri.

It was also provided in this document, that if the majority voted for it and rejected slavery, then the slaves already held in Kansas, should remain such for life.

At the same election, a separate vote was ordered for legislative and executive officers under the constitutisn. The hope of the pro slavery party was that the Free State men, who were in a great majority in the territory, would refuse to vote at all, because of their indignation at the tricky manner of the submission, and that therefore, the Democratic Congress would admit Kansas as a slave State completely officered by pro slavery men.

"It was an artful trap," says one historian of those stirring times, "and the Free State Convention was caught in it by resolving that the party would wholly refrain from voting at that election. Thereupon Mr. Ewing bolted the convention, but only eight out of over a hundred delegates followed him. The bolters nominated a full State ticket and tickets in every county for all the offices, canvassed the Territory, and in spite of the bitterest opposition of the radical leaders and press, succeeded in bringing a large majority of the Free State party to the polls. They thus completely officered the proposed pro-slavery Government with tried and true Free State men—publicly pledged, if the State should be admitted, to immediately call another convention, form a Free State Constitution, and destroy the Lecompton Constitution and Government, root and branch. The pro-slavery leaders, finding themselves outnumbered at the polls, resorted to the most enormous and astounding frauds in the returns, and then officially proclaimed the election of the pro-slavery candidates. Thereupon Ewing went to the Territorial Legislature then in session at Lawrence, a majority of which were Free State men, and got a commission appointed to investigate and expose the election frauds. He was a member of the Board and conducted its proceedings with startling boldness and energy, resulting within a week in the discovery and seizure of the forged returns, which had been buried in a candle box under a wood pile at Lecompton on the premises of the United States Surveyor General, John Calhoun —the exposure of the forgeries—the indictment of the chief conspirators, Calhoun, McLean and others—their flight from Kansas never to return—and the abandonment by Buchanan's

administration, and his party in Congress of the Lecompton Constitution, which fell covered with execrations and infamy. This closed the long struggle to force slavery on Kansas, and the new State was thereupon admitted under a Free Constitution made by her own people."

To pass from this struggle for freedom to the greater struggle in the wider field of the war that followed, was but a logical step to the young advocate who had devoted so much of his time to the cause that had won his heart. He first appears in that struggle as Colonel of the Eleventh Regiment of Kansas Volunteer Infantry, recruited and organized by him in the summer of 1862. He led his command in several severe engagements in Arkansas—at Cane Hill, Van Buren and Prairie Grove; and for gallant conduct in the last named battle, which was one of the fiercest of the war, was promoted to be a Brigadier-General on the 11th of March, 1863. He was soon after assigned to the command of the "District of the Border," comprising the State of Kansas and the western portion of Missouri —a command of extreme admisistrative difficulty and great personal danger, which he held from June, 1863, to February, 1864, and in which he won the emphatic approval of President Lincoln and General Schofield, the Department Commander. His "Order No. 11," issued while he held this command, directing the inhabitants of large portions of three border counties of southern Missouri to remove to the military posts or out of the border, was and still is severely criticised. It was the result of a peculiarly difficult situation, solvable in no other way.

Those counties had become the impregnable base of operations of about a thousand guerrillas, under Quantrell, the James brothers, and Yeager, who were incessantly making incursions into southern Kansas, to rob and kill the defenceless people, and who had just burned Lawrence, and in cold blood murdered nearly three hundred unarmed and unresisting citizens. After two years of strenuous effort by other Union commanders, it had proved to be impossible to protect Kansas people from these dreadful incursions, and equally impossible to run the guerillas to earth in their fastness on the Missouri side of the border. These counties had been desolated early in the war by Jennison, Hoyt and their lawless bands of Kansas "Red Legs"—burned to the subsoil, nineteen farms out of twenty having been absolutely abandoned, and the houses and fences destroyed or left rotting. The condition of this district can be imagined from the fact that when this "Order No. 11" was issued, Nevada, the county seat of Vernon County, having at least a hundred houses standing and in good order, had not a single inhabitant, and the Court House without door or window-pane, had become a shelter for hogs and cattle running

wild, with its records of titles and court proceedings scattered over the floors, and covered with filth. There were not at that time a hundred families left in the entire district affected by the order, outside of the military posts. They were the friends and kinsfolk of the guerillas, who were constantly hanging about the garrisoned towns, buying arms, ammunition and provisions for the guerillas, and carrying news to them of every movement of our troops. It was impossible to kill the guerillas or drive them out of the border while these country people stayed there as their spies and purveyors. Therefore, after full conference with General Schofield, then commanding the Department of the Missouri, and now the honored head of the army, General Ewing ordered the few remaining inhabitants in these desolated districts to remove to the nearest military post, or back to the second tier of counties from the State border, and the order was subsequently ratified by President Lincoln.

In a letter published since the war, General Schofield said: "The responsibility for that order rests with President Lincoln, myself, and General Ewing, in the proportion of our respective rank and authority." About half of the people affected by the order removed to the posts under the protection of our troops, and the remainder further back in Missouri. They moved in summer—were subjected to no physical force or hardship, and were generally glad to get out of reach of the wild storm which was about to burst on them from Kansns, in revenge for the Lawrence massacre, and which the Government had not troops enough there to quell. Within two or three months after the issuance of this order, Quantrell having lost his spies and purveyors, and finding it impossible therefore to continue the vendetta, led all his guerillas south, and the border war was thus forever ended.

General Ewing's most distinguished service during the war was in fighting the battle of Pilot Knob on the 27th and 28th of September, 1864. The Confederate General, Sterling Price, having effected an unlooked for and unresisted crossing of the Arkansas above Little Rock, with his army of over twenty thousand men, marched on St. Louis, where General Rosecrans was in command of the Department of the Misssouri, and General Ewing of the District of Southeast Missouri. All the Federal troops of the department were scattered in small detachments, with bases in earthworks or stockades in or near the chief towns of Missouri, which were the places of refuge of the Union men and neutrals from the savage warfare of the guerillas. These scattered troops could not be withdrawn from their posts without enormous sacrifice of the people and property they were protecting, and it was, moreover, impossible to assemble them at St. Louis in time and numbers sufficent to defeat Price's

large army, which was increasing rapidly by accessions of guerillas from all parts of Southern Missouri. There was but one possible means of preventing the capture of St. Louis and the vast loss of prestige and resources which would follow. That was to delay Price a few days until reenforcements could arrive from Little Rock, by occupying and holding fast to Fort Davidson, a small hexagonal work capable of being manned by about one thousand men, situated ninety miles south of St. Louis, at the village of Pilot Knob, which was then the southern terminus of the Iron Mountain Railroad. In this little fort were stored immense amounts of ordnance, commissary and quartermasters' supplies, which Price greatly needed, and which lay directly between him and the great city, by capturing which he expected to bring Missouri over to the Confederacy. General Rosecrans, at the urgent request of General Ewing, reluctantly consented that he should lead this forlorn hope. He reached Pilot Knob in the nick of time—but four hours ahead of Price's advance—and with but one thousand and eighty men he held Fort Davidson against two of the three divisions of Price's army—those of Marmaduke and Cabell—numbering about fourteen thousand men—Shelpy's division of about seven thousand men having been sent to Ewing's rear at Mineral Point, twenty miles north of Pilot Knob, to cut the railroad and insure the destruction or capture of his entire command. After repulsing two assaults with great loss to the enemy, General Ewing, under cover of the night, evacuated and then blew up his untenable fort, and, favored by broken ground, though pressed on flank and rear, held his force in hand, and by dogged fighting for two days and nights, brought them to a fortified camp at Rolla, a hundred miles west of Pilot Knob. Price was thus delayed for a week, and drawn so far westward from his march on St. Louis, that reinforcements reached St. Louis and the great objective of his invasion was lost. He turned west and south and was soon driven from Missouri without striking an effective blow. General Rosecrans, in a special order issued October 6, 1864, said of this brilliant episode: "With pride and pleasure the commanding General notices the gallant conduct of Brigadier-General Thomas Ewing, Jr., and his command in the defence of Pilot Knob, and in the subsequent retreat to Rolla. With scarcely one thousand effective men, they repulsed the attacks of Price's invading army, and successfully retreated with their battery a distance of one hundred miles, in the face of a pursuing and assailing cavalry force of five times their number. General Ewing and his subordinates have deserved well of their country. Under such commanders, the Federal troops should always march to victory."

At the conclusion of the war, General Ewing once more made his home in

his native State. He was soon prominent in political affairs, giving his voice and vote to such measures as in his opinion were for the best interests of his country. He was a member of the Ohio constitutional convention of 1873–4, where his legal attainments and admirable powers of debate gave him a foremost place. As a member of the Democratic majority in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, he was one of the leaders of his party in resisting and stopping the employment of Federal troops and supervisors at elections conducted under State laws, and also in the succesful movement for the preservation of the Greenback currency, the remonetization of silver, and the issue of silver certificates, but for which measures of finance the currency would have been greatly contracted, to the infinite and protracted distress of the industrial and debtor classes. In 1879, he was the Democratic candidate for governor of Ohio, and made an able canvass of the State, but the Republican majority was too large to be overcome.

In 1882, that magnetic attraction that draws so many men to New York city, made General Ewing a member of the bar of the metropolis, where the enlarged opportunies of his profession have been met by a mental equipment and training equal to their most exacting requirements, and where his success has been of a marked character. To this legal ability is added a ripe scholarship, unusual grace as a speaker, and a personal magnetism that charms all with whom he comes in contact. His published speeches in Congress and on the stump have been numerous, and marked by their information, ability, liberality of thought and patriotism. Although his purely literary efforts have been less numerous, because of the active professional life that has been thrust upon him, the work he has done in that direction shows how much he might have accomplished, had his life been given to letters; for example, an address delivered at the Centennial celebration of the settlement of the Northwest territory at Marietta, Ohio, July, 16, 1889, and his address before the Kansas State Bar Association, on January 7, 1890, favoring the abolition of the requirement of unanimity, of juries in civil cases, and urging the codification of the "private law"—both of which speeches have attracted wide attention, and most favorable comment.

While General Ewing has accomplished so much, he is still in his prime, and is one of the moral forces in his profession in New York city, a strong, well-balanced and successful man. As has been said, he takes a deep interest in the affairs of the Society he did so much to create, and with him, an "Ohio man," whether known or unknown, is always sure of a cordial welcome; while he enjoys life in his new home, his love for the State that gave him birth, and which his honored

father so long served, is as deep as that of a son for a mother whose face he does not see, but whose memory is forever carried in his heart.

Col. William L. Strong—One of the First Vice-Presidents of the Ohio Society.

In the sketches of the two distinguished Ohioans which accompany this, the law has been so well represented that one might imagine that the chief purpose of Ohio in the metropolis was to interpret the law, and see that equal justice was done between man and man ; but from that which follows, it will be seen that the mission of the Buckeye in New York, is as varied as his numbers are many, and that in the walks of business and financial operation, he has won honor for his mother-state, and the evidences of deserved success for himself. And while engaged in the cares of business, he has not forgotten to fulfill all the demands of good citizenship, nor to preserve the memory of the State he has left, by doing all that lies in his power to perpetuate her memory loyally and lovingly in the one of his adoption.

Those who have attended the meetings of the Ohio Society with any degree of regularity, have not failed to notice that the genial presiding officer, Gen. Swayne, whose genius for his position is universally recoginized is never so well satisfied as when he can so twist or change the current of business as to bring upon the floor a gentleman who always talks entertainingly, and whose appearance and speech justify the efforts of the presiding officer to " draw him out." Col. William L. Strong has been so many years in New York, that people generally suppose him to be of New York origin ; he has travelled the world so much, that at times it is hard to tell from what section he does hail; but when he has been brought before the Society upon one of the occasions above referred to, it takes no skill and no endeavor to tell that he was an Ohio man in the beginning, and that many of the tendrils of his affection still cling to the State in which his youth was spent, and to which he turns with a loyal devotion, whenever the occasion renews the scenes of memory, and the other sons of Ohio about him are recalling with varied emotions the things of the vanished past.

Mr. Strong came to New York when quite young in years, but equipped with all the elements needed for business success. He was born in Richland County, Ohio, on the 22d of March, 1827, and spent his boyhood among the Loudinville hills. At the age of sixteen he went to Wooster, Ohio, and spent two years with the firm of Lake & Jones, a large retail dry goods house, and from thence to Mansfield, Ohio,

where he continued in the dry goods business until he came to this city, arriving here on the 31st of December, 1853.

When the young Buckeye reached the great city, he came with a purpose of making the best use of all the possibilities which might present themselves. He commenced life here as a salesman in the well-known dry goods house of L. O. Wilson & Co., at that time one of the largest and most prominent of the wholesale houses of the United States. In the panic of 1857 the firm suspended, but Mr. Strong continued in its service until 1858, when he went into the dry goods commission business, entering the firm of Farnham, Dale & Co., which was one of the prominent firms of New York at that time. In the subsequent changes of affairs, it was succeeded by Farnham, Sutton & Co., and afterwards by Sutton, Smith & Co. This last named firm was dissolved and retired from business in December, 1869, and on January 1, 1870, the firm of W. L. Strong & Co. was organized, and succeeded to the business.

The advance of Mr. Strong in his chosen line, had been as rapid as his wonderful success in these later years, has been deserved. He had entered upon the work with a determination to succeed, and nothing in the line of hard work or close application was allowed to stand in the way. He had made the interests of his employers his own ; he had studied all the needs and possibilities of the situation, and had laid a sure foundation for future success. He had learned the country from one end to the other, and his business acquaintances were to be found in every quarter. It hardly needs to be added that when the new firm of which he was the head, opened its doors for business, it had already a clientage of the most valuable sort, and that its prominent place among the great dry goods houses of America, was already assured.

Col. Strong has been a faithful servant of the house from the beginning ; he has done his work as if the whole load fell upon him, and he has never asked anyone to carry any share that properly belonged to himself. The house has ever been recognized as one of the solid institutions of New York. It has made but one removal since its organization, beginning business on the corner of Church and Leonard streets, and moving several years later to the spacious double store which it still occupies, in the center of the dry goods district at Nos. 75 and 77 Worth street.

Some of the qualities that have made his firm what it is to-day, are suggested in the above. Mr. Strong is a man of decided views, and great force of character, and at the same time one of the most approachable and genial men in the business. His good nature and open-handed liberality are widely felt and known, and no man has a wider circle of personal and business friends. His abilities as a business man and financier are of the highest order, and

although strongly marked by conservatism and caution, are nevertheless, sufficiently progressive for even this day of commercial activity.

But while Col. Strong has given the greater share of his time and care to the interests of the firm of which he is the head, he has found time to make his energy and capital effective in various other directions. He was for years a director of the Central National Bank, and for three years past has been its president; is president of the Homer Lee Bank Note Company; was president of the Brush Electric Light Company of New York for several years; is president of the Griswold Worsted Company, a large corporation engaged in the manufacture of silk and worsted materials. He is also a director in the Erie Railroad Company; a director in the New York Life Insurance Company, Mercantile Trust Company, and Hanover Fire Insurance Company. He is also vice-president of the New York Security and Trust Company; is a director in the newly formed Plaza Bank, and has been closely connected with other important commercial and financial enterprises not necessary to mention in detail here.

In the lines of political duty, social demands, and especially in connection with such enterprises as have had some object of public benefit in view, Col. Strong has ever been an active factor. He is of the Republican faith, and has long been recognized as one of the Republican leaders of New York. He has been importuned many times to be a candidate for public office, but has been too closely interested in his business to take a hand in the practical manipulation of politics upon his own account, content to do a citizen's duty, and to remain in private life. But he has done that duty whenever occasion offered. He is a member of the Union League, and president of the Business Men's Republican Association, and has done much to make that one of the most efficient and useful political associations of the country. He has ever taken a deep interest in the Ohio Society, and is at present its first vice-president, and has held that office from the date of its organization.

No words can too strongly describe the high repute in which is held the business house of which Col. Strong is the head. It is among the most prominent, popular and successful in the trade. It represents some of the largest mills in this country engaged in the manufacture of dress goods, flannels, blankets and other woolens and worsteds, also important accounts in cotton goods. It has branch houses in Boston and Philadelphia for the supply of the trade in those markets. The firm was organized January 1, 1870, as above stated, and has continued in uninterrupted and successful operation ever since. Through all the panics and business disturbances that have visited this country at various periods since 1870, the house passed in safety with increased business prestige and financial strength. The able business

management of this large commission house is proverbial in mercantile circles.

All that has been said in the above, in commendation of the house of which Col. Strong is the visible head, may be truthfully repeated of himself in his personal relations. His connection with many enterprises of importance in the business community and his prominent position in the same, are evidences of the business ability which he possesses and which his associates have so practically recognized. Modest and unassuming, his clear and analytical mind grasps the problems of business with such skill that fortune has smiled upon every enterprise with which he is or has been associated. His connection with so many financial institutions as director or president, further attests the confidence of the public in his integrity and marked ability.

While his business qualifications are of very high order, there are other traits in the character of Col. Strong that are no less marked. He is a man of the people, and his sympathies are wholly with the people. No worthy object to relieve or to make the struggling masses happy, ever fails to receive from him the substantial sympathy which his broad mind and liberal heart so freely give. He is an American, in every sense of the term. Plain and simple in his habits, he frowns upon everything that seeks to make one man higher than another, except as merit or exceptional service, have elevated him. He is, as one has well said, "One of the few men equal to the occasion, wherever placed, and deservedly possesses the entire confidence of the people."

Hon. George Hoadly, Ex-Governor of Ohio.

George Hoadly, who has won at the bar of New York, a position of eminence equal to that he for years maintained in Ohio, is, in all the essentials of affection and personal loyalty, yet an "Ohio man," for he remembers the home of his youth, the scene of his early labors and professional advancement, and the State that chose him to the highest position within her gift. Like General Ewing and Col. Strong, he is already a well-known figure in the metropolis, and is one of the men by whose labors the Ohio Society has been made what it is.

If a man is aided by the "sort of grandfathers" he has inherited, Judge Hoadly had as fair a start as is given anyone. The older lawyers of Ohio speak with tender remembrance of "Squire Hoadly," who for years was one of the imposing figures of the bar of Cleveland, and whose purity of character was matched only by his

legal knowledge, and the justice with which, in his magisterial character, he arbitrated the affairs of his fellowmen. He made Cleveland his home in 1830; served one term as Mayor, and for fifteen years as justice of the peace, then an office of greater honor and responsibility than in these days of multiplied minor and municipal courts.

The son, George Hoadly, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on July 31, 1826, of a mother (Mary Anne Woolsey), who counted Jonathan Edwards among her direct ancestors, President Dwight her uncle, President Woolsey her younger brother, Theodore Winthrop, Sarah Woolsey, ("Susan Coolidge,") her nephew and niece. Carried to Ohio when but four years of age, his primary education was received in the private school, conducted by the late Franklin T. Backus, afterwards the leader of the Cleveland bar, and Judge William Strong of Oregon. When fourteen years of age he entered Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, from which he was graduated in 1844. It had already been impressed upon him by natural bent of mind and inclination, and by the advice of those who had studied his character and watched his growth, that the law was his proper profession, and he accordingly spent a year in study at the famous law school at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he was under the instruction of Judge Story and Prof. Greenleaf. One more year of close study was passed in the office of Judge Charles C. Convers, at Zanesville, Ohio, and then young Hoadly went to Cincinnati, and in the fall of 1846 entered the law office of Chase & Ball, where he completed his studies, and was admitted to the bar in August of the following year. An incident of more than passing moment in his personal and professional life grew out of this connection. "Young Hoadly," says one of the governor's biographers, "at once attracted the attention and secured the warm and lasting friendship of his preceptor, Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was well aware of the importance of attaching to himself young men of ability, and, after a period of service as a clerk, Mr. Hoadly was admitted, in 1849, as a junior partner into the firm, which took the name of Chase, Ball & Hoadly. Mr. Chase was soon thereafter elected United States Senator, and withdrew from professional activity in Cincinnati, and this led to Hoadly's appearing in important cases very early in his career."

Strong and able in his profession, and popular with the people, the young lawyer's way to official distinction was soon opened. In 1851, the State Legislature elected him Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, for the residue of the term to which that court had been limited by the constitutional convention. He ably served in this position until 1853, when the court ceased its functions, and he then formed a co-partnership with Edward Mills. He was city solicitor

of Cincinnati in 1855, and 1856, and became a member of the present Superior Court in 1859. Twice was he offered a seat upon the Supreme Bench of Ohio, but each time he declined. In 1856, the proffer came from Governor Chase, and in 1862 from Governor Tod. In 1864 he was re-elected to the bench, but resigned in 1866, at which time the firm of Hoadly, Jackson & Johnson was formed. The late Judge Alphonse Taft was his successor upon the bench. The new combination was soon ranked among the great law firms of the country, and Judge Hoadly was classed as one of the ablest and soundest of American jurists. Of this period of his life, an historian of Ohio has said: "They (the above mentioned law firm), have successfully tried some of the great railroad cases of the day, and are as noted in these cases in Ohio as was Samuel J. Tilden in New York ten years ago in litigation of the same kind. Judge Hoadly has also appeared as counsel in the most important litigations of other kinds tried in Ohio of late years, having among others conducted victoriously the cases involving the use of the Bible in the common schools of Cincinnati, the constitutionality of the Pond and Scott laws, and in the United States Supreme Court overthrown the Federal trade-mark system, and compelled the State of Tennessee to redeem the issues of the Bank of Tennessee."

A position where his peculiar legal powers were called into play, and his knowledge of constitutional law and readiness in debate made him a leader, was his membership in the Ohio constitutional convention of 1873–4, to which he was elected without opposition from Hamilton County. Yet while engaged in the manifold duties of his profession, he found time to engage in other fields of usefulness, serving as professor in the Cincinnati Law School, a chair of which he held for over twenty years; a trustee of the University of Cincinnati, and of the Cincinnati Museum; member of the Committee of the School of Design; and was in other ways the patron of the arts and sciences, and a promoter of their development in his home city. Among other self-imposed tasks, he made himself acquainted with the Spanish and German languages, and became as he calls himself "a poor stenographer."

While Judge Hoadly had thus far allowed his name to be used only in connection with official positions directly in the line of his profession, and while he had little taste and less time for the practical part of politics, he still held pronounced views upon public questions, and carefully watched the drift of events. He was from the first a Democrat—as his father had been before him—a believer in democratic principles as enunciated by the founders of the party who were among the greatest of the founders of our government. And being a Democrat to the logical conclusions of democracy, he took issue with his party upon the question of human slavery. Dur-

ing the war, he acted politically with the Union elements; when peace was restored and the slave freed, he took part in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, and was a member of the Cincinnati convention, and of its Committee on Resolutions, but disapproved of the nomination of Mr. Greeley with whom he had no political principles in common except hatred of slavery and belief in hard money. He withdrew from the convention immediately after the nomination was made, and entered into correspondence with leading Democrats, endeavoring to bring about the nomination of a Democratic candidate whom he stood ready to support. Failing in this, he reluctantly voted for Grant's second election.

In 1876, Judge Hoadly earnestly entered into the movement known to contemporary history as "Tilden and Reform," believing that the interests of the country would be best subserved by the election of Tilden and Hendricks. In the memorable legal contest that ensued, before the electoral commission, the Democratic Committee invited Judge Hoadly to argue the Oregon and Florida cases before that body, which hs did in such manner as to make national a reputation for legal ability that had heretofore been largely confined to his own portion of the West. This probably caused his call to the (temporary) presidency of the Democratic National Convention of 1880.

One of the immediate but unpremeditated fruits of this political activity came in 1883, when Judge Hoadly was named by the Democrats of Ohio as their candidate for governor. He entered upon the canvas with activity, and his speeches at Hamilton and Piqua, were reported and eagerly circulated by the Democratic State Committee as campaign documents. After making some ten speeches,he was unfortunately stricken with malarial fever, which prevented his continuing upon the stump until the last week of the campaign. Although not yet entirely recovered, he was able to appear in Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo and Dayton, addressing immense audiences with marked effect. A campaign that had of necessity lagged because of the absence of its chief, took on a new vigor, the Democratic heart was fired anew, and George Hoadly became Governor of the State by the emphatic majority of 12,529 over Judge Foraker, the Republican nominee. Not only this, but the close counties went Democratic, a legislature was secured, and Henry B. Payne, the life-long friend of Governor Hoadly's father, was sent to represent Ohio in the United States Senate.

It is a matter of settled historical opinion, that the Buckeye State, with all its famous governors, was never possessed of a better chief magistrate than the one whose administration opened under such favoring influences. A knowledge of the needs of the state, gained from long acquaintance, a

wisdom that could be made effective in practical affairs, calm judgment, and an eye that could look higher than the levels of mere partisanship, were among the things that aided him; and "the greatest good to the greatest number" was the principle that inspired all his acts.

A renomination was, of course, a foregone conclusion. In 1885, the Democratic State Convention proclaimed by acclamation that George Hoadly should again become its candidate for governor. He accepted, although knowing that Ohio was then practically a Republican State, and that one man could hardly expect to accomplish the miracle of permanent Democracy. Judge Foraker was once more the Republican choice, and in the fall election was chosen by a vote of 359,281 to 341,830 for Hoadly; the Rev. A. B. Leonard, the Prohibition candidate receiving 28,081, and John W. Northrup, the Greenback candidate 2,001 votes. Although the defeat was decisive, it was sweetened to Governor Hoadly by the fact that in 1885, as in 1883, he ran ahead of his ticket, being defeated by the smallest, and, in 1883 elected by the largest plurality given against or for any of the gentlemen upon the same ticket.

When Governor Hoadly saw his successor duly inaugurated, he cheerfully returned to the active labors of his profession, in Cincinnati, where he remained until March, 1887, when the call to the chief city of the Union came in such shape that it could not be ignored. His practice had extended into such fields that the removal was almost a necessity, and his health demanded a change of climate. He located in New York, and became a partner in the firm of Hoadly, Lauterbach & Johnson—a firm that stands in the front rank, and that has an immense clientage, not only in New York, but all through the country. His chief thought and ambition since then has been in his profession. In the spring of 1890, Governor David B. Hill appointed him a member of the commission to revise the judiciary article of the constitution of New York, but because of professional engagements which detained him in the trial of a case in Detroit, Michigan, during the entire spring and summer months of that year, he was compelled to decline the appointment.

In recent years, Judge Hoadly has been honored by the degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred by Yale College in 1885, by Dartmouth College in 1889, while his own college, once Hudson but now Adelbert, gave him the same title some years ago. He is a Free Mason, a Knight Templar, and has taken the 33rd degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite, and has always performed anything in his power to advance the interests of the order.

Of Judge Hoadly's professional life in New York, much might be said, were this the place to say it. Outside of that, little can be said, for he has had time for little else. As "an Ohio

man" he is always at home to any Buckeye neighbor, or impression, or memory that connect him with the days and scenes of his youth and early manhood. He may be seen occasionally in the gatherings of the Ohio Society, and when there, he is not allowed to remain in his seat unheard. Few men are as approachable in any walk of life; few men more companionable when he can command leisure for companionship. His friendships are strong, his decisions intuitive, his principles those of his honored ancestors, and Jonathan Edwards' severe theology has had little reflection in his generous religious views. A single phrase might sum up his whole life and character: A typical American jurist and gentlemen.

James Harrison Kennedy.

DE SOTO'S CAMPS IN THE CHICKASAW COUNTRY IN 1540–1.

North Americans will probably always take a special interest in the adventures of the army of the Spanish commander De Soto, apart from the general charm of the subject, for it is to the chronicles of the same that they are indebted for the very earliest accounts of the Indian nations, who, in the sixteenth century iuhabited the territory now comprising the southeastern quarter of the United States.

The route pursued by the expedition during the years 1539 to 1543 has long been the subject of much discussion, but no satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at concerning the matter as a whole. Indeed there can scarcely be said to be a single point on the entire line of march which has been established beyond cavil. It is not now my intention to add to the mass of general comment, but merely to treat of a certain point of the route which personal enquiry and exploration in the field have enabled me to make up my mind about in all surety.

This point is the location of the particular village of the Chickasaws in northeastern Mississippi, where De Soto went into camp on December 17, 1540, and of the smaller village to the northward whither he retreated about the first week in the ensuing March, after the fierce night attack of the natives which almost ruined the Spaniards.

Before proceeding to give my own conclusions as to the true position of these villages, it is but proper to furnish an abstract of the descriptions given by the old writers, together with the opinions of the modern historians of Mississippi and of other people now inhabiting the northeastern counties of the State. The various authorities (excepting the popular views) will be quoted in the order in which they have appeared in printed form before the world.

The anonymous "Gentleman of

Elvas" one of the Portuguese volunteers, an eye-witness, comes first. His work, the "True Relation" etc., appeared in 1557. He says that Chicaza was a small town of twenty houses, and that the land was thickly inhabited, and that it was fertile, the greater part being under cultivation. Also that the Spaniards removed from that town where they wintered to the one where the cacique was accustomed to live, half a league off, because it was in the open country, on a prairie favorable for them.

The second authority is Garcilaso de la Vega, "the Inca," who, however, was only a compiler, writing in 1591, from information given by three separate members of the little army. His book, "La Florida del Ynca" etc., first appeared in 1605. It furnishes a more elaborate account of the Chicaza transactions than the preceeding one, and to the following effect. The place had two hundred fires and was situated on a hill extending north and south, which was watered by many little brooks covered with nut, oak, and other similar trees. In order to lodge more commodiously they built themselves houses with wood and straw that they procured from the neighboring villages. Three days after the fight referred to, the General ordered the force to advance a league, search for wood and straw, and build a town to be named Chicacilla.

Factor Biedma's account of the expedition, first published (in French) in 1841, is a very brief one. In the Chicaza affair, Buckingham Smith (1866) renders his words as stating that the army moved to "a cottage about a mile off."

Nor does the abridged journal of Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's private secretary, which was not printed till 1851, afford any information as to the first town. But he relates how the Spaniards, after their defeat, at once went to a savana or prairie a league off, where they erected huts and barracks, and established camp on a declivity and hill.

As may be easily supposed the next Europeans to visit that region, the English and French traders and soldiers of the eighteenth century, had more urgent matters to attend to than the verification of historical statements, for no mention of De Soto or the expedition is made in their scanty writings or reports on this region, and apparently the Chickasaws had forgotten all about his invasion. The American settlers of nearly a century later were still less likely to know about the matter, for the De Soto expedition can scarcely be said to have become known to people in general in the United States till after the publication of Theodore Irving's interesting book in 1835.

Searching next in all accessible modern histories and books, the first attempt at definite localizing that I can find is in the appendix to the Smithsonian Report for 1867. The Rev. Samuel Agnew, writing from Guntown, Mississippi, under date of

January 11, 1868, states that twelve years before, there had been pointed out to him on a long ridge between John's Creek and Friendship Church, in Pontotoc County, the remains of ancient ditches or embankments. These he surmised might probably be the remains of De Soto's winter camp, but he hoped that some intelligent antiquarian would look further into the matter.

The most comprehensive attempt however, to identify these camps, was made by Hon. J.F. H. Claiborne, in his "Mississippi as a Province" etc., published in 1880. In this book he wrote that:—

"There (the old Indian trail) struck Pontotoc ridge, four miles east of the ancient Chickasaw Council House. Near this point stood the first Chickasaw town, and in this vicinity the Spaniards went into winter quarters.

"At that period a portion of the Chickasaws still resided in the mountain region of east Tennessee, but a large body of them had taken possession of the territory where De Soto found them, and their principal settlement or town, or series of villages, was on the ridge from the ancient Council House (near Redland) north fifteen miles (near Pontotoc) and northeast, on the 'mean prairie' eight or ten miles, within a few miles of Tallahatchie River. * * * *

"Four miles east of the ancient Council House, on the Pontotoc ridge, near the source of the Suckartonchee Creek, are the vestiges of a fortified camp, evidently once strongly entrenched, after the European style of that day, with bastions and towers. Leaden balls and fragments of metal have been often found in these ruins. The enclosure was square, and the whole area, as evidenced by the remains, would have afforded shelter to the Spaniards and their live stock. * * The chief of the Chickasaws resided about two miles southeast of the present town of Pontotoc, on the headwaters of Coonawa, now called Pontotoc Creek." * * The exact position of this entrenched camp is still indicated by the vestiges that remain. Some persons contend that De Soto left this stronghold, advanced to Chickasilla, one mile northwest from where Pontotoc now stands, and commenced the attack on the Chickasaw towns. This would be to reverse the detailed accounts of the writers that accompanied him. * * After the destruction of their camp, the Spaniards moved three miles to the village of Chickasilla, where they were annoyed by desultory attacks."

In forming his opinions on the matter, Claiborne acknowledged his indebtedness to W. J. N. Walton of Aberdeen, Mississippi, a gentleman who "in early life was secretary of Levi Colbert, head chief of the Chickasaws, familiar with their language and with all their traditions," and to W. B. Wilkes of the same place, a man whose tastes inclined him to archeological pursuits. It is with diffidence therefore, that I venture to disagree

with these conclusions, in my own statement.

As to the ideas of the farmers and others living in the old Chicksaw Counry, there is no uniformity of opinion as to the site of Soto's camps. There are many local candidates for that honor, and so far as I could find out, there is no good reason to adopt one more than another. The place pointed out to Mr. Agnew is probably the site of Mound Builder's work, of which class of remains there is no lack in northern Mississippi.* The same may be said of the position assigned to Chicaza by Claiborne, though the locality he means is rather to the southeast of Redland and in Chickasaw County.

The Chicaza of Soto's time was on a high ridge or hill located about one mile northwest of Redland, on the S½ of the S¼ of Section 21, and the N½ of the N W½ of Section 28, town 11, range 3E. in Pontotoc county. The hill extends north and south, and on both sides there are many little spring branches flowing out of the base of the hill and uniting with the larger streams at a distance of from one to four or five rods. The main part of the town was located on Section 28. A part of it is under cultivation and has farm buildings upon it, while the remainder of the site is covered by young timber and brush.

*Continous wet weather and the resulting flooded state of the country prevented the writer from visiting the Agnew locality, which he had intended to examine like the others.

Many years ago there was an Indian mission school that is said to have been located where the farm building now stands. In the new ground broken up within recent years, there were beds of charcoal and ashes found at different points, and even in the old portion of the cultivated land charcoal is occasionally brought to the surface by the plough. These are undoubtedly remains of old Chicaza, and the beds of charcoal and ashes mark the sites of the houses burned by the Indians. As regards the location, there is no other place in either Lee or Pontotoc counties—where the oldest Chickasaw settlements were undoubtedly situated —that corresponds to the topographical description given by the Inca.

Chicacilla was probably located on the S E¼ of Section 5, town 11, range 3 E., about 3½ miles north and a very little west of Chicaza. At this point there is debris, etc., indicating that there was once an old Chickasaw village there. The narratives of the expedition, however, do not give sufficient data regarding this site, so that it is impossible to fully identify the place by them, there being nothing beyond the statement already quoted that it was located on a sloping hill, a league distant from Chicaza. This being the only ancient Chickasaw village site properly lying on sloping ground, and at about the right distance from the burned town; it is more than probable that the position given above is the correct one. It is presumable that after the place was abandoned by the

Spaniards, the Indians took possession of it, and ocoupied the houses in lieu of those destroyed by both parties. Besides this, it supplied them with a well fortified (palisaded) town in which to re-establish themselves.

At these two towns of Chicaza and Chicacilla, there are no vestiges of fortifications or entrenchments of any description, in fact there are none to be found in any of the Chickasaw old towns (or "fields") that can be identified. It is probable that the fortified towns described in the De Soto and the early French expeditions were merely wooden walls or palisades, for otherwise there would be traces of them still remaining, so that at least some of them could be recognized as such.

The above conclusions were incidentally arrived at in the couse of some archaeological explorations made in January and February 1891, in the former country of the Chickasaws, and may be considered as a contribution to some future revision of the generally accepted route of De Soto and his little army east of the Mississippi.

T. H. Lewis.

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold.

Isaac Newton Arnold was born at Hartwick, near Cooperstown, Otsego Co., New York, Nov. 30, 1813. His father George Washington Arnold was a physician of honorable standing, and the family in America dates back to the earliest settlement of New England, some of its members being associates of Roger Williams and other sterling men, who established in Rhode Island the first real Republic that ever gladdened the hearts of men with its assertion and protection of liberty and independent, sovereign manhood. The natural surroundings of his youth—the romantic scenery of Otsego County, with its beautiful lakes and extensive forests, so delightfully picturesque—were well calculated to develop a strong and noble manhood. Amidst this beauty of nature and comparative solitude, the man who was to make such a success of life drank in inspiration and learned to love the pure and the beautiful. Early thrown upon his own resources, self-made and self-reliant, he reached a position of greatness, through a career of usefulness, honor and integrity. His early education was obtained in the country schools and the village academy. From seventeen to twenty years of age he employed his time in teaching half the yenr and in attending school the other half, his revenue from teaching enabling him to support himself in his pursuit of an education. Ultimately he began to prepare himself for the profession in which he afterwards achieved such a notable success. Reading law in the offices of Richard Cooper and Judge Morehouse of Cooperstown, Mr. Arnold was admitted to the bar in 1835, and after practicing for a brief time as a partner of Judge Morehouse, he came to Chicago in 1836, and at once began that illustrious professional career which placed him among the foremost jurists not only of Illinois, but of the nation. It is scarcely possible to have a more graphic and faithful picture of a life than was drawn by Hon. E. B. Washburne in his eloquent eulogy of Mr. Arnold before the Chicago Historical Society. He said: "During all the active years of a long and well-spent life, Mr. Arnold has been a citizen of Chicago, contributing by his indefatigable industry, his unimpeachable integrity, his patriotism, his pub-

lic spirit, his rare abilities, his great acquirements, his spotless moral character, his high social qualifications and instincts as a thorough gentleman to give lustre to the city of his residence and to the generation to which he belonged; a successful lawyer that stood in the front ranks of his profession; a cautious, far-seeing and wise legislator, distinguishing himself in the halls of legislation, national as well as state; a successful public speaker and a writer of great power and wide-spread popularity, he has left to the generations that succeed him the legacy of a noble example and a noble name."

Mr. Arnold was enrolled at the bar of the Supreme Court in Illinois Dec. 9, 1841, and in that same year he be- name counsel in a case which established his ability as a lawyer and brought him prominently before the profession. It was a time of great business depression, and a recreant legislature had passed an act of repudiation of public debts and providing that unless the property of a judgment debtor should bring two-thirds of its appraised value, it should not be sold under execution. Mr. Arnold was a determined opponent, of such legislation, and being employed by a New York judgment creditor to enforce his claim against a dedtor, he attacked the constitutionality of the act, carried the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the case came on in January, 1843. Mr. Arnold presented an irrefutable written argument and Chief Justice Taney in one of the ablest and most elaborate opinions ever delivered in the court, sustained the position of the counsel for the appellant. Mr. Arnold was a powerful advocate whether before court or jury. He was exceedingly pains-taking in the preparation of his cases—which is half the battle with the lawyer—and before a jury he had no superior. As one of his associates at the bar has put it: "He was a learned lawyer, a jurist in the same sense of the term, and for more than thirty years stood at the head of the Chicago bar."

In 1842 he was elected to the Lower House of the Illinois General Assembly. There were in that body at this time many men of distinction and marked ability, but none that were superior to the subject of this sketch. In 1844 Mr. Arnold was again elected to the House. At the close of this session of the legislature in 1846, Mr. Arnold retired from public life, and did not re-enter it until 1856. In politics he had been a Democrat, and in 1844 was a presidential elector on the Polk ticket. But becoming indignant at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he became what was known as an anti-Nebraska Democrat and in 1856, at the urgent solicitation of the anti-Nebraska Democrats and Republicans of Cook County, he again consented to become a candidate for the House of Representatives in the State Legislature. This was at the time that Bissel was elected Governor and his right to take the seat was challenged by the

Democrats on the ground that he once a ccepted a challenge to fight a duel. Mr. Arnold championed the Governor's cause, and his speech in his defense not only really settled the question, but gave him a high reputation over the whole State, marking him as one of the ablest public men of the time.

In the historical election at which Abraham Lincoln was first elected President of the United States, Mr. Arnold was elected a representative in the Thirty-seventh Congress from the Chicago district. That Congress met in extra session, July 4, 1861, and has passed into history as one of the most notable and momentous events in the life of the Republic. The Administration at the time was confronted by an open rebellion against the National authority, and it was for this session of Congress to determine just what should be done in the premises. Mr. Arnold had long known Mr. Lincoln, and between the two men there was a warm feeling of regard, and perhaps no man took his seat in this memorable session upon whom the President placed greater reliance than he did upon Mr. Arnold. The respect that was generally entertained for his abilities was evidenced by the fact that he was selected to pronouce the eulogy on the occasion of the death of Stephen A. Douglass. The regular session of the Thirty-seventh Congress met on the second day of December, 1861, at a time when the country was fully plunged into the midst of civil war. Mr. Arnold took his seat in the House, and at once entered actively into all the important proceedings of the body. His labors as a representative were very great and of the highest usefulness. Among his official acts that will live forever as a memento to his manhood and his statesmanship was his vote to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and his introduction of a bill, which against a determined opposition he persistently pushed to enactment, to prohibit slavery in every place subject to the National jurisdiction. One who knew him well, expressed the opinion however, that the ablest and most notable speech which he made in Congress, was the one delivered May 2, 1862, in the support of the bill to confiscate rebel property. This speech, because of its value as an exponent of constitutional law, challenged the attention of the lawyer members. He was ceaseless in administering blows against the institution of slavery. He acted in this regard steadily upon his own declaration: "Whenever we can give slavery a constitutional blow, let us do it." On February 15, 1863, he introduced a resolution, which was passed, declaring that the constitution should be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States; and this was the first step ever taken in Congress in favor of the abolition and prevention of slavery in the country.

In his speech advocating this resolution, he uttered the following vigorous language and eloquent sentiment: "In view of the long catalogue of

wrongs that slavery has inflicted upon the country, I demand to-day in the Congress of the United States the death of slavery. We can have no permanent peace while slavery lives It now reels aud staggers in the last death struggle. Let us strike the monster this last decisive blow. Pass this joint resolution and the Thirty-eighth Congress will live in history as that which consummated the great work of freeing a continent from the curse of human bondage. The great spectacle of this vote which knocks off the fetters of a whole race will make this scene immortal." Further on he said : "I mean to fight this cause of the war —this cause of the expenditure of all the blood and treasure from which my country is now suffering ; this institution which has filled our whole land with sorrow, desolation and anguish— I mean to fight it until neither on the statute-book nor in the constitution shall there be left a single sentence or word which can be construed to sustain the stupendous wrong. Let us now in the name of Liberty, Justice and of God consummate this grand resolution. Let us now make our country the home of the free."

Mr. Arnold's congressional career ended with the Thirty-eighth Congress March 3, 1865. He had served his country so well, had given the Administration such loyal, able and efficient support and won such a splendid fame that it was generally regretted that he would not consent to be returned. After President Lincoln's assassination, he accepted the appointment from President Johnson of Auditor of the Treasury for the Port Office department, as a residence in Washington afforded him a more ready access to documents that were necessary to enable him to complete his work entitled the "History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery in the United States," the preparation of which he had commenced before the assassination. He finally resigned the position however, and returned to Chicago in 1867. He then completed his work referred to, which is one of surprising interest and of exceptional historic value. In 1872, he resumed his bar practice in Chicago and continued actively in his profession for two or three years, when failing health compelled him to abandon it. From that time until his death, he lived a retired life in his pleasant home among his books and papers, where surrounded by his family and congenial friends he dispensed an elegant and gracious hospitality. He now had leisure to devote himself to favorite literary pursuits. He devoted himself to historic themes as he had a love for historical research, and a power of analysis which enabled him to do valuable work in historical and biographical writing. In 1880, he brought out a work entitled " Life of Benedict Arnold —His Patriotism and His Treason." It is generally acknowledged to be a work of ability and fairness. Certainly it showed the independence and courage of the author for it required some-

thing of courage to meet the popular prejudice with which the name of Benedict Arnold is regarded. But the author said that he wished to "make known the patriotic service of Benedict Arnold; the sufferings, heroism and the wrongs which drove him to a desperate action and induced one of the most heroic men of an heroic age to perpetrate an unpardonable crime." The book is really one of great historic value. Mr. Arnold was never quite satisfied with his work on Mr. Lincoln and the overthrow of slavery. About two years before his death, therefore, he began to write the "Life of Abraham Lincoln," and it is upon this work, says one of his ardent admirers, that his reputation as a biographer and historian must rest."

He was the author of a great number of sketches. "To whatever he undertook," says one, "Mr. Arnold brought the qualities of a ripe intelligence, great vigor and a sound judgment." At an age when most men rest, he was pursuing to its ligitimate honors and rewards the career of a man of letters and of a historian. With an intel lectual and finely chiseled face, of an erect and well-formed person, of quiet and gentlemanly manners and courteous carriage and bearing, Mr. Arnold was a man who always attracted attention. He was a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for many years a vestryman of St. James' Church in Chicago. The successes of life and the usual hardening influences of public life had no effect upon his manly Christian character. The better side of his nature was at all times in the ascendancy. His earnest, paramount desire was to be useful in the world, and he freely understood that to gratify that desire man must be alive to the claims of his fellow man upon him. On his seventieth birthday he wrote: "Three score and ten; Death must be at no great distance. I wish to live only so long as I may be to some extent useful, and not when I shall be a burden. May my remaining days be useful and innocent." He was possessed of many noble traits of character, not likely to be known outside of his immediate circle of friends. He was a great lover of children, and devotedly tender in his own home.

Mr. Arnold was twice married. His first marriage was with Catherine E. Dorrance of Pittsfield, Mass., who died October 1839. His second marriage was with Harriet Augusta Dorrance, a sister of his former wife, August 4, 1841. Nine children were born of this marriage. Mr. Arnold died at his residence in Chicago, April 24, 1884, mourned by the great city in which he lived and a multitute of others who appreciate the worth of true manhood. No citizen of Chicago ever had more numerous or more eloquent eulogies pronounced upon his death; the memory of no citizen was ever honored by such a gathering of distinguished people as assembled to pay the last sad tribute to Mr. Arnold's memory.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

SOME ANCIENT METHODS OF PUNISHMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Scarcely anything indicates so accurately the predominant traits and condition of a people at any given period, as do the laws by which they are governed and the mode in which those laws are administered. Hence, in studying the early history of Massachusetts much important aid may be derived from the records of the courts and magistrates of that time. These give us a tolerable correct idea of the laws then in force which were designed to regulate the conduct of men in the various relations of life and show what was the practical administration of those laws. This is quite as true (perhaps more so), of the laws concerning what may be termed minor offences or breaches of social duty, for which men were held legally accountable, as it is of the graver crimes.

Some of the laws relating to this class of minor offences have undergone changes within the last two hundred years, particularly since our separation from the Mother Country.

These changes have been not so much in regard to the nature and description of the offence itself, as in regard to the penalty. They have in Massachusetts at the present time, and have had ever since the American Revolution, laws against drunkeness, vagrancy, petty larceny, libel and slander, profane cursing and swearing, Sabbath breaking, unlawful games or plays,lewdness, common railing and brawling, and idle and disorderly conduct generally. Our Colonial ancestors had laws substantially like those in force so far as relates to the offences themselves.

In fact, the present statutes on these subjects are many of them copies of the provincial statutes. But the penalties are quite different. They now punish breaching of these laws by a small fine or by imprisonment for a short term, or by both. For similar breaches of the statute and common law in the early history of Massachusetts some very different penalties were provided. These were actually enforced in frequent instances, which is hardly true of similar cases at the present day.

The Magistrates and Courts that administered the laws in Massachusetts during the first century and a half after its settlement were full believers in the propriety and efficacy of corporal punishment for a certain class of transgressions. Having based their criminal code largely upon that of Moses, they were well persuaded that, if in no case they exceeded the Hebrew

limit of forty stripes, they would have the Divine sanction. With this illustrious precedent constantly in view as a rule of action, they did not hesitate to apply the rod whenever it seemed to them appropriate and adequate penalty for the offence. Crimes of a graver character were dealt with by tribunals of larger jurisdiction and punished by imprisonment or death. But for a large class of misdemeanors, particularly such as were considered scandalous or tending to disorder and of evil example, the rod was a very frequent instrument of punishment.

It was a matter within the discretion of the Magistrate to some extent. This office was held by William Pynehon, of Springfield, Mass., for the first eleven years, afterwards for half a century by John Pynehon and his associates. In awarding this punishment of whipping little regard seems to have been paid by the court to the sex or social position of the offender. If the infliction of the penalty tended to disgrace the culprit, the commission of the offence was in itself disgraceful. The degrading punishment was regarded the just and proper sequence of the disgraceful crime.

The constable was the officer by whom the sentence was executed, and the public whipping post was the place. The time was sometimes the day on which the court was held. Occasionally, the day of the weekly religious lecture was designated as the time for the infliction.

Sometimes whipping was an alternative sentence to be inflicted if the offender failed to pay his fine. Often it was the only punishment awarded.

Some instances will be given, taken from the records—most of them are from the Pynehon record, containing cases tried by William Pynehon as a Magistrate, and cases tried by his son, John Pynehon, in connection with Eleziar Holyoke and Dr. Samuel Chapin who were commissioners appointed by the General Court.

False Reports, Slanders, etc.

In May, 1645, the General Court enacted a law designed to suppress the invention and circulation of false reports, whether injurious to private individuals or to the public in general.

The preamble was in these words:

"Whereas, Truth in words, as well as actions, is required of all men, especially of Christians who are the professed servants of the God of truth; and

"Whereas, All lying is contrary to truth, and some sort of lies are not only sinful (as all lies are), but also pernicious to the public weal and injurious to particular persons. It is therefore ordered that every person who shall wittingly and willingly make or publish any lie pernicious to the public weal or tending to the damage or injury of any particular person, or with intent to deceive and abuse the people with false news and reports shall be punished.

For the 1st. offence a fine of 10 shillings, &c.

For the 2d offence a fine of 20 shillings or be whipped upon the naked body not exceeding 10 stripes.

For the 3rd offence a fine of 4 shillings or 15 stripes, &c., &c."

The following is a case for slander in imputing to a woman the offence witchcraft.

"May 29 and 30, 1649—The widdow Marshfield, complains against Mary, the wife of Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, for reporting her to be suspected for a witch, and she produced Jo Matthews and his wife for her witnesses who were examined upon oath. Jo Matthews said that Mary Parsons told him how she was taught to try a witch by a widdow woman that now lives in Springfield, and that she had lived in Windsor, and that she had three children, and that one of them was married, and at last she said it was the widdow Marshfield. Jo Matthews answered that he believed no such thing of her—but, thereupon, said he, Mary Parsons replied, you need not speak so much for goody Marshfield, for I am sure (said she), she hath envied every woman's child in ye end (?) till her own daughter had a child, and then said she yt child died and ye cow died, and I am persuaded said she, they were bewitched, and she said moreover, it was reported to her by one in town that she was suspected to be a witch when she lived in Windsor, and that it was publicly knowne that the devill followed her house in Windsor, and for aught I know said she follows her here.

Goody Matthews saith upon oath that when Goody Parsons came to her house she said to her, I wonder what is become of the half pound of wool. Goody Parsons said that she could not tell except the witch had witched it away. I wonder, said I, that you talk so much of a witch—do you think there is any witch in towne? Yes, said she, and she came into my house while the wool was cardinge. Who is it, said I? She said that An Stebbinge had told her in Mr. Smith's chamber that she was suspected to be a witch in Windsor, and that there were divers strange lights seen of late in the Meddow that were never seen before ye widdow Marshfield came to town, and that she did grudge at other women that had children because her daughter had none, and about the time (namely of the grudging) ye child died and ye cow died.

Goody Parsons did stiffly deny the truth of their testimonys, but the said witness had delivered their testimony upon oath, and finding that she had defamed ye good name of the Widdow Marshfield I sentenced her to be well whipped on the morrow after lecture with twenty lashes by the constable unless she could promise the payment of 3L to ye Widdow Marshfield for and towards the reparation of her good name."

MARRIAGE—PLYMOUTH COLONY LAWS. —1638.

"Whereas divers persons unfit for marriage both in regard of their young years and also in regard of their

weake estate, some practising the enveagling of men's daughters and maids under guardines contrary to their parents and guardians likeing, and of maid servants without leave and liking of their masters.

"It is therefore enacted by the Court that if any shall make any motion of marriage to any man's daughter or mayde servant not having first obtayned leave and consent of the parents or master so to doe, shall be punished either by fine or corporal punishment or both, at the discretion of the bench and according to the nature of the offence. It is also enacted that if a motion of marriage be duly made to the master, and through any sinister end or coveteous desire he will not consent thereunto, then the cause to be made known unto the Magistrates and they to set down such order therein as upon examination of the case shall appear to be most equal on both parts."

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE —PROVINCE LAWS.

"May 1647. Whereas God hath committed the care and power into the hands of parents for the disposing of their children in marriage, so that it is against rule to seek to draw away the affection of young maidens under pretence of purpose of marriage, before their parents have given way and allowance in that respect; and whereas it is a common practice in divers places for young men irregularly and disorderly to watch all advantages for their evil purposes to insinuate into the affections of young maidens, by coming to them in places and seasons unknown to their parents for such ends, whereby much evil hath grown amongst us to the dishonor of God and damage of parties; for prevention whereof for time to come:

It is further ordered that whatsoever person from henceforth shall endeavour, directly or indirectly, to draw away the affection of any maid in this jurisdiction, under pretence of marriage, before he hath obtained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors, or in the absence of such, of the nearest magistrate, he shall forfeit for the first offence five pounds, for the second towards the party ten pounds, and be bound to forbear any further attempt and proceedings in that unlawful design without or against the allowance aforesaid; and for the third offence upon information or complaint by such parents or governors to any Magistrate, giving bond to prosecute the party, he shall be committed to prison; and upon hearing and conviction by the next court, shall be adjudged to continue in prison until the court of assistants shall see fit to release him."

In 1641, before this statute was enacted, a case occurred which Mr. Pynehon records, in which he sentenced parties for the misconduct forbidden by this statute. This must have been under his general authority to examine misdemeanors and inflict corporal punishment.

"January 11, 1640, it is ordered that

John Hobell shall be well whipt by the constable for two misdemeanors, first for proceeding to get promises of marriage from Abigall Burt, after that both he and she had been prohibited by her father several times (and also for offering and attempting to doe the act of fornication with her as they both confesse, though as far as we can discerne by any proof of justice the act was not done).

Also Abigall Burt is found guilty in both the said faults, and is also to be well whipt by the constable for the said faults."

Common Railers and Brawlers were punishable by the old provincial laws as they are by our present laws, but in a different way. A curious case is recorded by Mr. Holyoke as having come before the courts at the time John Pynehon, Samuel Chapin and Eliziar Holyoke were the Magistrates.

"March 13, 1655—Obadiah Miller complaynes against Joane, his wife, for abusing him with reproachfull tearmes or names as calling him foole, toad, vermine and threateninge him; as also for yt yesterday shee fell upon him endeavoring to beat him, at which tyme shee scratched his face and hands. The case being examined it was found that Joane, the wife of Obadiah Miller was guilty of very evil behavior towards her said husband; it being proved by the testimony of John Lamb and Tho. Miller.

John Lamb testifyed he heard her say shee would knock him on the head, and yt shee did often call him foole and other reproachful tearmes.

Thomas Miller testifyed yt wn his brother Obediah, his wife lived with him she did comonly call him foole and vermine; and he doth not remember he ever heard her call him husband, and that shee said shee did not love him but hated him; yea shee here said shee did not love him and shee should not love him.

For which, her vile misbehaviour towards her husband, she was adjudged to be taken forth to ye whipping post, there to receive soe many stripes on ye naked body as ye commissioners should see cause to inflict on her; whereuppon shee was brought forth, but by her humileation and earnest protestations for better carriage towards her said husband, the punishment was remitted and this sentence passed yt for the least miscarringe to her husband after this tyme, shee should be brought forth agayne to receive a good whipping on the naked body well laid on."

Husband or Wife Striking.

Colony Laws, Chap. 66.

October 1650. "It is ordered by the Court and authority thereof, that no man shall strike his wife, nor any woman her husband, on penalty of of such fine not exceeding ten pounds for one offence, or such corporall punishment as the County Court shall determine."

The Colony laws regarding the Observance of the Sabbath were quite numerous and strictly enforced by various penalties.

At a court before the Commissioners John Pynehon, Eliziar Holyoke and Samuel Chapin. May 8th, 1654.

"Daniel, a Scotchman servant to Thomas Merick being found to profhane the Sabbath in idle walkinge about, and not cominge to ye ordinances of ye Lord, yea though he had warninge to ye contrary; and being also complayned of by his said master for his grevious idleness in neglecting his busyness for severall dayes, yea synce he was called before authority for the like misbehaviour formerly at wh tyme he promised amendment; but he grew worse and worse and therefore was adjudged to be whipped on ye bare back wth five lashes well laid on, and execution was done accordingly."

Another case in which four young men were charged with violation of the Sabbath was attended with this peculiarity—that two of the culprits were sons of Holyoke, one of the two Magistrates before whom the trial was had.

This trial was in 1664, and was thus recorded in the handwriting of Holyoke.

"Thomas Noble, Constable, presenting Thomas Thomson and John Horton for that last Sabb., was fortnight, June ye 7, they made a fray in ye street in ye evening about 1-2 an hour after sunsett. Samuel & Elizar Holyoke being accessory in ye said fray.

The Commissioners uppon examination of ye case doe fynd that the said foure persons did profane the Lord's day, and therefor doe determine that they all shall be admonished thereof & that Thomas Thomson, John Horton, and Samuel Holyoke shall pay a fyne of five shillings apeece to the County, or be whipped by the Constable on ye naked body with three stripes apeece; whereuppon they were all admonished & the 3 former desiring to pay ye fynes, then otherwise were ordered to pay them to ye County Treasurer."

Samuel Holyoke upon whom this sentence was passed by his own father, was then a boy of seventeen years. Twelve years afterwards in 1676, he was the Capt. Holyoke who so greatly distinguished himself in the celebrated Falls fight with the Indians.

ASSAULTING OF WOMEN.

PROVINCE LAWS CH. 105—1711.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whosoever shall be convicted of assaulting or offering any insolence or violence to any woman or mankind in the fields, streets or lanes in any town, or of despoiling them, damnifying or defacing of their attire or ornaments, or attempting the same, shall be punished by being publickly whipped, not exceeding two stripes, or by being committed to the house of correction to receive the discipline of the house and continue there by the space of thirty days.

The discipline of the house by a law passed in 1699, included among other

things, "moderate whipping not exceeding ten stripes at once, which shall be inflicted at their first coming in and from time to time, in case they be stubborn, disorderly or idle."

(At a Court holden at Northampton, June 19, 1672, John Edwards, of Northampton, who came to that place from Virginia, was tried for some misdemeanor in lascivious carraige towards divers women of Northampton," and the case being searched into. It is found and proved yt the sd Edwards hath been notoriously lascivious and hath carried himself very debauchedly towards diverse women of N (as by test on file appears) and yt he hathe traded? this way:)

"The Courte doth adjudge him to be whipt on ye naked body with 20 stripes well laid on."

A different case with a different penalty is this. At a County Corte holden at Northampton, March 31, 1674.

"Martin Smith, resident at Pacomtuck, being bound over to this Corte by N. Comiss: for offering abuse to Jedidiak Strong's wife (in ye street near her father Woodwards house) laying hold on her to kiss her as shee thinks, and she testifying her offence to be soe affronted whereby shee sayth also shee was somewhat affrighted; he appearing in Corte and owning his fact and condemning himself and seeming sorrowful that he should be left to such folly, was fyned only 20s. to be pd to ye Treasurer and 2s. and 6d. as ye Recorder's fees."

Sitting in the Stocks was a mode of punishment for certain offences to which persons of either sex were sometimes subjected. Occasionally it was ordered as an alternative sentence in a case where the culprit failed to pay the fine imposed.

Webster's Unabridged describes the stocks as a machine consisting of a frame of timber, with holes in which the feet, or the feet and hands of the criminals were confined by way of punishment. The picture gives a much better idea of this punishment than can be gained from the definition. The offender sits on a bench with a high back, his feet projecting through two holes in an upright plank in front secured so that they cannot be withdrawn or moved. In this situation he can neither lie down or stand up, but must remain fixed until released. The stocks were usually located in some public place where the culprit could be seen by all passers by—and not seldom he was subjected to the taunts and ridicule of the crowd that were sure to gather on such an occasion.

Profane Cursing and Swearing was one of the offences subjecting the transgressor to the punishment of the stocks.

Colony Laws, Chap. 94.

An Act Against Swearing and Cursing.

Sec. 1. It is ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that if any person within this jurisdiction shall swear rashly or vainly by the holy name of God, or other oath, he shall forfeit to

the common treasury for every such offence ten shillings; and it shall be in the power of any Magistrate by warrant to the constable, to call such person before him, and upon sufficient proof to sentence such offender, and to give order to levy the fine; and if such person be not able or shall refuse to pay the said fine, he shall be committed to the stocks, there to continue not exceeding three hours nor less than one hour.

Sec. 2. And if any person shall swear more oaths than one at a time before he remove out of the room or company where he so swears, he shall then pay 20 shillings. The like penalty shall be inflicted for profane and wicked cursing of any person or creature, and for the multiplying the same as is appointed for profane swearing, and in case any person so offending by multiplying oaths or cursing, shall not pay his or their fines forthwith, they shall be whipt or committed to prison till they shall pay the same at the discretion of the Court or Magistrate that shall have cognyance thereof."

The wife of Henry Gregory, one of the early settlers here, transgressed this law, and her case came before Mr. William Pynehon as a Magistrate. His record of it is as follows under date of February 15, 1640:

"Goody Gregory being accused by oath of John Woodcoke & Richard Williams for swearing before God I could break thy head: She did acknowledge it was her great sin & fault & saith she hath bin much humbled for it.

She is fined 12d (12 pence) to the poore to be paid to Henry Smyth within a month; or if she doe not she is to sit 3 hours in the stocks."

Common Scold.

By the English common law in force here in the early times a common scold was liable to a peculiar form of punishment. Blackstone (4 Black. Com. 168) says:

"A common scold—communis rixatrix—(for our law confines it to the femenine gender) is a public nuisance to her neighborhood for which offence she may be indicted, and if convicted shall be sentenced to be placed in a certain engine of correction called the trebucket, castigatory or cucking stool, which in the Saxon language is said to signify the scolding stool, though now it is frequently corrupted into ducking stool, because the residue of the judgment is that when she is placed therein she shall be plunged in the water for her punishment."

Common Scold.

Oct. 24, 1673—"John Petty complaines agt Goodwife Hunter for offering to mischiefe his wife & giving her ill language, calling her as ye testimonys speake:

Railing, scolding & other exorbitancys of ye Young appearing as by ye Testimonys of Mary Brookes & Mercy Johns on file & also ye neighbors, declaring her continual trade upon every occasion to be exorbitant in her Toung

as particularly Sam Marshfull & John Bagg so declared. I sentenced her to be gaged or else set on a ducking stool & dipped in water as law provides. Shee to choose wh of ym shee pleases within this half houre ; or else I do determine & order either as I see cause. Shee not choosing either, I order her to be gagged & so to stand half an hour in ye open street wh was done accordingly ; & for her reproaching Goodie Petty shee did openly cleare her of all shee spake agt her & asked forgiveness wch G. Petty accepting of shee was released as to yt."

The Puritan Fathers are often blamed on account of their witchcraft persecutions. Long after Massachusetts had confessed her wrong-doing, England and Germany put people to death for witchcraft. Twenty-five years after persecution had ceased in New England, Chief Justice Matthew Hale, of England, sent a mother and her little daughter to the scaffold for the same offence ; and one hundred and one years afterwards Germany did likewise. The age in which these men lived is responsible for these things, and not the men themselves. They were founders of schools, and were not intolerant. I do not believe in the cry of the "good old times" simply. There are more good men and women now than ever before. I think it almost unfortunate to explain away witchcraft and some other peculiar things of those times, as then some people would have nothing to talk about and sneer at and criticise the Pilgrim Fathers. Some persons like to continue this. Dr. Blake of Boston, says that a good Baptist brother had often met him and chaffingly asked, "How is Roger Williams to-day?" when Mr. Blake, tiring of the question, answered, "Oh, he is warm and dry by this time." The Pilgrims had especially three noble qualities : Earnestness, definiteness of belief and stalwartness of spiritual life.

GENERAL WILLIAM EMERSON STRONG.

With the death of General William E. Strong of Chicago, in April of the present year, there passed away another of the distinguished volunteer soldiers of the United States who won distinction during the War of the Rebellion, and at the close of that great conflict returned to civil life to become the flower of American manhood, and a perfect representative of American citizenship. Brave, loyal and patriotic, when the call came for his services in support of the Union he was prompt to respond, and was a faithful and gallant soldier until the struggle was ended and victory achieved. When that time came it found him equally ready to return to peaceful pursuits in which in later years his high character and ability made him both successful and distinguished.

William Emerson Strong was born in Granville, in Washington County. New York, August 10, 1840. The family to which he belonged was one of the oldest and most noted of the Puritan families of New England. Elder John Strong, the founder of the family in America, was a native of Taunton, England—where his ancestors had been honorably mentioned in public records as long ago as 1545. He sailed from Plymouth in the ship "Mary and John," March 20th, 1630, in company with one hundred and forty other persons. They landed at Nantasket, (twelve miles s. e. of Boston) at the end of a voyage of more than seventy days, and John Strong settled at Northampton, Massachusetts. Here several generations of his descendants lived, and from thence representatives of the family drifted into other States, to become conspicuous in all the walks of life.

One of these descendants, but three or four generations removed from the pilgrim John Strong was Caleb Strong, one of the framers of the Federal Constitution, Governor of Massachusetts from 1800 to 1807, and again from 1812 to 1816, and also one of the first United States Senators from the "Old Bay State."

Other representatives of the family who have achieved extraordinary distinction have been Gen. George C. Strong, who was mortally wounded while leading the Federal troops in the assault on Fort Wagner, July 18th, 1863, Rear Admiral James Hooker Strong of the United States Navy, Theron R. Strong, at one time a Judge

of the Supreme Court of New York State, William Strong one of the most noted of American jurists, and Simeon Strong, who sat on the Supreme Court Bench of Massachusetts from 1800 to 1805.

General William E. Strong was descended on the farthers side from the Emerson family of New England, one of his near kinsmen being Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet-philosopher, whose name is revered by all those who appreciate the purest and best in intellectual culture.

Gen. Strong's father, John Emerson Strong, was a wealthy manufacturer and merchant of Granville, New York, up to 1849, when he met with business reverses which changed the character of his business and led him to seek a new location. In the spring of 1853 he removed from New York to Wisconsin, and settled with his family at Jefferson Prairie, in Rock County, where he purchased a farm and turned his attention to bringing it under cultivation. His son William was at this time thirteen years of age. Prior to the removal of the family from New York he had enjoyed all the educational advantages afforded by the excellent schools of the town in which he had lived and had made good progress in his studies. From the time he was thirteen until he was seventeen years of age however, he was busily employed at work on his father's farm and only attended school during the winter months of each year with the exception of one year, when he had the privilege of spending six months in the preparatory department of Beloit College.

In the fall of 1856 when he was in his seventeenth year, he entered the law office of Strong & Fuller, at Racine, Wisconsin, and under their preceptorship began the study of law. He was at that time an active, manly young fellow, and he entered upon the work of fitting himself for a professional career with all the ardor, enthusiasm and determination which characterized him in later years. Whatever he undertook to do, he endeavored to do better than it had been done before. In everything he strove to excel, and in this he observed the spirit of the old motto "Tentanda est Via," placed upon the Strong escutcheon three hundred years ago.

After a time he temporarily dropped his law studies and went to Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, where he prepared for college and was admitted to the sophomore class of Harvard. Before completing his college course however, he determined to enter upon the practice of law, and in accordance with the course he had mapped out for himself, he made application for admission to the bar of Wisconsin. He was examined at Racine, in open court, by a committee appointed for the purpose in accordance with the usages of that period, and the examination being passed successfully he was duly authorized to begin practicing his profession in the courts of the First Judical Circuit of

Wisconsin. This was in 1861, and it will be observed that notwithstanding the fact that he had had to contend with disadvantages of various kinds, before he was twenty-one years of age he had fitted himself to enter the profession in which so large a number of those bearing the same name and belonging to the same stock had achieved unusual distinction.

The day he received the certificate which entitled him to begin the practice of law, was that which brought the news of the fall of Fort Sumpter. This suddenly changed all his plans, and ultimately the whole conrse of his life. At once he resolved to tender his services to the government, and on the same day that President Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers, he was regularly enlisted in the government service. He proceeded to raise a company, known as the Belle City Rifles, which was assigned to the Second Regiment of Wisconsin Infantry. When the company was organized, William E. Strong was commissioned Captain and went into the field in command of it, the regiment becoming part of a brigade commanded by Colonel (afterward General) W. T. Sherman. He retained the command of the company between four and five months, participating in in the battle of Blackburn's Fort and Bull Run. He was also in command of his company when the next advance of the army into Virginia was made by way of Chain Ridge. It was during his first campaign that Captain Strong met with one of his most thrilling experiences, and demonstrated that his fighting qualities were such as could be depended upon under all circumstances. At one time while extending his picket line, he ventured too far out and found himself inside the lines of the enemy. Before he could retire from this embarrassing and dangerous position he was surrounded by a band of five confederates, three of whom were mounted and two of whom were on foot, and was taken prisoner. The confederates demanded his pistols, and with great courtesy and suavity he responded "certainly gentlemen," at the same time drawing the weapons from their holsters. His "suaviter in modo" threw his enemies off their guard, but he had no intention of being captured without a struggle, and no sooner were the pistols in his hands than they were brought to bear on the confederates and two of them fell at his first fire. The suddeness and vigor of the attack caused the remaining captors to beat a retreat, and Captain Strong reached the Federal lines in safety. In this encounter he was shot through the cheek, but although the wound was painful he did not regard it as serious and did not allow it to interfere with his regular discharge of his military duties.

On the 12th of September he was commissioned Major of the 12th. Regiment of Wisconsin Infantry, serving with it in Kansas, Missouri, and New Mexico. In October of 1862, he was assigned to duty on the staff of Gen-

eral McLean, as Inspector General of the first division, right wing of the Army of the Tennessee. He served in this capacity two months and was then assigned to duty on the staff of General James B. McPherson, as inspector General of the right wing of the Army of the Tennessee. In February, 1863, he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and became Assistant Inspector General of the Seventeenth Army corps. On the 20th of April, 1864, he was appointed Inspector General of the Department and Army of the Tennessee, serving in that capacity until the close of the war. He was chief of staff to General O. O. Howard, on the march to the sea and through the Carolinas to Beaufort, Goldboro, Raleigh and thence to Washington. At Atlanta he was promoted to a Colonelcy, dating from July 22d, 1864, for "gallantry on the field of battle," and on the 21st of March, 1865, he was brevetted a brigadier general of volunteers, having attained this distinction while still under 24 years of age.

After participating in the grand review of troops at Washington in May, 1865, General Strong was assigned with General Howard, to duty in connection with the conduct and management of the Freedman's Bureau, and in September, 1866, was then mustered out of the service at his own request, having served in all over five years.

Throughout his entire term of service he was recognized as a brave and capable officer, and his gallantry was attested on numerous occasions. It was he who raised the stars and stripes over the Courthouse at Vicksburg immediately after the capitulation of the confederate forces.

He received the last order from the brilliant and lamented McPherson, while acting as his chief of staff, and led the desperate and daring charge which was made to recover the dead chieftain's body. The following is a list of battles and campaigns in which he participated ; The battles of Blackburn's Ford and Bull Run in July, 1861. The campaign in Kansas, and also the campaign in Kentucky, Tennessee and Central Mississippi in 1862–63 ; the campaign against Vicksburg by way of the Mississippi River ; and also in the battles of Port Gibson, May 1st ; battle of Raymond, May 12th ; battle of Jackson, May 14th ; battle of Champign Hills, May 16th ; battle of Black River Bridge, May 17th; Seige of Vicksburgh, May 17th to July 4th, 1863 ; the campaign against Meridian, Mississippi, and that against Atlanta in 1864, in which he participated in the battle of Resaca, Dallas, New Hope Church, Kennesaw Mountain, Atlanta, Ezra Chapel, Jonesboro, Lovejoy Station, and later Fort McAllister, and Bentonville, one of the final contests of the war, and was present at the final surrender of Johnston's army on April 26th of that year. Esteemed by his superior officers and subordinates alike for his soldierly

qualities, he was equally noted for his uniform courtesy and his efficiency as an executive officer.

In 1867, soon after he left the military service, General Strong formed a business connection with the Peshtigo Company, one of the largest corporate organizations engaged in the lumber trade in the United States. The same year he was married to Miss Mary Bostwick Ogden, an accomplished young woman, daughter of Mahlon D. Ogden, one of the pioneer citizens of Chicago. Establishing his home in Chicago at that time it continued to be his place of residence to the date of his death, and with many of its most important enterprises and undertakings of late years he was most prominently identified. Chosen secretary and treasurer of the Peshtigo Company in 1867, he retained that position until 1873, when he became president of the corporation. This position he filled for eighteen years, and was holding at the time of his death, April 10th, 1891. He was one of the promoters and builders of the Sturgeon Bay Ship Canal, became a director and was also treasurer and assistant secretary of the Sturgeon Bay & Lake Michigan Canal Company, and was largely instrumental in developing the resources of the lumber regions of the northwest. In his business life he showed great capacity for the conduct of affairs of more than ordinary magnitude. His management of the important interests committed to his care was uniformally successful.

He never lost his interest in military affairs, and after he became a citizen of Illinois was among those most active in promoting the organization and providing for the proper discipline and equipment of the National Guard of the State. In 1876, he was commissioned by Gov. Beveridge, Inspector General of the Illinois' National Guard. Gov. Cullum, the immediate successor of Gov. Bevridge, commissioned him Inspector General and Inspector of Rifle practice on his staff, with the rank of Brigadier General in 1877, and again in 1879. In addition to his interest in the National Guard, he was active in building up and promoting the growth of the veteran organizations particularly of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of the Illinois commandery of which he was a charter member and also commander.

In politics he took a moderately active interest as a member of the Republican party to the principles of which he was devotedly attached. He was a member of the Local Committee of Arrangements which had charge of the preparations for the meeting of the National Republican convention of 1880, was designated to take charge of the convention building, and to act as sergeant-at-arms after the sessions began. This convention was memorable for the length of time it lasted, for the large number of distinguished men who participated in the proceedings, and the multitude of people from all parts of the country in attendance. The great crowds were handled by

General Strong with remarkable skill, and at the close of the convention he was publicly thanked for his servives by General James A. Garfield, who had been made the Presidential nominee.

From early boyhood General Strong was a lover of field sports, and was passionatety found of hunting wild fowl and large game, and visited at one time and another, almost every portion of the United States, having attractions of this kind to offer. In company with General Phil. Sheridan —for many years, one of his most intimate friends—he made several visits to the Yellowstone Park region, and wrote numerous interesting sketches of these experiences, adventures and explorations. While the busy life he led did not allow him to give as much attention as he would have liked to literature, he gathered together a valuable library, one of the most conspicious features of which was the amount of war literature which it contained, inclusive of rare manuscripts, autograph letters, papers, documents, and photopraphs, which it is said can scarcely be duplicated in the United States. He was a member of the Literary Club of Chicago and also of the Commercial Club. His last public service was rendered to the city in the capacity of a director of the Worlds Fair, an enterprise with the inception and inauguration of which he had much to do.

General Strong was in the prime of a splendid manhood when failing health admonished him that he must seek rest and a change of climate. Accordingly on the 14th of March last, he sailed from New York to join his wife and daughters in Europe. Traveling by easy stages he reached Florence, Italy, where the end came suddenly, and at least to his thousands of friends in the United States, unexpectedly on the 10th of April. His remains were brought back to the land of his nativity and to his former home in Chicago. From thence they were carried by the comrades of former days and the devoted friends of his later years to his last resting place in Graceland cemetery, where he sleeps peacefully, wrapped in the national colors which he so bravely defended in his young manhood.

At the obsequies of General Strong the fact was made apparent that a man had passed away whom a great busy community, felt called upon to honor, and the tenderest tributes of love, respect, and admiration were laid on his grave. Said one who paid tribute to his character and worth as a man and patriot: "It is befitting to preserve in memory and hand down to the generations something about a man who has helped to make citizens heroic soldiers, and to render possible the triumph of liberty and manhood. While his was a beneficent existence of many manly years, it seems to the view of man that he died before his time. It is but just to say of him that his conduct as a soldier, sprang from a truly patriotic, martyr spirit which enabled him to dare unflinchingly,

with a smile to the green earth, and a smile to the bright heavens, and a cheer to his companions."

Of striking appearance, pleasing manners and great personal magnetism, he drew around him a circle of friends which was composed of many of the men best known in public and official life, in the world of trade and commerce, and in the various professions. These men were drawn to him by his geniality, his candor, his culture, his broad liberality and his unswervering fidelity to his friends. He was of that chivalrous nature which was regarded as the distinguishing characteristic of the Preux Chevalier in the days of knight errantry and with it all, was the practical, level-headed man of affairs.

A brave soldier, a good citizen, a courteous gentleman, General Strong was a splendid type of American manhood.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

MISTAKES IN HISTORY—THE PILGRIMS NOT PURITANS BUT SEPARATISTS.

AMONG the wrong impressions and mistaken ideas which have been conveyed by writers and speakers during the last two hundred and fifty years, and even down to the present day, there are, perhaps, none more prominent and important than those relating to, and connected with, that most interesting body of people and most important event in our history—the Pilgrims and their coming to America. In no instance that is now called to mind, of the settling of a country or planting of a colony, have the motives and purposes of the colonists been so misrepresented and falsified, and so much fiction made to hang about their acts, as in the case of the Pilgrims. It is proposed in the present article to deal with two main ideas—who were the Pilgrims, and what were their objects or motives in coming to this country.

With regard to the first idea there seems to be great and unpardonable ignorance and confusion, for they were not Puritans nor Persecutors, as the latter became both in England and early in America, but were Separatists. Much has been done by Mr. Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, towards setting this matter right and putting it in proper shape before the public, and, he in turn, obtained much information through the studies and investigations of Dr. Waddington. The latter says: "The ignorance still existing on this subject is almost incredible. We find men of education who seem to have no exact information respecting the Pilgrim Fathers. Quarterly reviewers, mem-

bers of Parliment, Christian divines and ecclesiastical historians speak of them with the same complacent disregard of facts." The church presumed to dictate as to what kind of christians the Puritans should be, and the form and manner of worship they should adopt and be governed by. To these requirements there was a partial submission.

The Pilgrims separated from them because of this church imposition, and so became "Separatists." Parliament declared, in Mary's reign, the Pope to be the spiritual head of the church in England. When Elizabeth ascended to the throne 1558, she was confronted with this state of affairs respecting these matters, and issued a proclamation forbiding any change in the forms of religion, until they should be determined according to law. Thus it happened that there was no freedom to worship according to conscience for either Roman Catholics or Protestants. Elizabeth was opposed to Popery, but she was just as vindicative toward Protestants who did not shape their religious course and belief in accordance with her standard and the law of the State.

Ths Act of Supremacy, which she caused to be passed soon after she came into power, was not long after followed by the Act of Uniformity, which required everybody to worship, not only as the State directed, but also in the parish churches. Two years later came the crowning act in the adoption of the Articles of Religion ; and the Church of England was established by the highest authority of the realm, and then commenced separations and persecutions. There were a few people, a small band, who found some errors yet left in the wake of the Reformation against which they protested. They also objected to any human power assuming that headship which they claimed belonged alone to Christ, and also asked the privilege of worshiping according to the simplicity of form and practice of the primitive Christians. Minor questions, such as baptism and the like, which have since given rise to divisions and sects, were not considered, and this little band of people, together with the Roman Catholics, were the only persons throughout England who objected to the church as the law had established it. Accordingly they formed themselves into distinct bodies, or associations, or churches, chose their own teachers and determined their own affairs. They claimed that the church was a spiritual association and should, therefore, be separated from the world, and was amenable only to the laws of Christ as given in the New Testament. Hence the name "Separatists." They were simple in their manners and conduct and morals, and all these things rendered them unpopular and drew upon them the ill-will and enmity of the church, which found plenty of reason and many excuses and opportunities for persecuting them. There arose at this period another party, some of whom were

English reformers, who had been driven from the country and had returned on the ascension of Elizabeth, but were disappointed to find that religious matters and laws had been settled and established.

Many of them however, accepted the change, including Royal Supremacy, Uniformity of Worship and Articles of Religion. They were nevertheless much dissatisfied, but hoped to effect still further changes and reformations. But in this they failed. This as will be seen, was a party within a party, a church within a church, or a party within the "estab lishment," and they were the "Puritans." In other words, the Protestants may be said to have been divided into three classes. The High Ritualists, Puritans and Separatists. High Ritualists claimed divine authority for the form of government, and the ceremonial of the Church of England. The king they claimed, was the head f the church, as well as supreme in ..ll civil matters and had power and authority over persons and property. The Puritans, on the contrary, believed none of these doctrines, although they were as devoted to the Church of England as was the other party, the High Ritualists, and the reforms they desired, they sought to make from within the church. Separation they regarded as the rankest kind of an offense, a terrible sin. To draw a comparison, or to make an illustration —the Puritans were Episcopalians— the low-church wing of that period. In another sense there was a difference or distinction between Puritans and Pilgrims: The Puritans had among their number, as influential persons, many of the nobility, men of business, capitalists and educated, fashionable and accomplished people. Indeed, during the entire reign of James I, they formed a majority in the House of Commons, and no person not a communicant of the Church of England could then sit in that body.

From this body of Puritan Episcopalians sprang that company who landed at Salem and settled at Boston in 1630, not the Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620. The latter, the "Separatists," renounced the Church of England, and separated from it. They were likewise socially from the humbler walks of life. Some of their number, it is true, were persons of education, culture and refinement, but as has been said, the great bulk were from among the common people, without means, power or influence. Indeed, they sustained about the same relation to other classes and denominations that the Methodists, in their beginning, did to other religious denominations. In short, they were persecuted by the Church of England by the Puritans and by the Roman Catholics.

The Separatists, one and all, suffered every indignity, privation and want, while many, among them Barrow, Greenwood, Dennis and Penry, were hung. Others still were thrown into prison, and died from neglect, hunger and cold. Others were permitted to

leave the country, but were informed that if they returned, their lives would be the forfeit. Later on, this was even denied them, and their departure from the country was forbidden. For these reasons, the Separatist congregations fled secretly to Holland, and even in Holland the Dutch shunned them, for they were afraid of offending King James, whose good will and help they wanted. These "Separatists," or Pilgrims, therefore gradually disappeared from English soil, and from the English mind, and in 1607, there remained in the kingdom only one organized congregation of this kind, which was within the limits of the little town of Scrooby. Here their pastors were Richard Clifton and John Robinson, the latter a somewhat rash and inconsiderate young man, but they depended chiefly for material aid and favors, as well as sympathy and encouragement, on William Brewster, afterwards their "venerated elder." He was postmaster, and his duties included the charge of public travel, which necessitated a house of large dimensions, and in this building he permitted the "Separatists" to worship weekly, lodging and entertaining them. About this time there appeared another person, a mere lad, who became interested in, and identified himself with, the Pilgrims, and who subsequently occupied a useful and prominent position in their history.

This was William Bradford, who came from a very respectable family in a neighboring village. They were not long, however, to remain here in peace and unmolested quiet. Their retreat was sought out and persecutions anew visited upon them, and there remained only two alternatives, the one to yield a hypocritical conformity and submission, or to become exiles from their native land, from "the graves in which their fathers slept." They accordingly gathered themselves together, and under the leadership of the youthful and brave Bradford, fled to Amsterdam—Brewster, Robinson and Clifton remaining behind, like the marshal of Napoleon's grand army, to guard the rear, when, having seen all safely on their journey and beyond the reach of the "King's hirelings," they followed on and soon joined those who had gone before. They were disappointed however, and failed to find peace and quiet and rest, for at Amsterdam there were two societies or congregations of English worshipers who had fled their country, but they were in continual dissensions with each other, and rendered the situation of the little band of "Separatists," uncomfortable and unpleasant. There remained therefore, nothing for the latter to do but to "move on," which they did, forty miles distant to the "goodly and pleasant city" of Leyden. Here at last they found peace and quiet and freedom of worship, but were not without perplexities and disadvantages.

There had to depend upon manual labor for subsistence, which employment they sought from the Dutch, of

whose language they understood not a word. In their own land they had been chiefly agriculturists, but many of them now became manufacturers and mechanics of various kinds. Thus were they, by the force of circumstances, fortunate in learning trades which were useful to the community in after years in their home beyond the sea. Bradford engaged in the silk dyeing business and Brewster set up a printing office. It could not be expected that this condition of affairs, even, although a great improvement, would long satisfy the spiritual and intellectual longings and demands of such men as the Pilgrims. Their life, on the whole, was far from satisfactory. True their numbers had more than doubled, grown from one to over two hundred, yet their lot here seemed to have been cast in a hard place. Their children were losing English habits, character and language. Sunday, as was generally the case in European countries, was a day of recreation and was given up to merry-making and the playing of games. Influences, associations and examples were unfortunate, and all these things caused serious apprehensions in the minds of the Pilgrims. The old adage, too, that "a rolling stone gathers no moss," was strikingly illustrated in their case. Years and life were passing rapidly away.

They had, many of them, become physically weakened from the hardships they had endured and were nearing old age, Brewster being sixty at the time of the landing, and they had the very natural feeling and desire to "lay up something for a rainy day." After much thoughtful and prayerful consideration, in view of all these facts and circumstances, they decided to emigrate to America.

At this period in their lives, from their wanderings, misfortunes and persecutions, nearly every member of the Separatist-Pilgrim Company had become reduced to the direst straits. Indeed, this had been the common lot and experience of a large majority of them from their youth up, and when it was determined to seek homes in the new world, they were without means to secure their passage.

To obtain this, they made the best terms and conditions that they could with the London merchants.

The conditions were hard, but they were in the power of the merchants and there was no alternative. Concerning this Mr. Cushman who, acted as agent in the matter, says: "Although they (the proposals) were very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage, and hard enough for the poor people that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates," they had to be accepted. Had they not done so, Mr. Cushman adds, "the whole design would have fallen to the ground."

At the end of the seven years all the original and acquired assets of the colony, were to be equally divided between the merchants and the Pilgrims. So practically, it cost the Pil-

grims seven years of severe labor to get from England to America. Nor was this all. There had been disaffection among the merchants and some had withdrawn from the co-partnership, leaving an accumulation of indebtedness. Those remaining friendly to the Prilgrims, wrote the latter: "As there has been a faction among us more than two years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. The company's debts are no less than 1400 pounds, and we hope you will do your best to free them. We are still persuaded that you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places where all others fail. We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoes, leather etc., for Allerton and Winslow to sell as our factors."

And these goods the Pilgrims were to purchase at an advance of seventy per cent. Thus matters went from bad to worse, until the Pilgrims, seeing no way of "making out" of the difficulty became convinced that the best thing they could do was to break up the co-partnership and wind up its affairs. With this in view, they sent Miles Standish to London to "oblige them to come to a composition." He took up 150 pounds of the indebtedness at the rate of fifty per cent.

Matters were in bad shape in England for the colonists, and among disheartening things, Standish found that both Robinson and Cushman had died. Finally, late in 1626, Mr. Allerton went over and through influence brought to bear on the merchants, the latter agreed to sell out to the colonists for 1,800 pounds, in payments of 200 pounds a year, beginning with the year 1628. Here were nine years more of hard labor before they could hope to be clear of the indebtedness incurred for their passage money with living expenses added. An arrangement was at last affected by some of the leading men of the colony with a few staunch friends in London to take the trade of the colony for six years, pay off the debts and send the remainder of the Leyden church over. The six years would end in 1632, a period of twelve years from the time of landing. It was also the length of time spent by the Separatists in Holland after they left England. What a history! Almost a generation in time, and crowded full of trials, hardships, discouragements, sickness and death.

The Pilgrims doubtless were a kind, tender hearted and sympathetic people naturally, and their surroundings and experiences in life would tend to render more marked these characteristics. They as clearly were a christian people and deeply religious, and it could hardly be expected that the Reformation of the sixteenth century, setting men's minds and thoughts religiously free, would result in aught else than great diversity of opinion, and that beliefs and doctrines would be sharply outlined and stoutly maintained; Luther died but a few years before Brewster was born, and Mel-

anchthon, his coadjutor and ally, lived for several years after. Bradford and Robinson were born before religious feeling and ardor had become cooled. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise, when we find Robinson taking a hand in the discussions of the day. This suited his nature; he seemed to be in his "element," for he was yet young, only 32, when the "Separatists," went from Scrooby into Holand.

Lest it be thought that the opinion we have expressed concerning Robinson was incorrect and unjust, the language is here given of an eminent, English writer and speaker: "It was with the Calvanists than Robinson took part, entering into the subject with all the learning of which he was master and all the ardor of a man of his temperament, and still not 40 years old. It is to be regretted that, like all the other polemics of his day, his zeal betrayed him into intemperate warmth, and the adoption of harsh, acrimonious and uncharitable expressions. It must be remembered that the most vehement, violent and vituperative language used by the most ultra bigot of our times is as mild as milk, compared with the controversial tone of the theological disputants of the seventeenth century." Bradford also says of Robinson that "he was a man of quick and sharp wit, an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready;" and Winslow adds: "'Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid his course and way at first than towards his latter end," when the "firery vehemence of youth" had given place to the cooler judgment and conservatism of riper years. But Robinson did not come to America with the Pilgrims, nor at all, for he died at the age of 49, in 1625.

He had expected to come, but a majority of the flock at Leyden decided to remain at that place instead of emigrating, and he concluded to remain also.

Leaving Robinson out, who had been obliged in early manhood, to resort to daily labor for a living, it is very doubtful if the desire for freedom in religious worship was the main motive, for their emigrating.

Bradford was thirteen years younger than Robinson, and but a mere boy when the church at Scrooby was formed, and only nineteen at the removal to Leyden. He was a noble youth (and a nobler man) and was easily influenced and led by Brewster and Robinson. The whole company went to Leyden expecting propably to spend their lives there, and engaged in various business callings and occupations. On coming of age, Bradford inherited some money. This he sank in unfortunate business operations. Brewster had been postmaster at Scrooby from 1594 to 1607, when he resigned, presumably because his sympathy with the "Separatists" was obnoxious to the government, which, in all probability, would have removed him had not he himself deprived it of that pleasure, by vacating

office, following which action he immediately went to Holland.

It will be borne in mind that the Pilgrims, as a congregation or church, were not the first Separatist body or organization, for one John Smith had organized a company of these people as early as 1602, at Gainsborough, numbering some three or four hundred, and in 1604 went with them to Amsterdam. This was undoubtly one reason for the Pilgrims going to that place under Brewster and Bradford, instead of going to any other place. It is believed that Robinson had little or no connection with our Pilgrims until after Brewster left the post-office, and they were about to leave Scrooby. On the way to Amsterdam, and later, on the way to and at Leyden, accessions were made to the company, so that before the final emigration their numbers had reached between two and three hundred. These latter additions were from the common or laboring class, who, in all probability, joined in the wake of the movement, thinking to better their worldly condition.

On this point another English writer has said: "The vicinity of Scrooby was an agricultural district, having a few villages scattered about, each with its church and perhaps an esquire's seat, but the population was for the most part employed in husbandry, an occupation little congenial to the growth of extreme opinions in either religion or politics or of voluntary sacrifices to a severe estimate of duty, or a supposed call of conscience." The same writer, speaking of those who were even prominently identified with the movement, says: Neither Bradford nor Brewster, nor the divines who were concerned in the movement, were of the eminent of the earth, about whom there is curiosity widely extended through the country which gave them birth, and concerning whom nothing is thought unimportant. It may even be said that they were but inconsiderable persons at home, and their consequence has undoubtedty arisen out of the grand results which, unforeseen by themselves, have ensued on there great resolve. So that there is scarcely anything to be told of their early history besides those very small facts which make the history of men who are of but small account in the midst of a large and advanced population." It has also been said that the Pilgrims, as we speak of them, would scarcely have been heard of had it not been first for Robinson and Brewster and Bradford, and their can be no doubt that the great majority of them came to this country that they might find homes and advance their worldly circumstances.

An American of high historical standing and learning has said: "Here lay a new world for the most part unoccupied, inviting colonization, and it was as natural for men to come and settle here as to embark in any other enterprise in life. The only wonder is that the work of colonization was not begun earlier and pursued by

thousands rather than by hundreds." This colonizing, this settling and developing a country, the desire to own the roof under which one sleeps "raise the personal importance and dignity of the subject or citizens," and "it can never be too well understood that the generations of men sow and plant for their successors." It seems to have been an entire and pushing necessity that these people should get away from Holland in order to secure a comfortable living and to make any provision for their posterity. Bradford says: "The country (Holland) was hard and many were discouraged. Grim and grizzled poverty was coming on them as an armed man, old age was coming upon them and no amelioration of their condition came with it." That they should come to America, and for the reasons given, seems quite reasonable and natural when it is remembered that Captain Smith and others, returning to England, had expressed the opinion that the fisheries on the New England coast might be made profitable. And we know that this was one of the first industries engaged in by the Pilgrims. Smith states that in 1616 four ships of London and two of Plymouth and Sir Richard Hawkins were again in the fishing waters in the vicinity of Massachusetts and Maine.

Early in 1620, also six or seven sailing vessels set out for the western country for the same purpose and visited the country about the harbor where the Pilgrims landed in December following.

That there was a Providence in their coming here is altogether probable. That the same Providence reached out and extended its ruling and benignant hand on the journey and after the arrival is certain.

"There is no doubt, a great overruling power in all human affairs, but our concern (the emigration) is with second causes, and it is to be believed that we often deceive ourselves when we attempt to recover general priniples from which things remarkable in the acts of men have sprung." "And if we conclude that these people had mistaken the path or duty, or had imposed upon themselves a severer burthen than God ever intended for them, there it still a heroism in their conduct which forbides us to regard them with indifference, nay rather, which will call forth the sympathy of every generous mind."

There has been neither design nor desire, in what has been said, to reflect on the character of the Pilgrims, or to detract from the high fame and renown to which they are justly entitled. No one has more appreciation of their virtues or greater veneration for their memories than the writer. A train of thought only has been followed which led in a channel that seems to be altogether reasonable and intelligent. When a genealogist thought to please Napoleon by telling him that his descent could be traced from some

ancient line of Gothic princes, he replied that he dated his patent of nobility from the battle of Monte Notte (his first victory.) The Pilgrims inherited their patent of nobility and derived their claim to immortality by the excellence of their example and the beauty and usefulness of their lives.

D. W. MANCHESTER

WERE THE DUTCH ON MANHATTAN ISLAND IN 1598?

MANHATTAN ISLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IT will admit of but very little dispute that Verrazano in 1524, and Gomez in 1525, anticipated Henry Hudson by several decades in the discovery of New York Bay and the Hudson River. There is also a claim for previous discovery however, put forward in behalf of the Dutch. One confident historian of the Metropolis starts out bravely and unhesitatingly with the assertion that the Dutch were here as early as 1598; but he gives no authorities from whence he had gathered this startling piece of infor-

mation, yet before one has read thirty pages of such a well-known work as Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan's, "History of New Netherland," the source of the statement is plainly indicated, and fortunately, also the opportunity for a careful weighing of the testimony supporting it.

Dr. O'Callagan refers his readers to a Dutch document in the State Archives at Albany, discovered by Mr. Brodhead at the Hague, copied by him for his collection of documents and translated and published in that invaluable store-house of historical material, the "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," vol. 1, pp. 149, *et seq.* Here we read: "New Netherland.... was first frequented [explored] by the inhabitants of this country [Holland] in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements, only as a shelter [resort] in the winter. For which purpose they erected on the North [Hudson] and South [Delaware] Rivers there, two little forts against the incursions of the Indians. A charter was afterwards, on the 11th of October, 1614, granted by their High Mightinesses to trade exclusively to the newly discovered countries."

Without discussing the nature or merits of this document itself just now, we will first weigh the value of its statement. The Hollanders who "frequented" Manhattan Island in 1598, were in the employ of a Dutch "Greenland Company." Now it would seem to be of some importance for the establishment of the interesting fact under discussion, that there be brought forward some evidence of the existence of such an association as this Greenland Company. For certainly if no trace of its existence can be found, this would cast serious doubt upon the exploits of its servants in these waters.

We have to begin with announcing the lamentable fact that after a thorough search of every imaginable source of information, we have been unable to discover the existence of a Dutch Greenland Company prior to the year 1600. The works of Dutch historians, both ancient and modern, were carefully scanned, but all in vain. We began with a modern writer, N. G. Van Kampen, sometimes called by his fond and admiring countrymen, the Dutch Macaulay. He wrote an elaborate and extensive work of four or five octavo volumes on "De Nederlanders buiten Europa" (The Netherlanders outside of Europe), giving an eloquent as well as exhaustive review of those splendid achievements in various portions of the globe, which resulted in the establishment of the great Colonial Empire of the Dutch, even at this day second only to that of the English.

But there is found no mention of a Dutch Greenland Company or its doings either in these volumes or in Wagenaar, who lived in the eighteenth century and issued more than one monumental publication, or in Bor or

Van Meteren of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These older writers let no event or transaction or institution of any importance escape them. They were not afraid of multiplying their volumes and therefore not at all deterred from noting even the minutest affairs that came within their ken, as they laboriously proceeded from year to year. But they are all strangely silent about this apocryphal company whose mariners were in the habit of sheltering themselves on Manhattan Island before 1600.

But now it is only fair to indicate how the tradition may have originated that there ever was such an organization as the Greenland Company. An appreciation of any reasonable grounds for its origin, will help us understand better how the mistaken statement came to be made, and to see that it was a mistake. There did exist in Holland a "Noordsche Compagnie" or Northern Company and there exists the most abundant and indubitable evidence that the terms "Northern Company" and "Greenland Company" were used interchangeably, and were both applied to the former association. This company was at first confined to the merchants of the Province of Holland, who had received their charter from the States-General, after the approval and endorsement of such a measure by the States of Holland. In 1617, the charter was renewed, but the merchants of Zeeland wished for the same privileges and the States-General granted a charter to a Zeeland "Northern Company" in May 28, 1622. Turning to the "Groot Placcaet Book," Vol. 1, Cols. 673, 674, we discover the two names in question in curious but instructive juxtaposition. The title of the act has Noortsche Compagnie, while in the body of the act we read Groenlandtsche Compagnie. In this same year (Dec., 1622), the Zeeland and Holland Companies were combined into one general or national "Northern Company," but the act granting a larger charter mentions only the above name both in the title and in the body of it. It is to this Company that Moulton refers in his "History of New York" (p. 362) when he makes the assertion that "the Greenland Company was created in 1622." He places this asoociation on an exact level with the East and West India Companies.

"Thus the Northern Seas, Asia, Africa and America, were partitioned to three armed associations, possessing powers nearly co-extensive with those of the Republic." The company chartered in 1622, (as we have seen), can not properly be classed as equal in importance or influence or power with the two great commercial associations named in one breath with it by Mr. Moulton. And we have seen also, that it did not officially bear the name he gives it, although that name might be interchangeable with the true one in the case of subordinate companies. Yet even this is not the case with the charter creating the orig-

inal company confined to Holland Province alone, where there is no mention of the name "Greenland" in either the title or the body of the document. Lastly there is this significant circumstance about that earliest charter of any "Northern Company;" it bears date January 1614, and distinctly states "that no such company had ever been chartered before.* This therefore settles the question as to whether it could possibly have been men in the employ of this company, miscalled the "Greenland Company," who habitually sought relief from the rigors of an Arctic winter on the shores of the Hudson River in the year 1598. This could hardly have been when it was not erected or chartered until January 1614.

In the second place, if frequent or habitual visits to Manhattan Island were made by the Dutch in and after the year 1598, we are at a loss to comprehend the entire lack of recollection of such visits on the part of the Indians thereabouts. It is insisted on more than once in various accounts that both the vessel and the persons of its crew, were objects of boundless wonder to the natives, as they beheld the "Half-Moon" resting upon the waters of the bay or gliding up the river. De Laet, one of the earliest to write on Hudson's discovery, publishing his "Nieuwe Wereld," (New World) in 1625 and basing his statements on those of Hudson's own journal, perhaps citing his very words, speaks as follows: "So far as they could judge and find out, there had never been any ships or Christians in this region before, so that they were the first who discovered this river and sailed up so far." Such a declaration might need to be received with some suspicion, if the author had intended to maintain a claim of the first discovery for the Dutch as against other nations. But he could have had no reason to suppress the circumstance of the visits of the Dutch themselves to our river, in 1598. If that had been patent to De Laet he would have been only too glad to mention it, as only increasing the validity of the Dutch claims to those regions by the right of first discovery. He could have had no particular object in glorifying the Englishman Hudson's exploit at the expense of the sailors of an exclusively and undoubtedly Dutch Greenland Company. But returning to the Indians, we notice in Vander Donck's celebrated "Vertoogh," written at New Amsterdam and published at the Hague in 1650, another arraignment of their poor memories. "Even at the present day those natives of the country who are so old as to recollect when the Dutch ships first came here, declare that when they saw them, they did not know what to make of them. Some among them when the first one arrived, even imagined it to be a fish or some monster of the sea." Now

*Groot Placcaet Book, I. Cols. 669, 673, 676.

the Indians might indeed have forgotten a visit made so long ago as 1524 or 1525, if Verrazano and Gomez really did discover the Hudson then, making but a brief stay and a rapid examination of its banks at best, but an habitual resort to its shores, or even one winter spent on the island at its mouth, in forts built to repel their attacks, only eleven years before Hudson came among them, the Indians could not possibly, it would seem, have so utterly forgotten in 1609.

But we will now give our attention more particularly to the document which asserts that the Dutch were on Manhattan Island as early as 1598. What was the nature of it, and to what degree of credence is it entitled? Mr. Brodhead in the explanatory heading which he usually prefixes to the documents in his collection states that it is a report made in 1644 by the Chairman of a Committee or Board of Accounts, appointed by the directors of the West India Company. Several documents were placed in his (the chairman's) hands for the purpose of enabling him to furnish to the company a succinct review of events connected with the origin of the settlement on Manhattan Island, and with its progress up to that date. The writer begins with the story of the Dutch and their forts in 1598. Immediately after this the official historian glides easily into what he evidently either considers himself, or wishes others to believe, is the next stage in the history of the Manhattan Colony; namely this: "a charter was afterwards on the 11th of October 1614, granted by their "High Mightinesses." As if nothing of importance had happened between 1598 and 1614!

The question therefore arises, if this was meant for history in 1644, why was it written so imperfectly? It could not be that the fact of Hudson's discovery, so vitally connected with the origin of Manhattan Colony, had been completely forgotten at that time, much less that after a careful examination of all the papers available to directors of the West India Company, the chairman of their committee should not have come across the record of that discovery. How then did he happen to pass it over in utter silence in his official report? Was it purposely suppressed? If so, what could have been the motive for this singular proceeding?

We think we can readily divine what the motive was, when we read in more than one English writer what use that nation contrived to make of the fact that the discovery of the Hudson River was achieved by an Englishman. Peter Heylin, who wrote before the surrender of New Netherland in 1664, remarks: "With him [i. e. Hudson] the Hollanders, in 1609, compounded for his charts and maps; but they were hardly warm in their new Habitations," when Argall, Governor of Virginia, disputed their title to this region, which was looked upon as part of Virginia territory. The latter advanced this ingenious argument in

support of his claim; "that Hudson, under whose sale they claimed that country, being an Englishman and licensed to discover those northern parts by the King of England, could not alienate or dismember it (being but a part or province of Virginia) from the Crown thereof." This matter of a "sale" by Hudson, which was illegal, and the subsequent "right" of the English to New Netherland, is brought out again in a book written nearly a century later, or long after the problem which was unsolved in Heylin's time —how to get the Dutch out and the English in—had been solved by Colonel Nicolls in 1664. In this book, William Smith's "History of New York" (1757), we read, scarcely without a smile: "Henry Hudson, an Englishman, *according to our authors** in the year 1608 [sic], under a commission from the King, his master, discovered Long Island, New York, and the river which still bears his name; and afterwards sold the country, or rather his Right to the Dutch. Their writers contend that Hudson was sent out by the East India Company in 1609 to discover a northwest passage to China. It is said however, that there was a sale; and that the English objected to it, though they for some time neglected to oppose the Dutch settlement of the country."

Now we can readily appreciate why the Dutch West India Company might have a distinct and deliberate object in not being too exact in their history of Manhattan Colony. They would naturally be very shy of giving occasion or encouragement to a rival nation on the alert to press a claim avowedly made, however unjust, to territories entrusted to the Company's care and government. It would to say the least have been very impolitic to give countenance to it in one of their own official papers. About twelve years later the directors, writing to Stuyvesant, while commending him for the reduction of New Sweden, at the same time remonstrated with him for having made a written agreement with the Swedish Commander. And they then put into so many words the shrewd policy which we suggest they followed in the present instance, saying; "What is written is too long preserved and may be produced when not desired, whereas words not recorded are in the lapse of time forgotten, or may be explained away" (O'Callaghan's "New Netherland," vol. 11. p. 327). If Argall on the spot, and only a few years after the settlement; if Heylin in a book written and published before 1664, could make so much of Hudson's nationality in the matter of his discovery, so that more than a hundred years after that event, sober historians could still cooly repeat the story of England's supreme right, and quite cast aside the claims of the Dutch, then it may well have been considered in 1644 that it would be a dangerous concession to have even made an allusion to Hudson in a committee report. Under these circumstances, finding at home a possibly

*The italics are ours.

prevalent and convenient rumor about the Greenland Company and its vessels in New York bay and river, without any intention to deliberately falsify, the chairman of the committee simply incorporated the statement under discussion in his report. For business purposes, on a paper prepared by business men and not by historians, this may have been good enough history; but being preserved in this documentary form, and read in an age eager for documentary evidence and too ready to give undue weight to unpublished and original matter, the assertion derived an importance which it does not really deserve, and was not intended to possess. And so entirely unsupported is it by other proofs, or by the facts of history, that even the documentary character of this evidence has not prevailed to deceive wise and judicious investigators. It is clear that it did not commend itself as quite trustworthy for historical purposes to Dr. O'Callaghan. In quoting it, though it own assertion is entirely positive, he introduces its language by the cautious phrase, "it is said:" Brodhead, whose researches brought the paper to light, also deals very gingerly with it, holding it off at arms length, so to speak, and saying: 'it needs confirmation"—and indeed, it certainly does.

DANIEL VAN PELT.

A FAMOUS POLITICAL CONTEST IN ILLINOIS.

HON. HENRY H. EVANS.

The most interesting political contest which has taken place in the State of Illinois since the days of Lincoln and Douglass, was that which ended with the election of General John M. Palmer to the United States Senate, on the 11th day of March, 1891. The contest was of historic interest because it elevated to the Senate, a man who had long been a conspicuous figure in American politics, and who had for many years cherished an ambition to occupy a seat in the Upper Bench of the national Legislature. It was of interest also because it gave to the Democratic party of Illinois, for the first time in many years, a representative in the United States Senate. It was moreover an intensely interesting and exciting contest—and greater interest attached to it on this than on any other account—because it developed a crisis in the political affairs of the State.

It is no harsh criticism of the Republican management of the State campaign of 1890, in Illinois, to say that the campaign was lazily conducted. At the Democratic Convention, held some months before the election, General John M. Palmer had been formally endorsed as the choice

of his party for United States Senator, and his adherents at once entered upon a determined and aggessive campaign. The result of this spirited Democratic campaigning, of Republican apathy, and of disturbing "side issues," was, that when the roll of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly was made up, it was ascertained that there were 101 Democratic members elect, 100 Republicans, and three representatives of the Farmers' Alliance organization.

This being the political status of the body which was to choose a United States Senator, it was evident that the three independent or Farmers' Alliance members held the balance of power as between the two great political parties. These three legislators thought they saw before them great opportunities for the advancement of their interests, and starting a political revolution. Once before it had happened in the history of the State, that a little band of five legislators—the representatives of the "Anti-Nebraska" party—had placed in the field a candidate for United States Senator, of their own choosing, and in full sympathy with their political views, and at the end of a long contest that candidate had been triumphantly elected, and a new political party had been brought into existence.

The triumvirate of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly of Illinois, hastily jumped to the conclusion that there was to be a repetition of history, and that what the "Anti-Nebraska" legislators had accomplished in 1885, could be accomplished by the representatives of the Farmers' Alliance in 1891.

When the Legislature convened they accordingly placed in nomination as their candidate for United States Senator, Alanson J. Streeter, a farmer by occupation, whose large wealth had enabled him to take up politics as a diversion, and whose views had been of a sufficiently variegated character, to enable him to claim political kinship with any of the existing partisan organizations.

General Palmer was already in the field as the Democratic candidate for Senator, and the Republicans named ex-Governor Richard J. Oglesby as their nominee. Balloting began on the 20th day of January and continued from day to day—when the Legislature was in session—until the 11th of March, when the contest ended as already stated.

The attitude of the Farmers' Alliance members, from start to finish, toward the Republican minority, was in effect, that they presented to them the alternative of electing the Alliance nominee with Republican votes, or of allowing the Democratic nominee to be elected by Alliance votes. The proposition was one as humiliating to the great political organization to which it was made, as it was inconsistent in those who made it. Nevertheless, it was adhered to and all counter-propositions were rejected. Republican diplomacy was

tried without result, the Alliance members refusing to vote for a leading representative of their own interests when he was put forward as the Republican nominee.

As the contest was prolonged, the feeling between Republicans and Democrats became more intensely antagonistic, and a point was finally reached where some of the Republican leaders apparently determined to defeat General Palmer at any cost. To do this they determined to throw the support of the entire Republican membership of the Legislature to Streeter, thereby securing his election by a majority of two votes. Principles were for the time being lost sight of by those who favored this movement. Political trusts were relegated to the region of barren idealities, and rank heresies were to be swallowed without a grimace for the sole purpose of compassing the defeat of an old time political adversary.

That the dominant party of the third State in the Union was not in a sense, committed to the vagaries of a nondescript political organization, and made directly responsible for the acts of one of its most erratic representatives, was due to the sound judgment and positive convictions of a very small number of Republican Legislators, of whom Hon. Henry H. Evans, representing the Fourteenth Senatorial District, was the acknowledged leader.

While Colonel Evans had long been prominent in the politics of the State and had had much to do with shaping its legislatures for a dozen years or more, no other event in his life has brought him so conspicuously before the public as the determined stand which he took against, what could not have been regarded in the future, as anything else than a sacrifice of the political integrity of his party. While those who were engineering this movement may have been mistaken in their calculations, they frequently affirmed that they could deliver to the Alliance candidate for Senator, the entire Republican vote of the Legislature, provided Senator Evans would consent to have this vote so recorded, and it is reasonably certain that his colleagues of the opposition were largely influenced by him. The pressure brought to bear on him, to induce him to become a party to the combine with the Alliance, was of the most powerful kind, but to entreaties, arguments and threats alike, he returned the same answer, the gist of which is contained in a brief statement of his intentions, to which he gave utterance at one of the numerous Republican caucuses, at which this matter was considered. On that occasion he said: "I want to say to this caucus, that I will never vote for any of these men for United States Senator, no matter what this caucus may think. I am a Republican, and I am for a Republican. I was elected and sent here to vote for a Republican for United States Senator, and that I will do to the end of this contest. But I do not think we should humiliate the glorious old Re-

publican party of Illinois, by bartering away our independence for the sake of sending to the Senate a political nondescript for whose official action we must be responsible."

This was the ringing declaration of an honest and courageous representative of well defined political principles. It was a declaration of his purposes from which he did not deviate during the contest, and no public servant ever made a better record for consistency and a strict observance of his obligations to his constituency.

The prominence which he attained in this honorable contest, and through public services previously rendered, have made him one of the prominent figures among the public men of Illinois, and the story of his life becomes interesting.

Born at Toronto, Canada, March 9, 1836, he has been essentially the architect of his own fortune. His father, Griffith Evans, and his wife, (Elizabeth Weldon), were both natives of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, being descendants of families ante-dating the Revolution —so that, although born on Canadian soil, Colonel Evans is of thoroughly American ancestry.

His father was a millwright by trade, who with his wife and family settled at Aurora, Illinois, in 1841. Colonel Evans was next to the eldest of ten children. The father was an industrious and intelligent mechanic who had more or less to do with the erection and equipment of several large mills in the neighborhood of Aurora, but he never accumulated any considerable amount of property, and his children had to depend mainly upon their own resources.

Col. Evans received his education in the public schools of Aurora, grew to manhood there, and then married Alice M. Rhodes, a lady of English birth and parentage. Soon after his marriage, he engaged in the restaurant business and continued in this business until September, 1862, when he enlisted in the One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He was mustered into the service at Springfield, Illinois, went into action first at Jackson, Tenn., participated in the siege of Vicksburg and in successive campaigns, being mustered out of service at the end of three years days from the date of his enlistment.

Immediately after his retirement from the military service, he returned to his old business in Aurora. Enterprising, shrewd and capable, his business expanded and he became the proprietor and then owner of the leading hotel of the city, and one of its most enterprising and public spirited citizens. He became largely interested in real estate, laying out several large additions to the city, and realizing handsome profits from his investments. In 1882, he organized the Aurora Street Railroad Company, took charge of the construction of the road, and pushed to completion, an enterprise which has since been developed into

one of the most perfect electric railroad systems in the West. He was also the projector of the Joliet and Aurora Northern Railroad, an enterprise with which he was most actively identified up to the date of its going into operation, and at a late date as one of its leading officials. In everything calculated to contribute in any way to the growth and prosperity of Aurora he has taken a most active interest, and as a natural consequence of this, coupled with a cheering geniality, he has always enjoyed great popularity.

His political life began in 1876, when he was elected an Alderman for one of the wards of Aurora. In the fall of the same year he was elected a member of the State Legislature. After serving one term in the House of Representatives, he was elected, in 1880, a member of the State Senate, and has been twice re-elected since that time. As a member of the General Assembly, he has become recognized as a careful and conscientious legislator, with a large stock of practical ideas, and a capacity for energetic and persistent efforts, which have made his services peculiarly valuable to his constituents. While serving his first term in the Legislature he introduced and succeeded in having enacted into a law, the bill providing for the establishment of a State Soldier's Home in Illinois—an institution which does great credit to the State.

He was also the author of the law under which the National Guard is now organized, a measure which met with determined opposition at the time of its introduction. Despite the opposition however, it became a law, and the wisdom of the act has since been demonstrated on numerous occasions.

In recognition of his services in perfecting the organization of and rendering effective the State Militia, Governor Shelby M. Cullom made him a member of his military staff, with the rank of colonel. He was appointed to the same position on the staff of Governor Hamilton and Governor Oglesby, and is now serving on the staff of Governor Fifer.

The Police Pension bill was another of the important measures which had his successful advocacy.

The life of Col. Evans strikingly emphasizes the marvelous industry, tireless energy, and broad spirit of enterprise that are to-day so characteristic of the American man of affairs.

W. H. Maguire.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

THE present (November) number of the Magazine of Western History, which is the first number of the new volume (Vol. XV) appears under a new name which will more adequately describe its present character.

The title chosen—"THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE—A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AMERICAN HISTORY—" is in keeping with the enlarged scope and purpose of the publication. When it first came into existence, its proposed mission was to gather and preserve the history of that great West which lies beyond the Alleghanies, and while that labor has been pursued with results that have enriched American history, the boundaries have been gradually enlarged until the whole country has become its field of research, and readers and contributors are found in every State and territory.

The Magazine has become NATIONAL, and it is believed that the present name will be accepted as more appropriate than the one that has been outgrown.

THE new name defines, perhaps with sufficient fullness, both scope and purpose, but for the sake of clearness we add that it is proposed to confine our interest exclusively to the field of American History, and whatever directly illustrates it. By this we mean not alone or chiefly the history of our remote past with its discoveries, its early settlers, and its struggling colonies, but the history as well of the present century—the planting of colonies by railroads, the evolution of States, the founding of cities, the building up of a literature, the history of politics, and of all that unexampled material progress that makes America the wonder and admiration of the world.

THE great civil war has served necessarily as an extraordinary stimulus to historical writing and research concerning its antecedent causes, the tremendous conflict itself, and its far reaching and still potent consequences. It is plain however, that the history of the war has yet been written only in outline. The historical material which when gathered and sifted would give it completeness and fullness is as yet largely unwritten. This exists in the recollections of men yet living—actors and witnesses—in their letters, journals and other written memoranda, and in the traditions carefully cherished by families and friends of those that are gone. We propose to collect such material as far as possible, and give it a permanent record in our pages.

ONE of the interesting features of our national life is the growth of societies for the encouragement of historical studies as well as the preservation of valuable historical material which would otherwise be lost. The historical societies having permanent homes, number nearly or quite two hundred and fifty, and while some of the largest support intermittent publications of their own, we believe there is no general organ devoted to their interests and furnishing a medium of intercourse between them. The National Magazine proposes, as far as possible, to supply this want and will conduct a separate department giving all notes of interest

regarding the Historical Societies of the United States which we may be able to obtain.

It is believed that a large amount of historical material of great interest both to the general reader and the historical student exists in the shape of papers prepared by members of these various Historical Societies for the interest and instruction of their particular organizations.

Such papers as we refer to are prepared for the most part by members who have both leisure and taste for historical research, or who find in such work a grateful relief from the exacting cares of successful professional and business careers, and although addressed to a limited circle, have frequently a value and interest that entitles them to a larger audience and to preservation in more permanent form.

It is proposed to present in the pages of the Magazine. in persuance of our general purpose to broaden the field of its interest and usefullness, a selection from such papers. It is believed that the literature of American History would be greatly enriched from this source. Papers of even local interest are not without value to the student of history in any portion of the country, and all these various efforts at writing history are building up that great body of historical material from which American History at least in the nineteenth century is to be exhaustively and philosophically written.

"In lighter vein" we propose to touch on the picturesque side of historical research, and to seek material in the legends and traditions that attach to certain localities. The very fact that a certain headland, valley, mountain or river has a legendary interest is not undeserving the attention of the scholar and is a matter of legitimate historical interest if not value. A country as new as ours can well afford to jealously preserve whatever of such legendary and historical lore it may have. It at least serves to "adorn the tale" which has a more solid basis. Other changes are contemplated that will add value, and interest to the pages of the Magazine.

The present number contains the first installment of a series of articles from the advance sheets of the forthcoming Memorial History of New York, edited by Gen. James Grant Wilson. It is the intention to select for publication in the Magazine such parts of this work as will in our judgment be of great interest to its readers, and as far as possible present a continuous narrative. These articles will be amply illustrated from the plates prepared and selected for the original work with great care. The exhaustive character of the work, the time given to its preparation, the staff of contributors each pre-eminent in his special field, are fully set forth on the cover of the present number.

In the August number of this Magazine we remarked upon the fact that the historic property of Valley Forge was in danger of being sold and divided among individual purchasers and that in this event the ancient ramparts of Fort Washington, the site of the forge, the cold spring, and the Headquarters of Washington, Lafayette and Knox would be obliterated. It is a pleasure to learn that the march of such "improvement" will probably be arrested. A meet- of the members of the National Society of the Daughters of the Revolution residing in Washington was held on Oct. 13th, and a plan was considered for purchasing and preserving this property. The Illinois chapter of the same organization has also held a meeting to advance the same cause. With the patriotic ardor of women thoroughly awakened there should be no question about

preserving to the nation the field of Valley Forge with all its "visible history."

A monument to the great Indian Chief Red Jacket. Chief of the Senecas and the renowned orator of the six nations was dedicated at Waterloo, N. Y. on Oct. 14th. President Welles of the Waterloo Historical Society under whose auspices the monument is erected presided. The Hon. W. C. Bryant of Buffalo delivered an historical address. The monument is unique in design, being carved from a block of granite to represent the trunk of an oak tree, and stands on the west shore of Cayuga Lake near the spot where Red Jacket was born. The base bears four descriptive bronze tablets, and around the base are clustered six small bowlders bearing the names of the six nations of the Iroquois. Red Jacket was one of the unique figures of his time, his character a peculiar mixture of the noble and the ignoble, a sagacious statesman, a cunning demagogue, but always an Indian.

A gathering both important and unique was held in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on the 12th of October. The occasion was the reunion of a committee which has undertaken to organize a Pan-Republic Congress and Human Freedom League, and to arrange an international meeting in connection with the anniversary ceremonies of 1892. The leaders of the movement claim that their ideas have been gradually disseminated through organized societies in all civilized countries. Their meaning and purpose they broadly state to be: That the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of this continent should be celebrated by a convocation, first of the representatives of all governments based on an acknowledgment of the rights of man, and secondly, of representatives of the people of high purpose everywhere, independent of the form of government under which they live. That these two bodies acting in concert on the soil of the greatest of the governments founded upon freedom, should consult together on the means of widening the domain in which the earth's dwellers may enjoy the rights claimed for us by our immortal Declaration of Independence.

Youngest among the sisterhood of the States of our Union stands Washington, on the borders of the far Pacific. It is very gratifying to observe the citizens of a community of such regent origin, amid the eager competitions of life and the pressure of material interests, turning aside from these practical pursuits to secure for future generations a recond not only of their own achievements, but of the humbler and more heroic doings of the pioneers of their State. Such is the aim and purpose of the Washington State Historical Society, organized during the present month in the city of Tacoma, and the latest to join the ever widening circle of these societies. In the words of its president, the Hon. Elwood Evans, "the State of Washington has reached a time when the need of collecting original historical material has become imperative since the history of the State and Territory runs back 38 years. and most of the early settlers are dead. The hardships and heroism of the pioneers should be handed down and recorded as material for the historian of later years."

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

THE quarterly meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, (Illinois,) was held on Tuesday evening, Oct. 20. A paper was read prepared by Samuel C. Clarke of Marietta. Ga., entitled "Some recollections of Chicago in the Forties."

The Pejepscot Historical Society (Brunswick), Maine, are considering the erection of a fireproof building.

The Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore), are discussing with active interest the successor to John H. B. Latrobe, Esq., late President of the Society, S. Teakle Wallis, Esq., and Gen. Bradley T. Johnson are the most prominent names mentioned.

The Wakefield Historical Society, Mass., at its monthly meeting in October, received some valuable donations, the most interesting of which was the diary of Capt. Natl. Cowdrey, kept by him during the campaign in New York which included Arnold's treason and the attempt to capture West Point.

The annual meeting of the Beverly Mass., Historical Society was held on the evening of Oct. 14th. The occasion was the 223rd anniversary of the settlement of the Town of Beverly.

The Old Colony Historical Society, (Taunton) Mass.,helda large meeting on Thursday, Oct. 15. Geo. Fox Tucker, Esq. of New Bedford, gave an elaborate address on the Quaker element in New England, and the Old Colony life in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Cape Ann Historical Society (Gloucester) Mass., was formed on the evening of Oct. 7th. Joseph L. Stevens was elected president and Alfred F. Stickney corresponding secretary.

The Suffolk County Historical Society N. Y., held its annual meeting at Riverhead on Oct. 6th. A committee was appointed to consider the erection of a suitable fireproof building for the use of the society and the preservation of its treasures, many of which are original parchments and manuscripts which could not be replaced.

The Westchester County Historical Society, N. Y. held its annual meeting on Wednesday, Oct. 28th—the anniversary of the battle of White Plains—Judge J. O. Dykman gave an address on County Affairs during the Revolutionary War.

Waterloo Historical Society N. Y.—*See Editorial Notes.*

The Dauphin County Historical Society, (Harrisburgh) Pa., held an interesting meeting on Oct. 8th, and received many valuable documents connected with the war. A paper on "Historic Localities" by Mr. E. J. Stackpole was read.

The Ohio Historical Society (Columbus), with characteristic enterprise and timeliness has appointed a committee of three into whose hands will be placed the arrangements for the historical and archeological display of Ohio at the Columbian Fair.

The October meeting of the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society (Providence), was held on Oct. 20. Several interesting historical donations were received. Gen. Viall read a paper entitled

"Sketch of the 14th R. I. Heavy Artillery."

The Rhode Island Veteran Citizens Historical Association (Providence) held one of their regular meetings on Oct. 20th. It was announced that Noah J. Arnold, Esq., was preparing a paper on "Adrien Block and Block Island" which should prove very interesting.

The Tennessee Historical Society (Nashville), held its monthly meeting in the Watkins Institute on Oct. 13th. The noteworthy event of the meeting was their action in formally requesting their senators and members in Congress to lend their aid to the erection of the proposed national gallery of history and art in commemoration of our 400th anniversary. It is hoped that other societies will support the Tennessee Historical Society in this object.

The Vermont Historical Society (Montpelier), held their annual meeting at their rooms in the State House on Oct. 20th. President Hiram Carleton, presided. The old officers were re-elected.

The Washington State Historical Society was organized at Tacoma on Oct. 8th. Hon. Elwood Evans was made President and C. H. Hobart, Secretary.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

"Historical Essays." By Henry Adams. Chas. Scribners' Sons.

In this volume are gathered a number of essays, chiefly on historical subjects, which have appeared at various times in magazines. They are characterized, as might be expected, by the clear and attractive style and the incisive thought that belongs to all of Mr. Adams' literary work.

Some of the essays are of pronounced value and interest. Notably the essay on the Gold Conspiracy, which to any one who is at all familiar with the details of one of the most remarkable episodes in American financial history, will prove absorbingly interesting. It contains a sketch of Jay Gould, which, in the light of recent occurrences, has a peculiar interest.

In no field of investigation at the present time is the skeptical spirit more active than in the historical, and the essay on Capt. John Smith will provoke some criticism and more regret, as it is an effort to cut away the historic basis from the beautiful story of Pocahontas. As Dr. Schliemann has lifted Troy and its legends to the dignity of history, perhaps some historical explorer may be inspired to undertake the same task for the Pocahontas incident.

We have received in pamphlet form, as one of the published collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1891, the account of the ceremonies of the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony by Father Hennepin in 1680, and the different papers read on that interesting occasion. This "Part" is a continuation of the series of short sketches and papers which had been interrupted, and makes a valuable addition to the data for Western History. It is a real pleasure to praise the beautiful typographical appearance of this pamphlet.

"Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley." By W. H. Venable, L.L.D. Robert Clarke & Co., 1891.

Dr. Venable has been very successful in his undertaking to show the progress of literature, education, art, politics and religion in the Ohio Valley, from the days of the early settlers until the present time. He has done this by sketching the careers of those who have been conspicuous in these fields of culture and practical interest, and has gathered a great fund of information, anecdote and biographical detail, which has made his narrative very interesting as well as full.

"James Freeman Clarke. Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence." Edited by Edward Everett Hale. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891.

A book on James Freeman Clarke, by Edward Everett Hale, encourages "great expectations," and these expectations are not disappointed.

It is a delightful mixture of the handiwork of two bright thinkers and recognized lights in our native literature. After a modest account of himself, the subject of the sketch is delineated still further by a fond and appreciative friend The man, broad and free and catholic in his thinking and in his feeling, opens his heart to us in diary and letters. And what he fails to tell, as eminently improper for himself to tell, Dr. Hale gives to us, so that the picture may be complete. The keynote to the book, and the real use of it, are

indicated on the first page by Dr. Clarke himself: "I have lived in an important period; have known many eminent men and distinguished women; have seen great changes in social life, in religious opinion, in private morals and public manners. If I can succeed in making a few suggestive pictures, or memory sketches, it may be a gratification to my children and friends, and possibly contribute matter for the future historian of this period."

"Historical Collection of Ohio." By Henry Howe, L.L.D.

The two concluding volumes of the Historical Collections of Ohio are now published together, and complete a monumental work. Dr. Howe has given many years to this undertaking, and is said to have personally visited every locality of which he treats, and collected his facts from the lips of living men and women as well as from written records. The work is more than a formal history. It unfolds before the reader the whole life and annals of Ohio, from the earliest settlements to the present day. Geography and statistics go hand in hand with narration, reminiscence and details of social life and customs.

"Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, vol. iii."

We have received the third volume of the publications of The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. This volume is mainly concerned with the anniversary exercises connected with the centennial of the settlement of Gallipolis. Exhaustive papers on "The French Settlement and Settlers of Gallipolis," "The Scioto Company and its Purchase," and the "Early Judiciary of Ohio," attest the historical value of this volume. It also contains a report of the sixth annual meeting of the society, February 19th and 20th, 1891. The secretary (Mr. A. A. Graham), very pertinently says in his preface, "The State is now indebted to the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society for three valuable historical volumes, and if the society had done nothing else, its existence is more than justified."

Henry Dorwith

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

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THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, THE FOUNDERS OF MANHATTAN COLONY.*

FIVE days after the Half-Moon departed from the port of Amsterdam, on the way, as it proved, to the site of its namesake and prototype in the New World, the truce of 1609 was signed at Antwerp, putting a temporary pause to the famous "Eighty Years' War," sustained by the United Provinces of the Netherlands in their struggle for political independence. In 1568 that war began, so far as regards the resort to arms; for on May 23d of that year was fought the Lexington of the Dutch Revolution at Heiligerlee, in Groningen.

This truce meant much to the United Provinces beyond the mere suspension of hostilities; and taking place in the very year of the discovery of the site of New-York, what it meant to them becomes of especial significance to us in a study of the history of the colony on Manhattan Island. By it practically the battle was won, for it acknowledged the independence of the revolted provinces. Republican principles put into practical operation at that early day, and however imperfectly as compared with our own system of government, had nevertheless conquered a national existence, the liberty of conscience and of government for a handful of people, with resources so apparently inadequate as to make their revolt seem like madness. This is what the truce of 1609 meant to the United Netherlands. It was a lesson never forgotten by mankind; a lesson finally placed before the world in more magnificent illustration upon the shores of that New World which the national vigor and enterprise of these same Republicans of the seventeenth century aided in part to populate and develop.

* From the advance sheets of "The Memorial History of New York."

The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of Holland: while it shone New Netherland was colonized; ere it had departed the colony had already become New-York. Its existence therefore in the home country must have had a direct influence upon men and matters in this portion of the western hemisphere. As such ages usually do in all countries, it followed here immediately upon great and stirring events, after fierce conflicts of opinion,—that is, after heroic action and hard thinking. Holland stood before the world a strong, compact Confederation of States, sovereign each, and each stoutly maintaining its sovereignty, but united into one body. But aside from her political greatness the Republic was great in a score of splendid or useful departments of human achievement. Before the end of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt, Potter,

MONUMENT AT HEILIGERLEE.

Douw, Van der Helst, Frans Hals, Steen, Ruysdael, the Van de Veldes, and others whose brushes have made the Dutch school of painting the admiration of the world, had accomplished their triumphs and passed away. In this same century Leeuwenhoek, at Delft, invented and experimented with the microscope. Two mechanics of Middelburg, in 1610, invented an instrument which Galileo developed into the telescope, but which Huyghens, another Dutchman, before the century closed, again improved in an essential particular. He managed to obviate the confused colors produced by the lenses, and was thus enabled to reveal the rings of Saturn to the world of science for the first time. This, too, was the Golden Age of Dutch literature, when Vondel wrote; of her learning, for Grotius then produced his undying works on classical criticism and biblical commentary, on history, political economy, and international jurisprudence. Then did Holland do her finest printing, for the Elzevirs were publishing their exquisite editions. In Holland were then made the best mathematical, the best astronomical, the best nautical instruments. Diamond-polishing was already a secret known to Dutch mechanics only. The Dutch farmers instructed all Europe in agriculture, vegetable gardening, the cultivation of winter-roots and of grasses, while horticulture was a veritable passion,as is proved by the famous speculation in tulip-bulbs of 1637. "The English writers on husbandry," says Prof. Thorold Rogers, "are constantly calling the attention of English farmers to the marvelous progress the Dutch were making. The population of England was more than doubled in the seventeenth century by adopting the agricultural inventions of the Dutch."

In short, the Dutch Republic was then the "United States" of Europe in more senses than one. She was this, not only politically, but by reason of the inventiveness and energy of her citizens. The Dutchmen of the seventeenth century were actually the "Yankees" of their day. We cannot but regret, therefore, that immortal joke which has peopled Manhattan Island in the seventeenth century with a race of dull-minded gluttons and stupid beer-drinkers. We may advance over and over again all that has just been stated, accompanied by quotations from the highest authorities of various nationalities to show what the Hollanders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries really were. But nevertheless, the ludicrous delineations of Washington Irving have more power than a hundred books written with all soberness in the interest of the actual facts. What shall be done about it? It is a useless task to argue against a laugh. Even Motley's elaborate eulogy on the Dutch in Holland, carried through nine ponderous volumes, does not prevent the generality of

people from looking at the Dutch on Manhattan Island through the laughter-moving spectacles of sly old Diedrich Knickerbocker; yet they were men of exactly the same stuff. In 1610 when the Dutch Ambassador in London proposed a scheme for the joint colonization of Virginia by the Dutch and English, the English promptly declined, being afraid, as Bancroft informs us, "of the superior art and industry of the Dutch."

THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

Their political ideas and institutions; their indomitable energy and commercial enterprise; their all-embracing inventiveness and mechanical skill made them, as we have said, the Yankees of their age; and the English knew this, and declined to enter upon any undertaking with them, lest they should be hopelessly distanced. These were the men who came to Manhattan Island. It is not to be supposed that they divested themselves of these useful qualities and aptitudes in crossing the ocean to these shores. The Golden Age of Holland must have placed its impress upon them also; the men of New Netherland came out of those very influences which were making Holland great. Such antecedents must have had somewhat similar consequences, therefore, even upon American soil and under American conditions. That seems only an ordinary application of the law of cause and effect; a veritable law of nature. Over against the well-nigh ineradicable impression produced by Irving, we simply advance this infallible law of nature; and we are content to leave every reflecting mind to its own conclusions.

We must keep in view the antecedent circumstances in the mother

country as we contemplate Henry Hudson's voyage in the Half-Moon, and consider the colonization of New Netherland as the result of that voyage. But an intelligent view of that colonization, and all that grew out of it, must embrace also a thorough understanding of that colossal commercial association, under whose auspices began the settlement of the regions around the Hudson River, and who must be regarded as the founders of the State of New York. We refer to the Dutch West India Company. It may be true that Hudson's expedition had little to do with originating the idea of that organization. It may also be conceded that its final establishment years after may have been but slightly influenced by this event, in spite of the agitation and discussion in regard to its erection which will be noticed as taking place in 1614, a result of the many trading voyages to New Netherland undertaken by individuals or private firms in pursuance of Hudson's accounts of this vicinity. But having been established, the development of affairs and events on our island owed everything to the management and care of this Company. Hence its origin, its history during its control of New Netherland, and even its subsequent fortunes are matters of moment to us, and are well entitled to a somewhat exhaustive treatment.

In the year 1604, William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp but for many years resident in Holland, was directed to draw up a subscription paper to be circulated among the merchants of Holland and Zeeland. The preparation of this document was the beginning of the history of the West India Company, and the reason Usselinx was selected to write it was that ever since his arrival within the United Netherlands he had been advocating this great project. He was possessed of great capacity, not only in mercantile affairs, but, as Van Meteren, a contemporary and a native of the same city, observes, he was "a man acquainted with many things, experienced above many others, associating with some of the most learned and keen-sighted lovers of the fatherland." While still a very young man he had gone abroad in the interest of an extensive business, spent many years in travel, frequenting various ports of Spain and Portugal, and there is some reason to believe that he also visited Brazil and the West Indies. But for some years before 1590, he had resided as agent for European houses and as a merchant on his own account at Fayal, in the Azores Islands. About 1591, when he was but twenty-three or four years of age, and with a large fortune even then amassed, he left the Azores and made his home in one of the cities of the United Provinces, Antwerp having been taken by the Spaniards in the year 1585. In the course of this varied business experience, young as he was, it was eminently true as Van Meteren elsewhere says, that

Usselinx had become "well instructed in the commerce and the situation of the West Indies."

And the question was looming up in ever larger proportions, whether it might not be advisable to attempt to advance the fortunes of the Republic and to cripple the resources of Spain in that quarter of the globe. In America, Spain had hitherto been left in comparative repose, while she constantly replenished her exhausted treasury by means of the rich products of her silver and gold mines there. The earliest suggestion to disturb this repose, and to attack her in American waters, had been made to the Provincial States of Holland in 1581, by Captain Bates, an Englishman. Having made four voyages to the West Indies, he offered to conduct thither an expedition at the cost of the province, for purposes of trade, conquest, or exploration. But nothing came of this. There were serious difficulties in the way of such an enterprise at that time. In the very month the proposal was made and considered (July, 1581), the States-General of the United Netherlands issued their "abjuration" of Philip of Spain. The patriots needed therefore to husband their resources, limited as these then still were, in the apprehension that the deeply offended despot would redouble his efforts to regain his supremacy over the rebellious provinces. Yet the provincial legislature took occasion to express its cordial approval and commendation of any enterprise in that direction that should be undertaken on the part of individuals. Not till several years later however, is there any evidence of such private enterprise. Then, in 1597, two Dutch merchants, Gerard Bikker of Amsterdam, and John Leyen of Enkhuysen, were each separately granted the privilege of forming a company for purposes of traffic with the West Indies. Subsequently these two men combined their companies into one. A plot of ground was granted them by the city of Amsterdam, upon which they built a substantial warehouse, which at the formation of the West India Company became the first house in its possession. Under the auspices of this private association some voyages to the West Indies and the South American Continent were undertaken during the years 1597 and 1598, but apparently with very meager results. Why might not larger results, however, be expected, if these expeditions were seriously undertaken, with as elaborate preparations and powerful armaments as those dispatched to the East Indies?

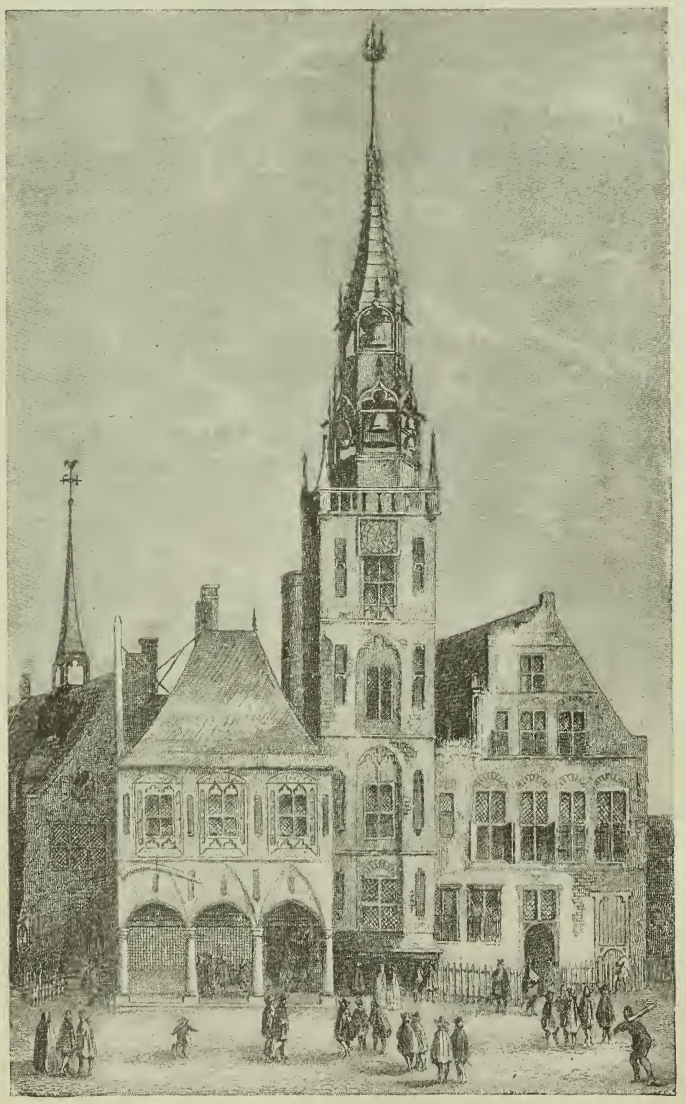
Some such arguments and others of a more practical or business-like character had been advanced, we are told, in pamphlets written and published by Usselinx; but how early he commenced with such publications, it would seem, can only be ascertained from the writer's own statements. And whatever credit may be due to him individually for having been the

first to urge the founding of the West India Company, there is no question that the argument received its most potent stimulus from the actual erection and incipient prosperity of the East India Company. Such careful annalists and historians as Van Meteren, Aitzema, Wagenaar, if they do more than merely record the fact of the establishment of the former, and permit themselves any remarks as to what led to it, assert invariably that the success of the East India Company was the chief reason. It was two years after the granting of the East India charter, that Usselinx was requested to draft the circular of which he made mention, "in order to ascertain whether sufficient voluntary subscriptions could be obtained from merchants to start a company with a good capital," for trade with the West Indies, or America.

This paper met with the entire approval of those who had asked Usselinx to prepare it. It was thereupon immediately submitted to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, who were thus the first public body before whom the project of the West India Company was laid. As an initiatory step towards its erection, it was a very important and a very necessary one. There seems to have been in all matters of this character three distinct gradations in the public bodies who were to be consulted, and whose consent needed to be obtained. First in order came the municipal government of the commercial metropolis, Amsterdam. If her Burgomasters and Council of Forty referred the measure proposed, with their approval, to their delegates in the provincial legislature, or the States of Holland, it was almost certain to win the approbation of the representatives of the other cities there, and was thus secure of adoption. If then, thirdly, the States of Holland directed their deputies in the Congress, or States-General of the Republic, to vote for it (and the deputies from the several provinces only voted as directed), it received an indorsement which was irresistible. It will be seen that these various steps, to be noted in their proper sequence, were successively taken in the establishment of the West India Company.

The promotors of this scheme doubtless awaited with some anxiety the first public decision. The Burgomasters and the Council of Amsterdam were accustomed to deal with affairs of a wide range. They had in times past made direct treaties of commerce with foreign potentates, by which special privileges of trade were conceded to her citizens, and which were still in force. And what is of particular interest to us, later in the course of this same century (1656), they became direct possessors or rulers of a portion of New Netherland, situated on the South or Delaware River. In the present instance they determined to proceed with

caution. They advised delay until an expedition under Admiral Van Caerden, who had distinguished himself in the East India service, but who had recently been sent to the east coasts of South America, should have been heard from.



AMSTERDAM CITY HALL BEFORE 1615.

Another circumstance, too, made public men in Holland hesitate to entertain schemes of conquest in American waters. In the year 1599 Admiral Peter Van der Does, son of the illustrious defender of Leyden, and first curator of her University, was despatched with a powerful fleet of over seventy ships of war to make a descent upon the Spanish possessions in South America and the West Indies. The Admiral resolved to pause on his way and harass or conquer whatever other of Spain's islands or colonies he might meet with. Thus the Canaries were attacked and various towns taken or burned. On

reaching the island of St. Thomas, off the coast of Guinea, and exactly on the equator, he made an attack on it, which was entirely successful. But in an evil hour he decided that it would be to the advantage of his enterprise to tarry here for a while, in order to refit, thus to be in a better condition to undertake a descent on Brazil. The excessive heat brought on the yellow fever, to which the Admiral himself succumbed. A hasty departure did not meet with the expected result, for the pestilence continued to rage on board the ships, and more than a thousand men perished while they were in mid-ocean. Under these circumstances the design against Brazil was abandoned, and but a feeble demonstration was made against one or two islands in the Caribbean Sea. In February, 1600, the disheartened remnant of the fleet returned to the fatherland, and the incident is only of importance to us because for many years it served the opponents of the West India Company as a potent argument, and contributed largely to delay its erection.

Notwithstanding this powerful weapon wielded against him, and the fact that the Van Caerden expedition proved equally unsuccessful, Usselinx went on urging his project now fairly launched upon the magistrates and merchants of the Dutch metropolis. He was enthusiastically seconded in these endeavors by those "learned and keen-sighted patriots" of whom Van Meteren wrote, and whom he now mentions by name. Among these was none other than the Rev. Petrus Plancius, who was largely instrumental in furthering the voyages to the North Pole, and who later became the counselor of Henry Hudson. Another efficient co-laborer was Francois Francken, a member of the High Council of State. Through the influence at the command of these personages, such a pressure was brought to bear upon the Amsterdam Municipality as to secure their favorable attention to the scheme of Usselinx. Their deputies were accordingly directed to introduce the matter before the States of Holland, and in the summer of 1606 it was first discussed there.

But Usselinx had not confined his efforts to Amsterdam alone; Zeeland, the "Sea-Beggar" Province, was a fair and promising field for his purposes, and while he left Plancius and Francken to carry on the work in the commercial capital of Holland, he himself succeeded in interesting influential men in Middleburg. As a consequence, the States of Zeeland appointed a committee of three, of whom Usselinx himself was one, to meet a number of gentlemen from various cities of Holland, who had evidently been appointed a committee on the subject by the States of Holland, after their discussion of it. There were eight representatives from Amsterdam; Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam were each represented

by three; Haarlem and Leyden, each by two; and seven other cities, each by one; these with the three from Zeeland constituted, therefore, the rather large committee of thirty one members. They were charged with the duty of drafting a patent, or "license,"—*vergunning*, Van Meteren calls it, which is the Dutch for license —or charter, for a West India Company, and they assembled and addressed themselves to this task in October, 1606. The committee proved to be prompt, for, as we are told by Usselinx himself, he furnished as a basis for its labors a draft previously prepared, which only needed to be modified, and on November 1st, its report was recorded on the minutes of the States of Holland. The members of the legislature were thereupon directed to communicate for instructions with the magistrates of their respective cities. This having been done, from the 5th to the 21st of December the subject was again under debate in the assembly; the discussion was resumed in March, 1607, and was then continued into July.

THE VYVER AT THE HAGUE.

The members of the provincial legislature of Holland had now before

them in 1606 and 1607 substantially the same points for discussion—that is, the same questions regarding the privileges to be conceded to the proposed West India Company—that were finally laid before the States-General. It was highly important that the measure should pass this lower body; for, as has been intimated above, such a project would not to much purpose come before the general legislature unless it had the indorsement of the States of Holland. The wealth and population of this province were so preponderating as compared with the other six of the United Netherlands, that she practically determined the course of legislation in affairs of great import, and especially where they affected the commerce of the country. Before her "States," all the proposed charters for mercantile associations naturally came, or certainly as a matter of fact did come first, because very nearly all the capital for these proceeded from the merchants living within her bounds. And now, assembled in their spacious hall, they had before them a measure that rivaled in importance the formation of the great East India Company. The place where a discussion occurred that was to affect so vitally our portion of the globe cannot be without interest to us. The Hall of the "States of Holland and West Friesland" was situated upon the famous Binnenhof at the Hague, constituting a part of the continuous line of buildings on its northern side. Those which contained the Departments of the General Government of the republic, were east of it; the Stadholder's residence adjoined it immediately to the west. While the States-General ordinarily met in a small room, with only three windows obtaining an imperfect light in a somewhat narrow angle of the historic square, the lofty, vaulted Hall of the States of Holland opened with five high and broad windows upon the "Vyver," and there hung around its four walls a gorgeous tapestry, representing persons in the costumes of different nations apparently listening to the debates and leaning over a balustrade. To day this hall is occupied by the "First Chamber" or Upper House of the States-General of the Kingdom.

The project of the West India Company halted at its second stage as it had at its first before the municipality of Amsterdam. The approval or indorsement of the States of Holland could not be secured for it. The negotiations which resulted in the Truce of 1609 were also now under way, and these put an entirely different aspect upon the expediency of the aims and purposes which had commended the erection of the West India Company. All discussion of the "concept-octroy" in the legislalature of Holland Province ceased, and the matter failed to be referred to the States-General.

In 1614 there was a brief revival of the agitation of the question of the

establishment of the Company. It was the result of the awakening of Holland to the importance of the regions discovered for the Republic by Hudson. Several exploring and trading voyages had been made in the interval, and it was feared that the erection of various weak and rival associations would be as detrimental to western trade as it had been in the case of the East Indies. This had necessitated the erection of the "General East India Company," whose incredible prosperity had proved the wisdom of the measure. A number of merchants, therefore, appealed to the Provincial States of Holland, in July, 1614, to charter "a general company," that is, a national association of capitalists, on the plan of the East India Company ; and this for the purpose of trading "on some coasts of Africa and America." The appeal was successful in so far that the scheme received the indorsement of the legislature, in the form of a reference of it to the States-General, which coming from such a source amounted to a recommendation in the estimation of the national parliament. But even before this reference the subject had already been introduced, and there must have been a general and intense interest awakened by it throughout the United Netherlands. In every direction men were presenting measures for establishing commercial relations with the New World. On June 21, a body of "divers traders," from more than one province of the Union, had laid before the States-General a petition "for the formation and erection in this country of a general company for the West Indies." The memorial from the States of Holland, the dominant Province, where men, money, and merchants especially abounded, in a proportion that far outstripped that of the six other members of the Confederacy, could not fail to give immense weight to the discussion.

Accordingly, on August 25, 1614, the States-General passed a resolution bearing evidence to the fact that the subject on hand was deemed to be of the very gravest moment. It was namely "Resolved, that the business of forming a General West India Company shall be undertaken tomorrow morning ; moreover, that to this meeting may come those deputed from the Provinces, those who will request to promote this work, those who act on orders, as well as those who appear and have seats in the Assembly and at extraordinary meetings of other chambers, and at the meeting of their High Mightinesses." On the committee to arrange for this special order of business were placed two men, one named Nicasius Kien ; the other William Usselinx. It is a source of regret that some eye-witnesses of this gathering of Tuesday, August 26, 1614, have not left an account of what they saw and heard. It must have been held either in the great "Truce Chamber," or in the solemn Gothic Hall of the Knights,

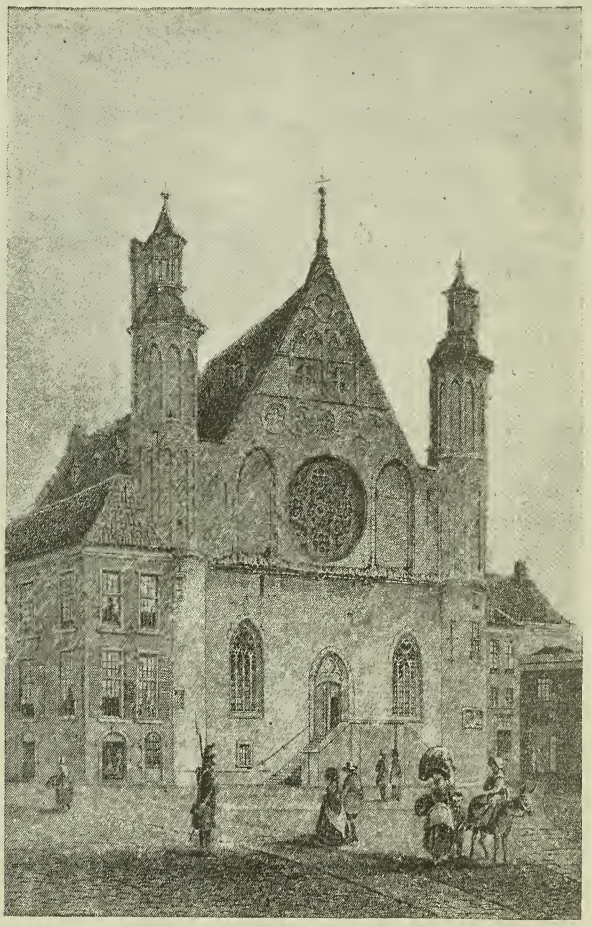
hung with the trophies of Republican victories. All that is known of the proceedings is that they led to no action; for exactly one week later, on Tuesday, September 2d, a resolution was passed at a morning session of the States-General to make the question of the West India Company a special order again that afternoon. But no action was arrived at then. There for the present the matter was allowed to rest. The country was not yet ripe for the enterprise involved in the erection of an association by the side of the East India Company and to invest the same large capital. And the Truce was a serious obstacle in the way. The artful "exception" inserted in the article on Indian Trade could not be made to apply to the coasts of America and Africa, where there were no semi-civilized states with whom to make independent treaties, and where Spain was already in possession and must be left in peace. The States of Holland, on September 27th were again in deliberation in the endeavor to remove the difficulties, or palliate the obstacles, on the ground of the Truce, suggested by the States-General. But it was of no avail, and some years were suffered to elapse ere it was deemed expedient to resume the subject. Yet on October 11th, the States-General granted a charter to the "New Netherland Company."

While the discussions bearing on the West India Company were an element in the strife that was tearing the Republic asunder during the Twelve Years' Truce, they were not the main issue. Nor must it be thought for a moment that his opposition to the formation of that Company alone brought Barneveld to the block. It is using language altogether too strong and unadvised to say in respect to the promoters of the enterprise that, "after many years of ardent antagonism, they had to pass

JOHN BARNEVELD.

over his body to execute their plans." Such a statement needlessly exaggerates the situation. Barneveld had stood in the way of the West India Company only in the interest of peace or a truce, which he deemed essential, and that in 1608, before the truce was effected. This great patriot might have been as anxious to establish it as Usselinx himself when the

twelve years were over, and war should appear as expedient then as truce had seemed at the beginning. Still some countenance is given to this extravagant theory by the fact that immediately after the arrest of Barneveld on August 29, 1618, the States of Holland resumed the discussion of the West India Charter (September 18th), and in November we find it before the States-General. It was resolved then to allow it to be referred to the various provincial legislatures. As has been intimated before, but which it is now necessary to understand clearly, the members



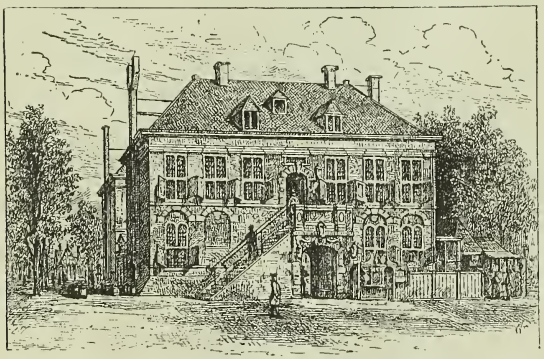
HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, BINNENHOF.

of the States-General of the United Netherlands were not really legislators. They were rather plenipotentiaries or ambassadors from the several provinces met in conclave to act out the definitely ascertained wishes of their superiors on every distinct question that came before them. They could deliberate upon it in advance, and exercise their judgment as to whether it was worth referring; but when this had been decided they must place themselves in special communication upon the particular subject with their provincial States, whose unsurrendered individual sovereignty was in this way continually asserted. The charter for a West India Company had now reached this third and last stage of public action; it was thought of sufficient importance or expediency to consult in regard to it with the several States. But ere these seven legislative bodies could be ready to instruct their deputies in the States-General they must in their turn each severally return to their municipal governments, whose ambassadors they were. And in every direction unanimity was imperative before action or adoption. Necessarily, therefore, the matter moved slowly, and it is not surprising to find that not till two years and a half after November, 1618, did the charter come again before the States-General. Barneveld had then been dead more than two years, the truce was over, and everything was ready for the most warlike undertakings that were contemplated by the West India Company. Accordingly its great charter was granted, and the document duly signed and sealed on June 3, 1621.

By the provisions of this paper their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands authorized the formation of a national society of merchants. To enable them to carry out the purposes of their association it was stipulated that a sum of not less than seven millions of florins ($2,800,000) be subscribed as capital. There were to be five Chambers of Direction representing the shareholders of different sections of the country. One of these was the Chamber of Amsterdam, to which later was entrusted the entire management of New Netherland affairs. A general board was formed for the control of the entire company by delegates from each chamber, called the "Assembly of the XIX", being composed of nineteen members, one of whom represented the States General.

The Company having been thus organized for effective operation, what was it empowered to do? For the space of twenty-four years after July 1, 1621, it was to have the privilege, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants or associations of merchants within the bounds of the United Provinces, of sending ships for purposes of traffic to the countries of America and Africa that bordered on the Atlantic Ocean, and those on the west coast

of America on the shores of the Pacific. The remainder of the globe was assigned to the Dutch East India Company, whose field of operations, as has been stated more than once in these pages, began in the seas east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. In the regions or waters designated, the West India Company was given the privilege that had been conceded to the East India Company in its sphere, of making treaties and alliances with princes and potentates. Here, too, for the purpose of protecting their trade or for carrying on war, the Company was allowed to erect forts, and having established themselves in friendly or conquered territories, the directors could appoint governors and other officers. The Company was permitted to levy troops of its own, and to fit out fleets with every appurtenance for attack or defense, in order to hold its possessions against the enemy. Amid all this warlike language there is but little said directly bearing on the injuries the Company should endeavor to inflict on the fleets or territories of Spain. But it was obvious that the permission to raise armies and fleets applied principally in the direction of predatory warfare on sea and land. Indeed, a special article conferring upon the Company authority to pursue methods of force in case of fraud practised against its servants abroad, or if goods were stolen from them by violent hands, gave them a sufficient margin for aggressive warfare. Yet a precisely similar article formed part of the charter of the East India Company. The troops levied by the Company were to take the usual oath of allegiance to the States-



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON HAARLEM STREET.

In 1623 the Company rented a fine building belonging to the city on the "Haarlemmer Straat," and this, the second (not, as some have called it, the first) building occupied by their offices, is represented in the illustration in the text. If the reader should visit Amsterdam he will be easily able to identify this house. Through the kindness of Mr. K. H. Van Pelt, a merchant of Amsterdam, inquiries were made, and after making a personal visit to the locality he writes: "The building on the 'Haarlemmer Straat,' facing the Heeren Market [Square], is now a 'Home for Old Men and Women'. It is an old-fashioned building exactly in the state as it was built."

General as well as to their more immediate principals. Likewise the Governor-General who might eventually be appointed was to be approved and commissioned by theStates-General, and must swear fealty to them as well as to the Assembly of the XIX. In case actual hostilities should occur, which the cessation of the truce of course made certain, the General Government were to provide twenty vessels of war of various burden, provided that the Company "man, victual, and support" these, adding themselves an equal number of armed vessels of like burden, while the troops of the States placed on board of these fleets should also be paid by the Company. Coming now to the matter of trade, of which we had almost lost sight amid so many military articles, the Company was conceded the privilege of exporting home manufactures and of importing the products of the countries along the Atlantic, free of all duties for the space of eight years. Prizes taken on the seas, and booty of war, wherever secured, were to have their value carefully estimated by the Boards of Admiralty, and the proceeds were to be distributed in fixed proportions among the shareholders and servants of the Company, with a fair percentage for the treasury of the General Government of the United Netherlands.

A number of other matters referring to details of business, such as the subscription of the capital and the management of it when subscribed, the duties and emoluments of directors and the subordinate officers and clerks of the Company, form the subject of several articles and need not be more fully described here. But among the whole of the forty-five articles of the charter, we find only one brief clause that can by any interpretation of language or spirit be regarded as imposing the duty of colonizing, and with that department of the West India Company's enterprises we are of course at present most concerned. It occurs in the second article, which is a very long one, but its words are few and not very pressing: "further [they] may promote the populating of fertile and uninhabited regions, and do all that the advantage of these provinces, the profit and increase of commerce shall require." Now we can hardly read in these lines what a recent writer saw in them, who says that "in the newly drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America." We fail to read an obligation in the actual words of mild permission, and can discover no allusion whatever to New Netherland. Nevertheless upon this slight and scarcely visible thread of duty or contract, if such even it may be called, hung the whole of that connection with Manhattan Island which made the Colony there the ward of

the West India Company, and links their histories inseparably together.

With its powers and privileges carefully defined and its internal organization skilfully appointed, the West India Company was nevertheless helpless without capital. It was fully two years and a quarter before the prescribed sum was subscribed,

ADMIRAL PIET HEYN.

and for that length of time the great charter remained nugatory. The capital then secured was precisely 7,108,-161.10 florins ($2,843,264.44), as one careful historian informs us.

The capital having been finally subscribed, and the books closed on October 31, 1623, with an exhibit of above seven millions of florins, the directors at once prepared for active operations, and on December 21st they despatched their first fleet. It consisted of twenty-six vessels, large and small, and was commanded by an admiral whose name it is not material to mention by the side of that of his vice-admiral, Piet Heyn, whose fame soon became worldwide. The object of the expedition, as revealed by secret instructions that were to be opened at sea, was an attack on San Salvador, situated on the Bahia, the capital of the former Portuguese, but then Spanish, possessions in Brazil. Manhattan Island had at that time been known and almost constantly visited by Dutch ships for nearly fourteen years; the name of "New Netherland Company" had been assumed by an association of merchants who had sought to develop the resources of the region thus popularly known, and this association, together with all the others trading with the countries on the Atlantic coast, east and west, had been absorbed by the Great West India Company. But New Netherland, to which a few ships with emigrants had been sent in the course of this same year (1623), was not in the thought of the directors when they were contemplating a supreme effort. Brazil was the land of their desire, whose conquest from previous possessors was to bring untold wealth and glory.

There follows now a period of five or six years when the West India

Company reached the height of its financial success, and the most extravagant expectations for the future seemed to be justified. San Salvador was taken in 1624, but lost the next year through some mismanagement. Towards the close of 1626, Piet Heyn, advanced to the rank of Admiral, was a second time sent to the Bahia, and, although he did not attempt to recover the city, he seized vast treasures by capturing the greater part of the South American fleet, which had just been collecting there preparatory to conveying to Spain the precious products gathered from field, and forest, and mine, through a whole year. The exploit netted his masters 370,000 florins ($148,000) in sugar alone. But the climax of prosperity, or what was deemed prosperity, for the Company, and the acme of glory for the Admiral himself were attained in the famous year 1628; for then took place that signal achievement which has made the name of Piet Heyn immortal--the taking of the Spanish Silver Fleet.

Early in the year the Admiral was placed in command of a fleet of thirty-one vessels, with which he proceeded directly to the West Indies. Sending out some of his swiftest yachts to reconnoiter, word was soon brought him, while cruising among the Antilles, that the great Silver Fleet of the Spaniards, lightly convoyed, was on its way to Cuba. Heyn at once gave orders to all his captains to be on the alert for the first signs of this splendid prize. His diligence was rewarded ere long by the coming into sight of no less than ten vessels sailing together. He speedily put to rout the few armed convoys accompanying the squadron, and made an easy prey of the others. It proved however, to be not the Silver Fleet, but that from Mexico, laden with rich dye-stuffs and other merchandise. A few days later another fleet of eleven sail came into view. These vessels had sought to enter the harbor of Havana, but opposing winds and stress of weather had driven them out of their course, and they were now endeavoring to make the bay or harbor of Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba, when they fell in with the Dutch. They attempted to escape by hastening within the shelter of the bay, but it was too late. Besides, as they were entering, most of the ships ran aground upon the shoals, suffering no injury thereby, but being rendered helpless in the face of an attacking force. Admiral Heyn therefore considerately offered them quarter and honorable terms of surrender, which were accepted. And thus without a blow passed into his hands the annual fleet from Guatemala, freighted with silver on its way to replenish the Spanish treasury. Heyn, having transferred their cargoes, burned seven of the captured vessels, and succeeded in reaching the ports of the Republic late in the same year (1628), without the loss of a single ship. It was found that the

booty he had secured was worth no less than eleven and a half millions of florins ($4,600,000), while the value of the prizes brought home about the same time by other fleets of the West India Company aggregated over four millions of florins ($1,600,000). The Company felt justified in declaring a dividend of fifty per cent. in 1629, and again in 1630 one of twenty-five per cent. But the same degree of success was never attained again. The Admiral, who, in gaining untold wealth for the West India Company, had won only renown for himself,—for he refused to accept a single dollar,—did not long survive his famous exploit. In 1629 he was killed off the coast of Belgium in an engagement with the Dunkirk pirates. He was buried at the public expense and a splendid monument raised to his memory in the Old Church at Delft, the first instance in which such an honor was paid to a Dutch admiral.

Enriched yet not quite satisfied with the immense but precarious returns of mere predatory warfare, the Company resolved to again address itself seriously to the conquest of a colonial empire in Brazil and Africa, to correspond with the one established by the East India Company in Eastern Seas. San Salvador had been won and lost; it was determined not to renew attempts in this direction, but to seek a lodgment higher up the coast; and the city of Olinda, in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, on the site of the present city of that name, was selected as the object of the next attack. Heyn being no more, the expedition was intrusted to Admiral Loncq. It set out early in 1629, but this was a trying year for the Republic, and Loncq was left unsupported until the crisis was past. Frederick Henry's heroic efforts having been crowned with brilliant success, later in the year the Admiral was placed over a very much larger command than that with which he had at first sailed. He was now at the head of a fleet of sixty-one vessels, carrying a force of 3500 marines besides 3780 sailors,—a more powerful armament than had ever before been sent out by the West India Company. Nothing in Brazil could resist this Dutch Armada, and on March 2, 1630, Olinda surrendered, becoming subsequently the capital of Dutch Brazil under the name of Mauritstadt, in honor of the Governor.

With extensive territories in its possession in Brazil, besides Curacoa and other islands in the Caribbean Sea, and some towns on the shores of the Mexican gulf, it seemed to the West India Company that the time had now come for assuming a state and dignity in the government of its acquisitions on a scale to vie with the splendid empire established by the East India Company on the island of Java. But even that proud and wealthy association had never looked beyond its own directors, or men who had occupied the position of Burgomaster of Amsterdam, or of

some other city to fill the almost regal office of Governor-General at Batavia. The West India Company looked higher, and did not hesitate to apply to a scion of the illustrious house of Nassau. They invited to assume the post of "Captain-Governor and Admiral-General" of the West Indies, John Maurice, Count of Nassau, the grandson of Count John of Nassau, the next younger brother of William the Silent. This nobleman, apart from this exalted family connection, was possessed of eminent personal merit. In 1629, during that brief critical condition in the affairs of the Republic already mentioned, he had won distinction under his cousin, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, at the siege of Bois-le-Duc, and in 1632, at the equally successful siege of Maastricht, he had bravely sustained an attack by the famous Pappenheim, who was destined that same year to receive a mortal wound on the field of Lutzen, where Gustavus Adolphus met his death. Count John Maurice was now in the prime of life, having been born in the year 1604, and thus when this invitation came to him (1636) only thirty-two years of age.

In October, 1636, Count John Maurice sailed from Holland, attended by a fleet carrying three thousand men, and arrived at the city of Paraiba in February, 1637. His arrival was soon followed by the establishment of very beneficial institutions within the bounds of his government, for which Robert Southey, the English historian of Brazil, awards him the highest meed of praise. Under the direction of a man so liberal and enlightened, the colony flourished greatly, and as an indication of this it may be stated that from a duty of ten per cent. on the export of sugar alone an annual income of 280,900 florins ($112,360) was realized. He was diligent also in promoting measures for the extension of territory. Before his arrival the Dutch had occupied four of the fourteen Captaincies into which Portuguese Brazil had been divided; these were Pernambuco, Paraiba, Rio Grande, and Tamarica. Several expeditions were undertaken against places still held by the enemy within these provinces, and with invariable success, while, as the result of his well-planned and vigorously executed manœuvers against the enemy outside of the territories already conquered, three more Captaincies were added to the Dutch possessions during the Governor's administration—those of Maragnan and Seara in the northwest, and that of Seregipe in the south. Nor was it forgotten that his legitimate jurisdiction embraced the coasts on the other side of the Atlantic. Slave-labor in that day was deemed indispensable for the developement of Brazil's natural resources, and hence, a few months after his arrival, Count Nassau sent a fleet to seize the Spanish-Portuguese possessions in Africa. St. George

del Mina, a strong fortress situated on the Gold Coast, the key to the country where the slave-trade was mainly pursued, fell into the hands of the Dutch. The Island of St. Thomas, off the shores of Upper Guinea, captured by the unfortunate Van der Does in 1599, was now retaken and occupied by a sufficient force to hold it securely. In 1641,

JOHN MAURICE OF NASSAU.

the city and fortress of St. Paul de Loanda, in Lower Guinea, surrendered—a place whence were annually exported twenty-five thousand, slaves at a gross income of a million florins and a net profit of 660,000 florins ($264,000).

But now there appeared on the horizon the small cloud that boded storm and disaster after hitherto uninterrupted success. In 1639 Colonel Artichofsky, who had distinguished himself in the conquest of Brazil before the advent of Count John Maurice, arrived at Mauritstadt bearing credentials which showed that the Company had conferred upon him the title and command of "Generallissimus"—that is, he was to have special authority, independent of the Governor-General's control, over the land forces in Brazil, and indeed the entire regulation of military affairs seemed to have been entrusted to him. A greater mistake could not have been committed. The efficient incumbent of the chief office in the Company's service resented such action on their part. He refused to recognize the "Generallissimus," and forthwith sent him back to Holland. The Polish nobleman, on his part, naturally complained of this conduct, and, finding sympathizers, the seeds of dissension were sown, and evil consequences were sure to follow.

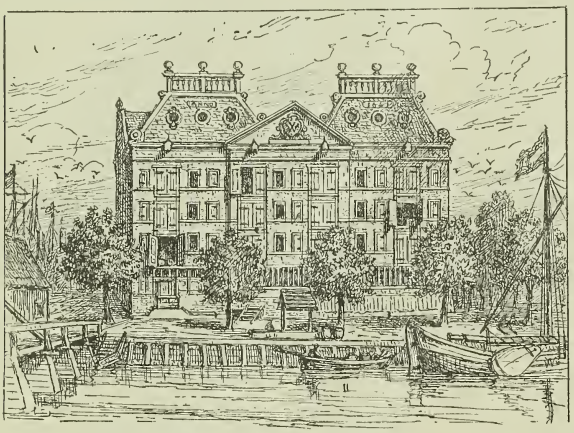
And never was there greater need of harmony in the counsels of the Company, or in those of its Brazilian colony, than at this very time. The Spaniards had at last been roused to the importance of making an effort to recover the colonial empire of Brazil, which had fallen to their share when they reduced the kingdom of Portugal. A fleet of eighty-six vessels, with twelve thousand men on board, was despatched from the ports of Spain, and was known in Holland and at Mauritstadt to be crossing the Atlantic, to crush the power of the

Dutch intruders with one fell blow. It seemed to be in no great haste, however, for not till eight months after it left Spain did the fleet appear off the coasts of Dutch Brazil. On January 12, 1640, the Republican squadron sailed forth to encounter the Spaniards, and after four days of hard fighting the latter withdrew from the contest under cover of the night. Thus Brazil was still held for the Dutch West India Company, and no molestation was likely soon to come from the direction of Spain.

A worse thing, however, than war had thus far proved for the interests of the Company was preparing for it in Portugal. In 1640, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke and became again an independent state. In so doing, however, she necessarily assumed an attitude of hostility to Spain, and this made her inevitably the ally of the Dutch Republic. Indeed, she had not accomplished her emancipation without material aid from the United Provinces. Therefore what were these Provinces now to do with the colonial possessions wrested from her ally? This proved a very serious as well as a very puzzling question. The Portuguese revolution had such a depressing effect upon the stock of both Companies, that the East India shares fell immediately from five hundred to four hundred and forty florins, and those of the other from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fourteen. But the most disastrous consequence was the loss of Brazil. Affairs there lingered for some years in a measurably prosperous condition; but the Portuguese subjects became more and more restive. Count John Maurice met with reverse or disappointment in one or two enterprises, and, not being supported by the Company at home, he offered his resignation in 1644. As a measure of frugality, as well as for other reasons, it was accepted, and the Governor left Brazil in the summer of that year.

After the Count of Nassau's departure matters in Brazil grew rapidly worse. As if the pressure of adverse circumstances from without were not enough to produce ruin, by a strange fatuity the West India Company invited misfortune by the appointment of officers most of whom were incompetent, while others proved to be traitors. In despair the Company, in 1646, appealed for aid to the States-General, who granted a subsidy of one and a half millions of florins, and despatched a fleet carrying a force of four thousand men. Nothing of importance was gained, however. Then in 1647 Count John Maurice was once more solicited to accept the Governor-Generalship; but he saw that things had gone too far for remedy, and he wisely declined the honor. Another attempt to send relief to the colony in 1649 was frustrated by internal dissensions and jealousies, at home and abroad. Shortly after, Cromwell declared war against Holland for affording shelter

to the fugitive Charles II.; and while all the strength of the Republic was necessarily concentrated upon the endeavor to resist so formidable an adversary, Portugal made use of the opportunity to finally destroy the power of the Dutch in distant Brazil, and in 1654 the West India Company saw that fair and vast acquisition pass completely and forever out of its hands. At a peace or convention



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON THE RAPENBURG.

concluded by the United Netherlands with Portugal in 1661, the latter agreed to pay eight millions of florins ($3,200,000) to the Company as an indemnification for its loss, together with the concession of certain priviliges to Dutch traders or settlers similar to those granted to Portuguese under Dutch rule, and this was the last of the splendid Colonial Empire of the West which was to have rivaled that in the Orient.

At home, too, as was to be expected, the affairs of the Company were now in ruinous confusion. When, in 1644, the charter of the East India Company was about to expire at the end of its second period of twenty-one years, and that of the West India Company was approaching the close of its first term of twenty-four years, an effort was made to combine the two into one association. The directors of the West India Company offered to transfer to those of the other Company all their property in the shape of territories, forts, vessels, etc., together with a sum in cash of more than three millions and a half of florins. But the East India Company refused to enter into the combination, on the ground that the assets of the West India Company were five millions of florins less than their liabilities, and

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When its financial reverses came upon it the Company (1654) was no longer able to pay the rent of the house on Haarlem street. It then transferred its offices to the warehouse which had been erected in 1642 on the Rapenburg Quay. In the central gable is sculptured in stone the Company's monogram, "G. W. C." for "Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie," or Chartered West India Company. This building is represented in the illustration, and, like the other, may be readily identified.

this deficit would have to be raised on the credit of the former, which would cause an immediate fall in the value of their stock. This refusal, remarks Van Kampen, was the "death sentence" of the West India Company. But another fatal blow was the long-threatened and final loss of Brazil, ten years later, in 1654. After that destruction was inevitable. "Its affairs fell into such a state," says the author of "La Richesse de la Hollande," "that it no longer paid any dividend or interest much less the principal of the sums that had been advanced. As early as 1667 it was contemplated to sell the property of the Company, as well as the rights which it enjoyed under its charter; but the project did not go into effect. Burdened with a debt of six millions without the means of liquidating the same, without the hope even of acquiring the power to do so, it was determined to dissolve the Company in 1674." This dissolution took place. Thereupon a new West India Company was organized, to which a charter was granted for twenty-five years, to begin with the 1st of January, 1675. By one stroke the debt of the old Company was reduced thirty per cent., and the capital contributed by the former shareholders placed fifteen per cent. below the amount actually invested. On this reconstructed but crippled basis the West India Company continued its operations in a feeble manner for a century and a quarter longer. In 1682, Surinam, or Dutch Guyana, which had been ceded to the Dutch in the place of New Netherland in 1667, at the peace of Breda, was sold to the Company by the States of Zeeland, under whose auspices it had been conquered, for two hundred and sixty thousand florins ($104,000). But the Company was unable alone to conduct the colony's affairs profitably. It therefore sold a one-third interest to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to Cornelius Van Aerssen, Lord of Sommelsdyk. This combination of interests was then incorporated as a separate organization, under the name of the "Surinam Company," in 1683. In 1700, when the first twenty-five years had expired, the Charter of the West India Company was renewed for thirty years, and in 1730, another thirty years were granted to it; but its affairs were ever after characterized by feebleness as compared with those of a century before. A momentary gleam of importance seems once more to be reflected upon it when, in 1747, William IV., Prince of Orange, and Stadholder of all the United Netherlands, was made "Chief-Director and Governor-General of both the Indies," and thereby placed at the head of the East and the West India Companies." At length, in the year 1800, when the waves of the French Revolution had rolled over Holland, banishing the house of Orange, and destroying the old Republic or Confederacy of the United Netherlands, the two historic Companies

were also swept out of existence. Their affairs and their possessions were placed under the care of the "Councils for the Asiatic and the American Possessions," and the East and West India Companies were heard of no more. Fifteen years later Holland arose, a Kingdom instead of a Republic, out of the chaos into which the French Revolution and Napoleon's ambition had plunged European politics; and the colonial possessions in the east and west, or so much of them as could be recovered from the English, became the property of the State, and are relegated at this day to the Department of the Colonies under the chief direction of a Cabinet Minister.

The history of the West India Company has thus been traced from its inception in 1604 to its extinction in 1800. The principal use of this review for our purposes is to be found in the opportunity it affords to appreciate the position of the West India Company at home and abroad, while New Netherland was still a part of the territories over which it bore rule. If its management of New Netherland affairs was not without defect, it will be seen that it was equally defective in management in other quarters. If it is a matter of surprise at times that there was such great lack of vigorous support when it might properly have been expected from the directors at home, it can be seen that vigor was not long characteristic of the Company, or indeed within its ability to manifest anywhere; while its financial situation hampered its activities when scarcely more than half of its first term of twenty-four years had expired. It will be seen, too, that predatory warfare was its favorite pursuit, or at least that colonization was never its principal object. In 1626, when, as is claimed by some, the enemies of the Company pressed that almost invisible clause of the charter which only seemed to enjoin some such undertaking,—when, too, encouraging financial returns as the result of prizes-of-war began to come in,—the first regular Colonial Government was provided for New Netherland, and Director-General Minuit was sent out. Before he was recalled, and during a part of Van Twiller's administration, the acme of the Company's prosperity was attained. Yet there are not apparent any notable consequences attending these happy events in the province upon the Hudson River, except some brief activity in the erection of a few modest buildings, and the completion of Fort Amsterdam. In 1637, when the Count of Nassau, allied to the illustrious house of Orange, was sent to govern Brazil, William Kieft, a bankrupt in business, and with a clouded reputation, was sent to govern New Netherland. During his administration misfortunes began to accumulate upon the Company at home and abroad; in the midst of these Stuyvesant was appointed, and they became worse

with every year of his incumbency. So in 1664 New Netherland, unsupported by the Company, because it was itself helpless and on the brink of ruin, was suffered to pass into other hands without a blow. And by a curious coincidence, when New Netherland, in the year 1674, finally ceased to be subject to Dutch control, occurred also the dissolution of the original West India Company.

NOTE: Illustration on page 112 is view of City of Amsterdam—not New Amsterdam.

THE FIRST PRINTING IN AMERICA—THE FIRST PRINTER—THE FIRST EDITOR.

Until a comparatively recent date, the world of book lovers has been in perplexity as to the real facts regarding the first book published in America. Earnest investigation, aided by accidental discovery, has at last, however, been rewarded, and certain rare works have at last been found that are like royal nuggets in a gold mine. In order to give a somewhat full idea of the efforts that have been made, it will be well to trace the search backward. This procedure will best show the discoveries in their chronological order, and from the singular developments so made, the consecutive events in the history of the art of printing in America can be the more readily given. Isaiah Thomas, in his "History of Printing," published in 1810, a work regarded as very high authority, in speaking of early printing in the Western hemisphere, says that in January, 1639, "Printing was first performed in that part of North America which extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Ocean. The first press and font of type were brought from Old England to New England by the Reverend Jesse Glover, who himself defrayed a part of the expense, the remainder being contributed by several persons in New England and Amsterdam." The first printer who settled in the New England colonies, and entered upon the publication of books was a Londoner named Stephen Daye. He brought over with him the necessary printing plant, and established himself in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The first work done by him was a broadside, entitled "The Free Man's Oath." Unfortunately no known copies are in existence. This first publication in that part of the New World, was followed by the production of the first book, an "Almanack," for the year 1640, compiled according to Thomas and Winthrop the historian, by "Mr. William Pierce, Mariner." The book is regarded as extinct, no copy being known in any public or private library in either England or America. The "Bay Psalm Book," bearing the date of 1640,

long had the honor of being the first publication on the American continent, but careful investigation placed the "Almanack" in the lead. A copy of the "Bay Psalm Book" of 1640, was sold at the celebrated "Harris Sale." It was prepared for the press during the year 1640, whereas the "Almanack" was prepared and printed before the beginning of the year.

So much for the earliest printing done in what is now the United States. In his "History of Printing," Thomas says, possibly from some vague tradition which had been brought to his attention, that "Printing was done in Mexico previous to 1569," and says also that "the first book printed was Martinez." This was as far as his knowledge at the time he wrote permitted him to make the record. Subsequent events proved that he was wrong by two-thirds of a century. The statements made from tradition and inferences, were, as the result of later knowledge corrected in a subsequent edition of his works issued in 1874.

For many years subsequent to the writing of Thomas' History, "Molina's Vocabulary of the Mexican Language," a quarto published in 1555, was regarded as the first book printed in Mexico. It was unknown to Rich and Ternaux, and although there are several copies of the Folio edition to be found at the present time, its existence has but recently been made known. A copy of the quarto edition was sold at Sotheby's sale, and a note stated that no other copy was known to exist in any other library in Europe. It is an exceedingly rare volume, but the United States is happy in the possession of a copy, carefully guarded and preserved in the Lenox Library, New York City. This bibliophiletic treasure was procured in Mexico at a heavy cost. A second copy has also been claimed to have been discovered in the Carter-Brown collection in Providence. A second edition of the work was printed in 1571, but that would naturally not possess the value of a copy of a quarto of the first edition. The search having been begun, was eagerly entered into by book hunters everywhere, when to their delight the "Doctrina Christiana," bearing the date of 1544 was found. This in turn was then claimed to be undoubtedly the first work published by the Mexican press. Rich, in his "Catalogue of American Books," adhered to this opinion as also did Brunet. Others claimed that the "Compendio Breve," (1544), was the first, but the work had never been seen nor heard of by that very eminent of book hunters, Mr. Brown, of Providence.

Many opinions were held as the result of individual investigation. A prominent writer in the Historical Magazine, as late as November, 1858, asserted that the first publication from the Mexican press was "Richel (Dionisio) Copendio Breve, &c. Juan Cromberger, 1545, 4to.," a copy of

which was sold by Sotheby & Wilkinson of London, in June, 1853, for the sum of £35. The writer signs himself as "Rice Planter," and leaves the matter thus vaguely.

Rich, in his "Catalogue of Books Relating to America, printed before the year 1700," claims a different work from that mentioned by "Rice Planter," as beyond a doubt the earliest printed book in Mexico. The year and the name of the printer are however the same, and it requires a minute study of Mexican bibliography to determine which book was the first. Added to these, there is still another statement about a pretended first print of the Mexican press, made by C. Falkenstein, in his "Geschichte der Buch-druckerkunst," (Leipsic, 1540.) He says that Girolamo Paolo Lombardo of Brescia, had been called by Mondez to Mexico to print the "Ordinationes Legumque Collections," &c., and that this work, a folio published in 1549, may be considered as the first American print.

He names Gonzales as his authority, but a careful examination of the works of Gonzales fails to disclose any work such as is indicated. Other discoveries, however, were made, which compelled a gradual putting back of the date of the earliest work until it reached the year 1540.

A similar list was given by Harisse in his "Bibliotheka Americana Vetissima," and Mr. John Russell Bartlett gives another list reaching from 1540 to 1600 in the "Carter-Brown Catalogue," and gives also certain essays on the subject in the Historical Magazine. The Abbe Clavigero, a most eminent authority says, as the result of his extensive reading and discovery of passages containing references to ancient works: "We may conclude that printing was introduced into Mexico previous to 1540," and what he concluded has been proven to have a foundation in fact. It might be added in this connection that another authority says: "There is a tradition about a Mexican book said to have been printed in 1536, but the book is not now in existence, and the correctness of this date has not been proved."

Of particular value in the premises is the "Historia de la fundacion y discurso, &c.," published in Madrid in 1596.

The author, Archbishop Davila Padilla, of San Domnigo, was born in Mexico in 1562, became a Dominican in 1579 and died in 1604. His opportunities for gathering material regarding the ancient printing on the continent were excellent, and being thoroughly interested in the subject, he amassed a useful store of information regarding the Spanish people, as well as the native Indian races, and the national traits of the natives, and their acceptance of the new regime, so that he was able to make an authoritative statement regarding the production of the earlier works issued by Spaniards in the "New Land," other-

wise called New Spain. It is from the data afforded by him, that we find the earliest positive mention of the establishment of a printing press in the New World, as represented by the Montezumean territory known as New Spain (Nuova Espana), and the positive proof of the first book published in the New World. The world of letters is also indebted in an especial manner to the researches made by Senor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, of the City of Mexico, who has devoted the best services of his genius as an editor and a collaborator to the preparation of an authoritative work in reference to the advent of printing in to the Western World.

This learned writer carefully investigated the whole subject of Mexican typography and published the results of his investigation in an elaborate article in the "Diccinario de Historia y de Geografia," (1854). He gave a list of books printed in Mexico prior to the year 1600, and also designated the places where copies of the works were still preserved.

It would seem as if the discoveries, as they have been traced backward through the decades of years, were such that no question could arise at this stage of the investigation with reference to the proofs. We therefore from the evidence before us, present the following as the authentic history of the introduction of printing into the Western World, with a sketch of its rapid progress during its infant years.

The moving spirit in the enterprise was undoubtedly Senor Antonio de Mendoza. He was a man held in high esteem as an active worker in literature, and as one of the results of the favor he had gained at the Court of Spain, was appointed Viceroy of Mexico in 1535. He also seems to have immediately entered upon an active exercise of his duties and perhaps self-imposed obligations, for the record says:

"He procured an edict in 1551 from Spain, for the establishment of a university in the capitol; previous to which he had taken care that the newly discovered art of printing should be brought from the Old World into the New."

We may therefore regard Senor Mendoza as the originator of the enterprise of introducing the printing press westward across the Atlantic, and in the same year in which he had received his appointment as Viceroy, to wit., in 1535. For a comparison of dates shows that it was in 1535 that historical research gives the name of the first printer in Mexico, Juan Pablos.

The date of 1532, given by Gonzales Davila is evidently wrong, for it is a proved fact that Senor Mendoza was appointed Viceroy in April, 1535, and did not arrive in Mexico until the middle of October of that year. He had undoubtedly been previously very active in preparation for the work, hence the public announcement of the idea, while yet the fact had not been realized.

FRERE ESTRADA—THE FIRST EDITOR.

At this period a new figure comes upon the scene. Frere Estrada, a young monk and undoubtedly one of the companions of Mendoza on his journey when he came to enter upon his duties as Viceroy. He was in all probability the first editorial worker. From the various data that is available, the novitiate of Frere Estrada was only begun when he left Spain. It lasted for "one year," a shorter time than is usually granted in the Seminaries, owing probably to superior successes on his part as a student. He is credited with having made his "Profession" at the end of the year, and during that year to have made the first translation of any known work in the New World. The book credited to his labor is entitled "Escala Espiritual," Spiritual Ladder, and so far as investigations develop any facts up to this date, it is the first translation and editorial work of which any record is known.

The matter is of such interest to lovers of historic lore, that it is well worth while to glance at a portion of the record:

"ESCALA ESPIRITUAL"—1536.

The particulars of its preparation and publication are given by Fr. Davilla Padilla, in his work "Historia de la Fundacion," etc. (Madrid, 1623, folio.) He says:

"Being in the house of the novices, he, (Juan de Estrada), did a thing which, being first done by him in this country, was enough to give him fame if he had not otherwise gained it, as he has, by being what he was. The first book that was written in this New World, and the first on which the art of printing was employed was his work. There was usually given to the novices a book by St. John Climachus; and as it did not exist in our language, he was directed to translate it from the Latin. He did it quickly and with elegance, for he was an excellent Latin and Spanish scholar, and his book was the first that was printed by John Pablos, the first printer who came to this country. It is an evidence of the devotion of the province of San Domingo, of Mexico, that one of her sons was the first who printed in this New World, and that he printed so devout a work as the "Spiritual Ladder" of St. John Climachus."

In an earlier edition of Padilla's work issued in 1596, is also an account of Juan Pablos, styling him, as here, the first printer in Mexico, and stating that the work printed was a "Religious Manual of St. John Climachus." Another writer who refers to this early production of St. John Climachus is Fr. Alonzo Fernandez, in his "Historia Eclesiastica de nuestros tiempos," (Toledo, 1611.) Speaking of Fr. Juan de Estrada, he says:

"This father printed the translation which he made of St. John Climachus very profitably, etc. This was the

first book printed in Mexico, and it was in the year 1535."

The expression "This father printed the translation," etc., does not for a moment interfere with the claims made on behalf of Pablos, for while the reverend father was the author of the work, Pablos did the mechanical part of the printing.

Another leading authority is found in the "Teatro Eclesiastico, &c., by Gil Gonzales Davila, (Madrid, 1849.) He says: "In the year 1532, the Viceroy D. Antonio Mendoza carried printing to Mexico. The first printer was Juan Pablos, and the first book printed in the New World was that written by St. John Climachus, entitled 'Spiritual Ladder to ascend into Heaven;' translated from the Latin into Castilian by the venerable Fr. Juan de la Magdalena, Dominican Religious."

These three writers who refer in their respective works to the translation of the "Escala Espiritual," or "Spiritual Ladder" of Climachus, agree in all respects, with one exception, but the apparent discrepancy is very easily corrected. All three writers state that the book under consideration was the first book printed in Mexico; and two of them add that Juan Pablos was the printer. Davila says the translation was made by Juan de la Magdalena, while Padilla and Fernandez say Juan de Estrada was the translator. These names refer to the same person, Magdalena being the cloister name of Estrada. This is evidenced by the name of "Estrada *alias* Magdalena," being used in other portions of Padilla's works, when speaking of the celebrated divine.

It seems that no copy of the "Escala Espiritual" has been seen in modern times, and the quoted references are the only evidences yet found which mention it. The disappearance of the book more than three hundred years after its publication, is by no means surprising for a work of its kind, for, as Senor Icazbalceta remarks: "Being intended for the use of novices, but a small number was probably printed. These were undoubtedly never circulated outside the convent, but used up as school books generally are sooner than any other class."

The eager desire to learn something of the existence, if an existence there still be of this remarkable book, is shown by the earnest search that is being made by book hunters throughout Europe as well as America. The following expressions are recently credited to Mr. Halket Lord, one of the most eminent among the present searchers in this peculiar mine of Mexican wealth:

"There are two books," he is credited with saying, "that I shall not die happy without discovering. As an American by descent, for my people settled in Connecticut in the middle of the seventeenth century, I wish to gladden my eyes with the sight of those which were first printed on the

North American continent and in New England* Strange to say, we are aware of the existence of such volumes at one time, but no human eye has seen them for centuries. The first volume of which the type was set up and printed off a press on this continent is as lost to collectors as is the first book printed in what is now the United States. The man who can find either of these will have in his possession treasures that are worth thousands of dollars apiece. They are making a great fuss in London over the discovery of the Greek text of Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," and we had the original text in Spanish of the Columbus Letter written up to date at the time of the Ives sale, but these two volumes are of far greater interest to me than either of those I have last named."

Another eminent authority in the present quest, says: "We know from two of the early American writers, Archbishop Davilla Padilla, of San Domingo and Alonzo Fernandez, that the volume had an existence. Both of them mention it in their works, and say that the book was exclusively for the novices at the monastery of St. Dominic, in the City of Mexico, where the first printing press was erected in the Three Americas." All bibliographical authorities are absolutely certain of its having had an existence, and that it antedates what is now the first book actually known to be preserved, and that is Cabrera's 'Manual for Adults,' of which there are only a few fragments in a private library in Madrid, but on one of which we read that the printer, Cromberger, finished it in the City of Mexico on December 13, 1540. So much for that earliest book, and the man who can find in either of the "Three Americas," or any where else in the broad world, a copy, or even the fragment of a copy, will make a fortune.

JUAN PABLOS—THE FIRST PRINTER.

John Pablos, the first printer in the western hemisphere, was evidently, according to Icazbalceta, the foreman of a celebrated printer and publisher, John Cromberger of Seville, in Spain, and sent by his employer to Mexico where he was soon after joined or followed by the head of the house, Cromberger, himself.

Cromberger, until his death a few years later, maintained two establishments, one in Seville and one in Mexico, as is evidenced by the imprints of works issued in both places, both before and during the years that he himself resided in Mexico. Among the books bearing his imprint may be mentioned the "Onzeno de Amadio," (1546), and as early as 1541, the Sepulvedes "Diagolo Llamado Democrates." The publication of this latter work was followed by a remark indicating the decease of the publisher Cromberger. Since the imprint of the other work was five years later, it is highly probable that the business was carried on by his family,

*"Spiritual Ladder" and "Dayes Almanack."

and afterwards purchased by Pablos.

The conjecture made by the eminent historian, Icazbalceta, would seem to be a very happy and satisfactory one. He summed up that, judging from the imprints on works which followed, Pablos became soon after the death of Cromberger the sole owner of the establishment. Yet although not the owner in the first place of the printing house or plant, he is nevertheless entitled to the honor of calling himself, and of being called, "The First Printer in America."

EL PRIMER CATECHISMO—1537.

Following the publication of the "Escala Espiritual," the first book printed in the New World, came another work according to the authority of Gil Gonzalos Davila, entitled: "The First Catechism printed in the Mexican language for the instruction of the Indians, and written by M. F. Juan Ramires,a Dominican Religious, in the year 1537."

Other writers mention this Catechism by Ramirez, but its actual existence is nowhere shown. Gonzales Davila says it was the first catechism printed in the Mexican language. This may be easily true, for the date 1537 does not interfere with other statements made by the same or other authors, but beyond this there is at present no positive knowledge.

"MANUAL DE ADULTOS"—1540.

This work of Christobal Cabrera bearing the date of December 13 1540, is the rarest of Mexican books. Only one copy, and that a fragment, is known to exist. It was accidentally discovered in the library of Toledo, Spain, whence it mysteriously disappeared, to be again discovered by Gayangas, on a London bookstall in 1870. The original volume is supposed to have consisted of thirty-eight leaves or folios, but unfortunately only a few fragments now remain. The last four leaves alone were saved from the wreck of time, but they bear indisputable proof of the age of the work by giving the entire title as well as the date of publication. The important sentence which gives the title as well as fixes the date, reads as follows:

"This Manual for Adults was printed in the great city of Mexico by the command and at the expense of the most reverend men, the Bishops of New Spain, at the house of Juan Cromberger, in the year of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1540, on the 13th day of the month of December."

"DOTRINA BREVE"—1543–4.

This work is undoubtedly the oldest (and the only one) printed on the American continent that has wholly escaped the wasting ravages of relentless time. It is a small quarto volume of eighty-four folios, printed in Gothic letter, and with the title as follows:

"A very brief discourse on the tenets of the Catholic Faith, and to our christianity in this land. For general instruction. Composed by the

Very Reverend Seignor Don Fray Juan Cumarraga, the first bishop of Mexico. By authority of his Majesty. Printed at the same city of Mexico by his order and at his own expense in the year 1543."

The colophon or final inscription when translated reads as follows: "An hour and on a seat for our Lord Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin, Holy Mary, His Mother, for whom this present Treatise is finished. And which has been seen, examined and corrected by the order of the Most Reverend Don Fray Juan Cumarraga: Printed in this grand city of Penuchtitlan Mexico in the New Spain; in the house of Juan Cromberger, by the command of the same Senor Bishop Don Fray Juan Cumarraga and at his own cost. The printing was finished on the thirteenth day of the month of June, in the year 1544."

The Book-lover, John Power, in his "Handy Book about Books," published in London in 1870, reproduced a facsimile of the title page of the "Dotrina Breve," and adds: "This plate is an accurate reproduction of the title page of one of the first books printed in America, where the art of printing was introduced in less than a century after its discovery in Europe. To Mexico belongs the honor of being regarded as the first spot on which the art of printing was first exercised throughout all the vast dominions of the newly discovered world, though the precise time has not been fixed. Fortunately the precise time has been at last fixed, and all doubts removed regarding it.

In the same volume which prints the facsimile of the title page, is added the following paragraph:

"To this volume from which our facsimile is made, independent of its great rarity, a melancholy interest is attached, owing to its having been the property of the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian, of Mexico; after whose death it was sold at Leipsic with the rest of his valuable collection of Mexican books. It was purchased for the British Museum Library, and is now in a show case in the King's library, with other curious literary rarities."

But while the British Museum can boast the possession of a copy of the work which is connected with so pathetic an incident as its ownership by the slaughtered Emperor, New York is happy in the possession of two copies within her boundaries. A visit to the Lenox Library, that treasure house of rare and wonderful works, will disclose two perfect specimens of the book.

The writer was privileged to take one of these volumes from its resting place under the glass covers, and examine its pages. The binding is as good as any binding of the present day; the print is clear but the white of the paper is dimmed by age, giving it an ancient and honorable appearance. An interesting feature on the title page of one of the copies is the name of some former owner, and whether by Benedictine or layman,

the writing is good, the ink black, and capable of lasting as long as the printing. These two copies in the Lenox are complete and perfect, and have therefore the honor of being the oldest complete works of the earliest printing done in America. With the copy in the British Museum, and one in the Icazbalceta Collection in Mexico, they form a quartet of rarity and immense value.

Another book "Compendio Breve" —1544, which is among the rarest of the rare, and printed in the New Castilian land immediately after "Doctrina Breve," was a small quarto in Black Letter, and with the following title:

"This is a short compendium which treats of the manner as to how landed estates have been acquired. Prepared by Dionisius Richel Castuyano. It is from the Latin after the style of his own valuable compendious treatise, for general use. Mexico; from the house of Juan Cromberger, 1544."

For many years the "Doctrina Christiana"—1544 was regarded, as previously stated, as occupying the enviable position of being the first, and the oldest in the list of New World publications. Harrisse in common with others, found it difficult to fix a date, but assigned the year 1540 as being the probable time when the work issued from the press. It does not seem possible however, to find an edition with a date earlier than 1544.

The volume is printed in Black Letter, in the ancient form used in Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The title, enclosed by a rude fancy border, each of the four sides differing from the other, is as follows:

"Christian Doctrine for the instruction and information of the Indians after the manner of history. Printed in Mexico by the order of the Very Reverend Brother Juan Cumarraga, first Bishop of that city, by the command of His Majesty, and at his cost, in the year 1544."

While this work and the "Compendio Breve" were finished in the same year (1544), and on the same press, yet the expression "Que santa gloria aye" which appears in the Colophon of "Doctrina Christiana" shows that the publisher had died before the completion of the book.

The inference is therefore that the other volume, the "Compendio Breve" was finished during the life of Cromberger, while the "Doctrina Christiana" was not finished until after his death.

The last of the early publications, "Doctrina Christiana"—1550, of which we treat, carries the investigation to every work issued from the Mexican press from the beginning in 1536 to the year 1550. The full title of this latter work is "Christian Doctrine in the Spanish and Mexican Language." The book bears the imprint of Juan Pablos, and the date given is 1550.

I have thus given in a condensed

history, a thorough account of the advent and early growth of Printing in the Western World, and its earliest results. It is of course possible that further discoveries may be made, and the fund of knowledge increased, and the results of this continued search will be awaited with the greatest interest.

FORT ANCIENT.

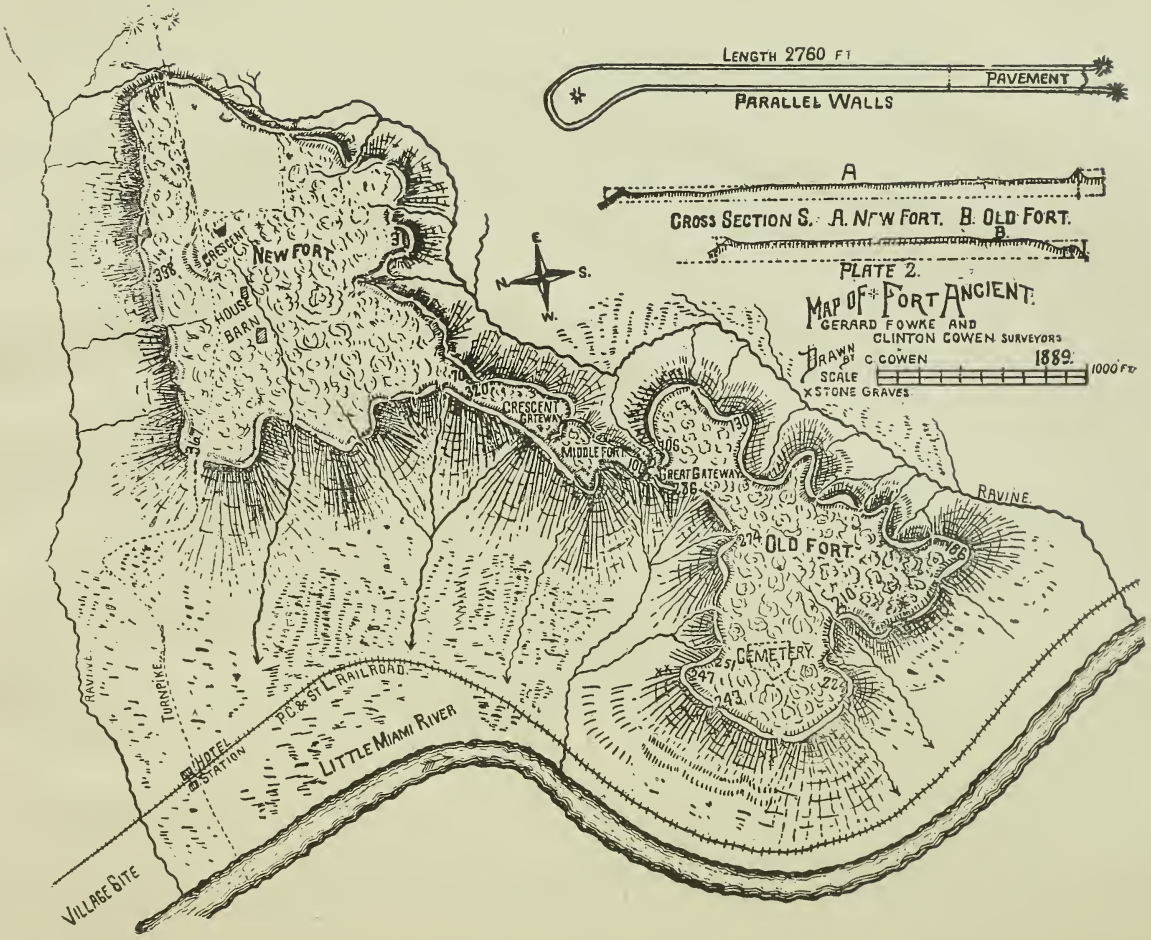
THE GREAT PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK OF OHIO.

At the time of the settlement of Marietta, Fort Washington, and the Ordinance of 1787 opening the new Northwest Territory, now known as Ohio, the region was occupied by the Shawnee, Miamis, Mingoes, and Wyandot tribes of Indians. The early historians among the settlers and the first archæologist of note (Caleb Atwater of Circleville) made meager observations both upon historic occurrences and prehistoric remains. Hence, the information they have left us is only valuable in that it gives the migrations and traditions of Indians living at the time of the settlements, and the outward appearance of mounds and fortifications covered by the original forests. The Indians and their descendants have long ago died, the forests have been cut down and the embankments and *tumuli* greatly reduced by the plow and by descending rains; therefore we are willing to accept the statements of early writers so far as they close up intervals which the modern historian and antiquary is unable to fill.

The Shawnee Indians had large villages twenty-five miles north of Fort Ancient in the Little Miami Valley, and upon the Scioto, seventy miles eastward. They may have traversed the very site of the fort itself and possibly it was an object of wonder to them. Tradition says that the frontiersman, Boone, who was a captive for some time at Old Chillicothe, observed the medicine men of the tribe go upon journeys to the prehistoric structure which it is our purpose to describe, believing that medicine made in the presence of the spirits of the dead there manifest, would work good to the tribe and assure success in war. This is but tradition and we give it only for what it is worth.

Upon the site of the fortification there have never been found implements or ornaments of European manufacture, and if the Indians knew of the existence of the structure and visited it, their excursions must have been of brief duration.

In 1809, in Philadelphia, there was published in the "Portfolio" and also in the "Pioneer" a plan and a map of Fort Ancient. "Drake's Pictures of Cincinnati" (1815), "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society" (Worcester, Mass., 1820, by Caleb Atwater), contain the earliest accounts of the enclosure. The observations set forth in the articles


LENGTH 2760 FT
PAVEMENT
PARALLEL WALLS
A
B
CROSS SECTION S. A. NEW FORT. B. OLD FORT.
PLATE 2.
MAP OF FORT ANCIENT.
GERARD FOWKE AND CLINTON COWEN SURVEYORS
DRAWN BY C COWEN 1889.
SCALE 1000 FT
STONE GRAVES
NEW FORT
CRESCENT
HOUSE
BARN
CRESCENT GATEWAY
MIDDLE FORT
GREAT GATEWAY
OLD FORT
RAVINE
CEMETERY
RAVINE
TURNPIKE
P.C.&ST.L. RAILROAD
HOTEL
STATION
LITTLE MIAMI RIVER
VILLAGE SITE

just referred to are very creditable when we consider the disadvantages under which the writers have labored. In the light of modern science their remarks would be considered inexcusably inaccurate.

Passing rapidly over the government survey of Fort Ancient made in 1846, the surveys and accounts by Dr. Peet, Dr. Thomas, Mr. Hosea, and others, we reach the year 1888.

During portions of the summer of 1888, all of 1889 and part of 1890, we had the honor to be in charge of a survey located at Fort Ancient for the express purpose of its exploration. The results of the work projected are set forth briefly in the following pages.

The fortification lies upon the edge of a broad plateau and overlooks upon the west the Little Miami River. At the highest point in the embankment it is twenty-two feet in altitude above the plain, or two hundred and ninety-one feet above low water stage in the river in the valley, or nine hundred and forty-one feet above the Atlantic Ocean. Toward the east, the plateau is slightly rolling and the embankments are very massive, being protected on the outside by a ditch or moat which was once broad and deep.

Toward the west or next to the river, there is a precipitous descent varying in steepness from twenty-eight to forty degrees. The wall is carried along the very edge of the hill following the irregularities of the surface, bending here and there like a great snake to take advantage of every ravine and of all hollows. Toward the south and southwest the plateau is cut off from the general plain by a long, crooked, and deep ravine. The embankments were constructed upon the very brink of this ravine. Standing upon the summit at almost any point one can look down two hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty feet over ground so steep that it would be impossible almost for an army to climb up except on all fours.

The structure is composed largely of earth, although considerable quantities of stone have been laid up forming rude walls at various points upon the outer edge of the embankment. The stones found in the embankment are usually placed at the base and frequently large limestone or sandstone slabs varying in weight from thirty to two hundred pounds are used in the construction.

The average height of the walls is eleven feet, the maximum twenty-two, and the minimun four. The total distance around the top of the wall is eighteen thousand, seven hundred and twelve feet. The structure for convenience in description has been named according to the divisions formed by the ravines. The large southern portion is called South Fort, the isthmus where the walls extend nearly parallel for eight hundred feet, being within arrow-shot of each other, is called the Middle Fort, while the

largest extension beyond is the North Fort.

Near the center of the Middle Fort two crescent shaped walls extend inwards from the embankments on each side and form a narrow gateway. Four hundred feet south of the crescent walls, at a point where the isthmus is barely sixty feet in width, the South Fort proper begins. At this point the ends of the embankments are very high and steep, closely resembling conical mounds—in fact, they are so called on most maps. As the only convenient entrance to the South Fort is at this point, the name "Great Gateway" has been adopted to designate it.

So much for a description of the character of Fort Ancient. Now let us turn to the more interesting graves and village sites found in the South Fort, upon the terraces, and in the river bottoms below. A large aboriginal village once existed in the South Fort. There are evidences of many of the circular lodges still apparent.

Primitive man in the Ohio Valley always lived in lodges. For the sake of convenience in description we have divided his towns into two classes; those erected by hunting or traveling parties for residence during a few weeks or months, and those surrounded by fortifications in which he lived permanently or to which he fled when sore pressed by his enemies. Both kind of villages exist at Fort Ancient. Upon the plateau northeast from the North Fort there is a piece of ground, in extent some six or seven acres, which is covered with flint chips, fragments of pottery, broken stone implements, bones of animals, and other debris resulting from the location of lodges. There are no deep ash-pits or raised circles of earth such as we observe on the sites of permanent villages. It is therefore thought that this village occupied the ground for a brief period of time.

In the South Fort there is quite a large village of a different character. It had covered an area of twenty acres for years. Cooking had been carried on to such an extent that great ash-pits exist eight or ten feet in diameter and from three to five feet in depth. The homes of the people were constructed of heavy saplings forty or fifty feet in length placed in a circle, brought together at the top, and coated with a heavy layer of clay on the outside, When the village was abandoned and the lodges crumbled and decayed, much of the clay fell to the base of the saplings, forming a small circle. These circles. still apparent, give us a good idea of the size of the homes of the aborigines. An examination of the ash-pits resulted in a knowledge of the animals, birds and fishes, which he used for food, the utensils and implements which the women employed for domestic purposes, the weapons used in the chase and in war, the tools necessary for fashioning arrowheads, axes, etc. The ashes in the pits had a wonderful preservative

quality. Hence, when the squaw cast out a broken pot or bones from the meals, or even so minute things as fish ribs, bird bones, and the bones of the smallest animals, they were kept intact through the long centuries for our study and examination.

Nothing is more interesting to the archaeologist than the exploration of a large village site. We often find the rude stone furnace or hearth nearly in its original position with two or three broken pots near it and many split bones (for the extraction of marrow) scattered about. The bones most commonly found in the village sites are those of the deer, wild turkey, bear, squirrel, rabbit, pheasant, channel cat-fish, bass and turtle.

In the ash-pits mingled with the bones of these animals, birds and fishes, we find sharpened bone awls, beads, smoothed stones used for polishing, celts employed in tanning hides for garments, fish-hooks of bone, slender bones from the turkey or rabbit partially sawed through at intervals of one-third to one-half of an inch, presumably unfinished beads. All these were made use of by the women.

Near the village site is a large cemetery from which our party took upwards of two hundred skeletons, all of which were incased in neatly constructed stone graves. The graves lie from two to three and one-half feet from the present surface and are composed of great limestone slabs from two and a half to three feet in length, and from eighteen to twenty-four inches in width. The body of the deceased was laid in the excavation extended, the arms invariably at the sides, and the limbs straightened. Three or four large slabs were placed upright in a row on each side, one was located at the head and another at the feet, while the largest ones were neatly laid across the top forming the roof. Through the openings between the stones earth has usually infiltrated and covered the skeleton. Occasionally we find a grave over which stones having even edges were laid close together. Such graves are hollow and the skeletons in them are generally well preserved. No objects or ornaments in the two hundred sepulchres examined were found with adults. The love of the mother for the child was evinced in necklaces of beads or small ornaments of shell or stone. Now and then in the little graves of the children we found the most exquisite carvings in shell. Children's graves are frequently placed on each side of the longer grave of the mother and once or twice we have observed the child's grave placed directly on top of that of the woman, probably its mother.

Upon the hillsides surrounding the fortification there are artificial terraces. These have the appearance of roads which have been abandoned so long that dense underbrush and great trees have grown upon them. They vary from twelve to sixteen feet in width and were excavated in the steep

hillsides, the earth taken from the upper side of the terrace being thrown upon the lower. All of them are more than half way down the hillside and splendidly command the river. Upon the terraces are rude stone heaps or mounds containing fragmentary or crushed skeletons of a different tribe from those found inside the stone graves. Some of the stone heaps are over one hundred feet in length, of the width of the terrace, and about eighteen inches in depth. They contain hundreds of wagon-loads of stone. At no point within the fortification are these stone heaps found save on the isthmus or Middle Fort. It is supposed that a few hundred of the tribe attacking Fort Ancient, penetrated the structure at this point, and were interred where they fell.

In the broad bottoms bordering upon the river is a very large village site covering nearly fifty acres of ground. The deposits found are at three depths from the surface and the intervening strata of earth between each period of occupancy were undoubtedly formed by the river in time of floods. The graves of this village are found in large groups of from twenty to thirty each and are usually headed in the same direction. As was remarked upon the graves of the cemetery lying within the South Fort, no ornaments or implements have been placed with the adults but usually with children. The crania are identical with those found in the cemetery just mentioned, the pottery is of the same texture and decoration, the ash-pits, flint implements, and all other objects are of the same general kind as those of the fortification upon the hills above. We therefore conclude that the greater part of the tribe inhabiting Fort Ancient lived in the river villey in seasons of peace, using their great fortress only in times of war. Undoubtedly they left a strong garrison within the structure continually, as indicated by the numerous evidences of occupancy.

The people of the stone heaps have a skull (dolicocephalic) which differs from those of the stone grave people (brachycephalic.) The village of the stone heap or long-headed race lies upon the plateau a mile and a half north-east of the North Fort. It indicates a large population, but there is no evidence that they remained for any considerable length of time. Because no villages but those of the short-heads are within the fortification and as the long-heads have been buried with great haste upon the terraces in rudely constructed mounds, we are of the opinion that their attack upon the builders of Fort Ancient was unsuccessful and they undoubtedly met with disastrous defeat.

In brief we have set forth above some of the points of interest concerning Fort Ancient. It is impossible in an article limited as this must needs be, to give all our discoveries or all the methods observed in arriv-

ing at our conclusions. We trenched all the village sites in every direction for weeks and weeks. We opened nearly all the stone graves that could be found; we cut sections through the embankments; we dug extensive pits upon the tongues of land around which the great fortification was carried. In the moats and ditches dug at the base of the wall by the builders, we excavated for many yards. We saw that the moats, now filled with rubbish, logs and earth, had once been from six to ten feet in depth, having perpendicular sides. We found broken and entire war hatchets, spear and lance heads, and round stones used as heads for war clubs in the bottom of the ditches,and from such testimony could easily picture the vain assaults of savage warriors armed with primitive weapons against the impregnable fortress.

From the great age of the forest trees upon the embankments, from the erosions and the formation of gulleys, we were enabled to form a fair idea of the time that must have elapsed since the battle occured.

This great enclosure so rich in facts, so productive of implements that tell us of the every day life of the people living within its walls, reveals to patient investigators a history which goes far towards dispelling the darkness surrounding the origin and movements of ancient man upon the American continent.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

THE DEARBORN CANAL IN MONTANA.

DONALD BRADFORD.

To convert the desert into a garden would seem impossible, but the dauntless zeal of American enterprise has not hesitated at undertaking and is rapidly accomplishing this task.

That vast expanse of arid waste, which the Geographers of a generation ago indicated upon their maps as the "Great American Desert," together with those lesser deserts, carved out by the mountain ranges in various of the western States, have undergone a marvelous transformation in recent years. Hundreds of thousands of acres of these lands have been reclaimed by irrigation from their sterile condition, so that where before, were only tufts of the hardy buffalo grass and patches of cactus, there are to-day wheat fields and orchards, and all the beauty and prosperity of ideal agricultural life.

The now fertile fields of Colorado, and of large districts in California and other States of the far western group, bear eloquent testimony to enterprise in this direction, and man's reward for slacking the thirst of the parched earth has been the richest returns which nature has anywhere given.

One of the most notable efforts for the redemption to fertility of a vast tract of arid lands, was the project of the Dearborn Canal in Montana. This enterprise is one of the most complete and unique of its kind in the world, comprising about one hundred miles of main water way, with many hundreds of miles of laterals. The canal is about fifty miles north of Helena, and is one of those enterprises that recalls forcibly that admirable adage: "Whoever shall make two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind than the whole race of politicians." This great undertaking bids fair to mark the initiation of a system of irrigation which shall eventually reclaim millions of acres of arid land now lying waste in the very lap of nature.

There are about 500,000 acres of land within the area covered by the canal and laterals, 75,000 acres of which is, with irrigation, highly cultivatable land and which without it would simply be a desolate waste. These results are certain to be far-reaching in demonstrating the utility, wealth and productiveness of the soil of Montana, and in preparing the

Donald Bradford

way for a form of investment which persistently followed, will revolutionize the ideas of the outside world, and give to Montana a reputation as an agricultural region second only to that which it now enjoys as a mineral producing country.

Mr. Bradford, with indefatigable and tireless energy has brought this great project through all the stages of innovation and incipiency, with how much difficulty, labor, doubt and perplexity none but those intimately connected with the scheme can appreciate.

This remarkable enterprise which presages a happy and prosperous future for the young western State is a monument to the foresight and perseverance, to the splendid ability and energy of its young projector Donald Bradford.

Born in Springfield, Illinois, September 14, 1861, Mr. Bradford is now but thirty years of age, although the work which he has already accomplished might well be the crown of a long and busy life. It is evident, in view of the ancestral stock on both sides from which he sprung, that the powers which have thus early achieved so much are his by lawful inheritance. On his father's side he is descended from William Bradford, the first Public Printer under the Government of the United States. His mother was Adeline Semple, whose oldest brother, James Semple, was at one time a member of the Illinois Supreme Court, and served two terms prior to the Civil War as United States Senator from Illinois. Another brother was President of the first Constitutional Convention of California, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the same State.

Young Bradford received a good education, and at the age of sixteen left his home, emigrating to Kansas. Here he clerked for some time in a country store; then he went to St. Louis and secured a good position with a wholesale firm where he remained for five years. In 1884 he went to Montana, arriving in Helena without money, almost unknown, and possessing as his sole capital, only those resources which are the natural concomitants of youthful energy and a high-minded purpose. He went to work at any occupation which presented itself, building side-walks by contract, cooking for surveying parties, and acting as hostler on camping-out expeditions. After a stay in Montana of sufficient duration to imbue him with a love for the new country, and open his eyes to its great possibilities, he returned to Illinois, and pursued a course of legal studies. During a portion of the time he attended The Law School of the University of Virginia. In 1886 he returned to Montana, and after a creditable examination, was admitted to the bar of the then Territory.

But his active temperament rebelled against the limitations which would hedge him in, by adhering to a career strictly along the lines of his

profession. Moreover, he soon conceived in the project of the Dearborn canal, the very channel wherein his energies might be most usefully employed, in developing the great commonwealth with which his future was to be identified.

That the project, at length, has proved a magnificent success financially, is attested by the fact that the Canal stocks are now held at a high premium, while Mr. Bradford is turning his attention to the settlement of the surrounding country with a desirable class of agricultural colonists.

In the winter of 1889–1890, Mr. Bradford, who had been instrumental in organizing the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Helena, was elected Secretary of that body and during the spring of 1890, largely as the result of his active efforts, it became one of the largest and most enterprising and influential bodies of the kind in the west. Much was done that aided materially in the advancement of the interests of the city. Through the Chamber of Commerce information of the resources of Montana and of the growth and development of Helena, was systematically transfused through a thousand and one channels which reached capital awaiting investment and dissipated erroneous and unfavorable views entertained for years by eastern people as to the climate, people and resources of Montana. This result was due to no one more than to Mr. Bradford, whose mind and pen were constantly active replying to inquiries and furnishing carefully compiled information. As a result of his healthful enthusiasm, energy and toil in behalf of the city, he was nominated by the Democratic party for the office of Mayor, and after one of the most spirited municipal contests the city of Helena has ever witnessed, he was elected by a handsome majority to the mayorality of a city at that time concededly republican. He served one term in office, being the youngest Chief Magistrate that had ever presided over the city. His administration was noted for honesty, integrity and an effort to elevate the office above the level of party politics. His appointments were excellent and reflected credit upon his judgment.

He was independent, fearless and aggressive, with a high sense of the duties and responsibilities of his office, and with a determination to maintain and uphold them, elevating the standard of right high above the shifting winds of popular applause or partisan discontent.

Mr. Bradford is at present president and principal stockholder of the Northwestern Abstract Company of Helena. He was married in 1888 to Miss Esther Fox of Springfield, Illinois, and have one child, Lucy Semple Bradford.

Mr. Bradford's interest in the growth and welfare of Helena is active, intense and untiring. He is constantly working for the good of the

city in which he is largely interested, personally and as the representative of large capital. He is one of the most optimistic of that class of men whose enthusiasm, directed and concentrated into practical channels, has done so much for Helena and its people and has no sympathy for the public pessimist, the man who stands opposed to progress. Few of his ventures have proven failures and the result is not alone due to his invincible energy, but to his supreme confidence in the outcome of all well-directed efforts. He believes there is no satisfaction comparable to the contemplation of the rich-yielding harvest gratefully responding to generous toil. At an age when most men have only begun seriously to consider the problem of existence, he has recorded to his credit, achievements which might win the renown and fill the frame-work of a useful life. His perseverance, his energy, his comprehension of the forces necessary to the development of the new West have made him a valuable coadjutor to the young men who have infused new life into the older and more conservative elements of the community.

C. P. CONNOLLY.

MADAM KNIGHT AND HER JOURNAL.

In a little volume of 129 pages, published in New York city by Wilder & Campbell in 1825, a curious contribution to the scant American literature of the early colonial period, which had been hidden away in manuscript form for a hundred and twenty-one years, was given to the world. The book consisted of "the journals of Madam Knight and Rev. Mr. Buckingham, from the original manuscripts, written in the years 1704 and 1710," and was edited by Theodore Dwight, a brilliant journalist and one of the pioneer *litterateurs* of the first half of the present century.

The journal of Madam Knight was much the more important part of the contents of the volume. It is an account in the form of a diary, of a journey made on horseback from Boston to New York and return, in the fall and winter of 1704–5, by Mrs. Sarah Kemble Knight of the former city, and it is not merely interesting as a quaint and quite remarkable literary product, but constitutes a valuable aid to the student of history in its striking portrayal of contemporary life and customs. All that was known about the author at the time of this first publication of the journal, was summed up in the opening paragraph of Mr. Dwight's introduction: "This is not a work of fiction, as the scarcity of old American manuscripts may induce some to imagine, but it is a faithful copy from a diary in the author's own hand-writing, compiled soon after her return home, as it appears from notes recorded daily while on the road. She was a resident of Boston, and a lady of uncommon literary attainments as well as great taste and strength of mind. She was called Madam Knight out of respect to her character, according to a custom once common in New England, but what was her family name the publishers have not been able to discover."

With such a confession from the editor, of absolute ignorance of the most meagre details concerning Madam Knight, it was quite natural that the public should regard with suspicion the claims of antiquity made for the alleged journal. The fact that Washington Irving had but recently published that immortal joke, the "History of New York," and some other sketches found among "the posthumous papers of the late Mr. Diedrich Knickerbocker," did not

tend either to inspire confidence that Mr. Dwight had not been deceived by a more careful deception along the same line, and especially so since the journal in question was clever enough to have been written in the beginning of the nineteenth instead of the eighteenth century. That it was, in short, the skillfully executed performance of some modern writer, in imitation of McPherson's "Poems of Ossian" and Chatterton's forgeries of the Rowley manuscripts, was the common opinion of most of the critics who took an interest in the subject. Writing in 1858, William R. Deane, one of those to whom we are most indebted for the final clearing up of the mystery, testifies to this general skepticism. "When we first saw this journal," he says, "it was stated quite confidently that it was a fiction, written by the late Samuel L. Knapp."

But notwithstanding the apochryphal character supposed to attach to the journal, it afforded the inspiration for an article on "Travelling in America," which appeared in "Blackwood's Magazine" in the latter part of 1825, and contained copious quotations from Madam Knight. And this article in turn, in January, 1826, was reprinted from "Blackwood's" in the "Museum of Foreign Literature and Science," published at Philadelphia. In 1843, or thereabouts, an old volume of the "Museum" containing this article, caught the eye of William R. Deane, and created a desire to read the entire journal. Subsequently he secured a copy of the little book published in 1825, which has been described, and its perusal only served to increase his interest and incite him to begin a search to discover the truth concerning the authorship of the journal, and the identity of Madam Knight, if such a person had ever really existed.

It is evident that Mr. Deane, himself, was not at first over-confident as to the authenticity of the document. "On first reading," he says, "her journal had the air of romance, and, apparently, like Sir Walter Scott's description of the wonderful volume of Michael of Belwearie in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'

> 'It had much of glorious might,
> To make a lady seem a Knight.'"

"Yet," he adds, "we are now enabled from our Boston records, in connection with those of New London, Norwich and New Haven, to state that this lady was no fictitious Knight. She was a native of Boston. Her journey to New York is veritable history, and however romantic, is perfectly true."

But Mr. Deane was not immediately successful in his search. Old Boston records were searched without result, and no fruitful clue was discovered until 1852, when Miss Frances M. Caulkins published her "History of New London." It was then found that Madam Knight, some years after her memorable journey, had moved from Boston to New London and in

this latter place had become a figure of sufficient local prominence to require mention in Miss Caulkins' work. Guided by this clue, references to Madam Knight were at length discovered in the records of Boston, New London, Norwich and New Haven, and by combining these, a somewhat patchwork, but nevertheless quite satisfactory outline of her life is provided.

We learn from these sources that Madam Knight was Sarah Kemble, daughter of Captain Thomas Kemble, a merchant who resided, first in Charlestown and later in Boston, where Sarah was born on the 19th of April, 1666. Very little is known concerning Captain Kemble, except that he was evidently wealthy, for those times, and built a fine house in Boston. He seems also to have been something of a voyager as well as a merchant, and an old chronicle tells how in 1656 he celebrated his return from a three years' trip abroad, by becoming a malefactor in the Puritan sense by violating the sanctity of the Sabbath day. According to the records he was placed for two hours in the public stocks for his "lewd and unseem-behavior" in kissing his wife "publicquely" on the Sabbath day, upon the doorstep of their house. Thus the un-Puritan liberality and freedom of fancy which we find in Madam Knight's Journal is the more easily accounted for when we consider this ungodly if entirely natural greeting of her parents. Who can tell but this unholy transaction may have furnished the theme for one of Dr. Increase Mather's learned discourses!

Madam Knight's mother was Elizabeth Trarice, concerning whom little more has been ascertained than her name and the date of her death, December 19, 1712. There were six children including Madam Knight—three sons and three daughters — and of these Madam Knight was the only one living in 1714. Her oldest brother, John, was a cooper in New York city, where he died about the year 1698. He left considerable property which was to be used in succession by Madam Knight's mother, Madam Knight, and Madam Knight's daughter, Elizabeth.

It was probably some business connected with the settlement, either of this estate or that of her husband, who appears to have died early, which led to Madam Knight's journey in 1704. The allusions in the journal to the motive of the journey are too scant and vague to arbitrarily determine this point, but seem nevertheless quite conclusive. After describing her journey to, and visit in New Haven, Madam Knight says: "Being by this time well recruited and rested after my journey, my business lying unfinished by some concerns at New York depending thereupon, my kinsman, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge of New Haven, must needs take a journey there before it could be accomplished. I resolved to go there in company with him and a man of the

town which I engaged to wait on me there." And further on, in describing her return: "Having here transacted the affair I went upon, and some other that fell in the way, after about a fortnight's stay there I left New York, with no little regret, and Thursday, December 21, set out for New Haven."

Upon her arrival once again in New Haven among her kinsfolk, she becomes more explicit as to the nature of her business. "Being now well recruited and fit for business, I discoursed the persons I was concerned with, that we might finish in order to my return to Boston. They delayed, as they had hitherto done, hoping to tire my patience. But I was resolute to stay and see an end of the matter, let it be never so much to my disadvantage. So January 9th, they come again, and promise the Wednesday following to go through the distribution of the estate, which they delayed till Thursday and they come with new amusements. But at length by the mediation of that holy, good gentleman, the Rev. Mr. James Pierpont, the minister of New Haven, and with the advice and assistance of other our good friends we come to an accommodation and distribution, which having finished, though not till February, the man that waited on me to York taking the charge of me, I "sit" out for Boston."

Captain Richard Knight, husband of Madam Knight, is another personage regarding whom only the most meagre information has been obtained. He lived at Boston, and Madam Knight was his second wife. He was probably captain of a merchantman, and it appears was abroad at the time of his wife's journey, and died abroad some time after. At all events, in 1714, Madam Knight calls herself a widow, while in certain deeds of land at Norwich, of about the same date, in which she appears as grantee, she is designated as "widow and shopkeeper."

Madam Knight had only one child, Elizabeth, who was married in Boston on October 1st, 1713, by the famous Increase Mather to Colonel John Livingston of New London. It is evident that Madam Knight either accompanied, or almost immediately followed her daughter to New London, since her name now begins to appear in the records of real estate transactions at that place and the neighboring town of Norwich.

"The New London records," says Miss Caulkins in a letter regarding Madam Knight written to Mr. Deane, and dated May 23, 1858, "affords the most striking evidences of the magnitude of her land operations. The land of the Mohegan Indians were then included within the bounds of New London and here, beside the reservation for the Indians, was a large tract fast filling up with white settlers, but still affording some range to speculation." Miss Caulkins cites, in detail, two deeds recording pur-

chases of land by Madam Knight, and remarks: "These two transactions will serve in some degree to show the business-like character of Madam Knight, and the prominent as well as important position she held in society."

Miss Caulkins sums up her many-sided and vigorous character as follows: "Mrs Knight was a woman of considerable distinction in her day. She certainly possessed more than a common portion of energy, talent and education. She wrote poetry and diaries, transacted various kinds of business, speculated in Indian lands, and at different times kept a tavern, managed a shop of merchandise, and cultivated a farm."

In 1717 Madam Knight presented a silver communion cup to the Norwich church, and this gracious act received immediate recognition and reward from the venerable deacons, as is attested by the following entry in an old Norwich record: "August 12, 1717. The town grants liberty to Mrs. Sarah Knight to sitt in the pue where she use to sitt in ye meeting house."

But in spite of all her good qualities we find a little outbreak a few months later, in which one is at once reminded of her father's "lewd and unseemly behaviour" in kissing his wife. Like him she is presented by the tell-tale records as a malefactor in that easily scandalized Puritan community. On March 26, 1718, she was indicted together with six other persons, "for selling strong drink to the Indians," and was fined twenty shillings and costs. She paid the fine, but seems not to have pleaded guilty in her own person, since the record adds that "Mrs. Knight accused her maid, Ann Clark, of the fact."

In her later years, Madam Knight appears to have divided her residence between the towns of New London and Norwich. She had a pew in the church of each place. Her dwelling house was in Norwich, but her farms were located near New London. On one of these she opened a tavern for the accomodation of travellers. She died at Norwich but her body was taken to New London and buried in the old churchyard. A crumbling headstone marks her resting place, upon which is inscribed the following lines:

"Here Lyeth The Body
Of Mrs. Sarah Knight
Who Died Sept. the 25th,
1727, In The 62d Year
Of Her Age."

Interesting and corroborative testimony concerning Madam Knight is to be seen in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. It is a manuscript in the handwriting of Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, of Boston, granddaughter of Dr. Cotton Mather. It has been bound in with a copy of the journal of Madam Knight, and gives a brief account of her from which we quote:

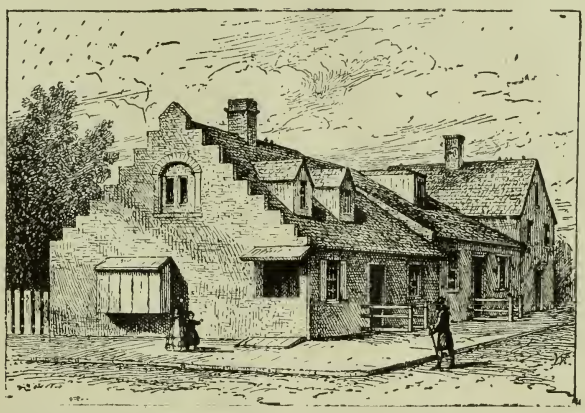
"In October, 1704, she made a journey to New York to claim some

property there. She returned on horseback in March, 1705. Soon after her return she opened a school for children. Dr. Franklin and Dr. Samuel Mather, received their first rudiments of education from her. The force of Madam Knight's diamond ring was displayed on several panes of glass in the old Mansion house. In the year 1763 Dr. Mather (whose wife had inherited the property) had the house new glazed, and one pane of glass was preserved as a curiosity till in 1765 it was lost at the conflagration when Charleston was burnt by the British, June 17th. The lines on the pane of glass were committed to memory by the present writer.

"Through many toils and many fights
I have returned, poor Sarah Knights.
Over great rocks and many stones
God has presarv'd from fracter'd bones."

From the circumstances attending the account we think the book lately printed must have been from some old manuscript of hers, as she was an original genius. Our ideas of Madam are from hearing Dr. Franklin and Dr. Mather converse about their old school mistress."

This brings us to the special consideration of Madam Knight's journal—the story of the episode which, as the above lines indicate, evidently impressed her as the great event of her life. The manuscript from which the first publication of the journal was made, was written in a small blank book in Madam Knight's handwriting, and was handed down from generation to generation by a line of strangers. Mrs. Livingston, Madam Knight's daughter and only child, received the manuscript from her mother, but died herself without children. The manuscript came into the hands of a Mrs. Sarah Christophers, one of the administrators of Mrs.



SOUTHEAST CORNER BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE IN NEW YORK IN 1700.

Livingston's estate, who transmitted the document to her children as a valuable heirloom. Mrs. Ichabod Wetmore of Middletown, Connecticut, a descendant of Mrs. Christophers, received the journal in the line of succession, and gave it to Mr. Theodore Dwight to edit for publication.

Mr. Deane has recorded that Mr. Dwight once stated to him "that unfortunately all but a single leaf of the original manuscript had been destroyed." This leaf Mr. Dwight had at the time, at his residence in New York city.

It seems appropriate, even if it extends this article to a length which was not intended, to give extracts from the journal sufficiently complete to fairly illustrate both its literary excellence and historical value. The reader who wishes to make a further examination of the quaint document will probably be able to find a copy in any well equipped library. The peculiarities of spelling of Madam Knight's day have been discarded as somewhat beclouding the sense without adding anything of interest from the standpoint from which we wish to review her work. She begins abruptly, without any prefatory remarks on the events leading up to the project of her journey as follows:

"Monday, October the 2d. 1704—About three o'clock (afternoon) I began my journey from Boston to New Haven, being about 200 miles. My kinsman, Captain Robert Luist, waited on me as far as Dedham, where I was to meet the western post. I visited the Rev. Mr. Belcher, the minister of the town, and tarried there till evening in hopes the post would come along. But he not coming, I resolved to go to Billings's where he used to lodge, being twelve miles further."

Unfortunately the first part of the narrative is twice interrupted by the loss of half a page of the manuscript at the time Mr. Dwight received it. It appears, however, that Madam Knight had some trouble to procure a guide to "Billings's" on account of the lateness of the hour, but that she at length secured the services of a man named John, by the payment of "half a piece of eight and a dram."

She gives some account of John and of her night ride with him. "His shade on his horse resembled a globe on a gate post. His habit, horse and furniture, its looks and goings incomparably answered the rest. Thus jogging on with an easy pace, my guide telling me it was dangerous to ride hard in the night (which his horse had the sense to avoid), he entertained me with the adventures he had passed by late riding and imminent dangers he had escaped, so that, remembering the heroes in 'Parismus' and the 'Knight of the Oracle,' I didn't know but I had met with a prince disguised. When we had ridden about an hour, we came into a thick swamp, which by reason of a

great fog, very much startled me, it being now very dark. But nothing dismayed John; he had encountered a thousand and a thousand such swamps, having a universal knowledge in the woods, and readily answered all my inquiries which were not a few. In about an hour or something more after we left the swamp, we came to Billings's, where I was to lodge."

From this point, on the following morning, the journey begins with the postman; says the journal: "Tuesday, October the 3d, about eight in the morning, I, with the post, proceeded forward without observing anything remarkable; and about two (afternoon) arrived at the post's second stage, where the western post met him and exchanged letters. Here, having called for something to eat, the woman brought in a twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter, and laying it on the board, tugged for life to bring it into a capacity to spread, which having with great pains accomplished, she served in a dish of pork and cabbage, I suppose the remains of dinner. The sauce was of a deep purple which I thought was boiled in her dye kettle; the bread was Indian, and everything on the table served agreeable to these. I, being hungry, got a little down, but my stomach was soon cloyed, and what cabbage I swallowed served me for a cud the whole day after.

"Having here discharged the ordinary for self and guide (as I understood was the custom), about three (afternoon) went on with my third guide who rode very hard; and having crossed Providence ferry, we came to a river which they generally ride through. But I dared not venture; so the post got a lad and canoe to carry me to t'other side, and he rode through and led my horse. The canoe was very small and shallow, so that when we were in she seemed ready to take in water, which greatly terrified me and caused me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes steady, not daring so much as to lodge my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than t'other, nor so much as think on Lot's wife, for a wry thought would have overset our wherry; but was soon put out of this pain by feeling the canoe on shore, which I as soon almost saluted with my feet, and rewarding my sculler again mounted and made the best of our way forwards.

"The road here was very even and the way pleasant, it being now near sunset. But the post told me we had near fourteen miles to ride to the next stage (where we were to lodge). I asked him of the rest of the road, foreseeing we must travel in the night. He told me there was a bad river we were to ride through which was so very fierce a horse could sometimes hardly stem it; but it was but narrow, and we should soon be over. I cannot express the concern of mind this relation set me in; no

thoughts but those of the dangerous river could entertain my imagination, and they were as formidable as various, still tormenting me with blackest ideas of my approaching fate—sometimes seeing myself drowning, other whiles drowned, and at the best like a holy sister just come out of a spiritual bath in dripping garments.

"Now was the glorious luminary, with his swift coursers arrived at his stage, leaving poor me with the rest of this part of the lower world in darkness, with which we were soon surrounded. The only glimmering we now had was from the spangled skies, whose imperfect reflections rendered every object formidable. Each lifeless trunk with its shattered limbs appeared an armed enemy; and every little stump like a ravenous devourer. Nor could I so much as discern my guide, when at any distance, which added to the terror.

"Thus absolutely lost in thought and dying with the very thoughts of drowning, I came up with the post, whom I did not see till even with his horse; he told me he stopped for me, and we rode on very deliberately a few paces when we entered a thicket of trees and shrubs, and I preceived by the horse's going we were on the descent of a hill which, as we came nearer the bottom, was totally dark with the trees that surrounded it. But I knew by the going of the horse we had entered the water, which my guide told me was the hazardous river he had told me of; and he, riding up close to my side, bid me not fear—we should be over immediately. I now rallied all the courage I was mistress of, knowing that I must either venture my fate of drowning, or be left like the children in the wood. So, as the post bid me, I gave reins to my nag, and sitting as steady as just before in the canoe, in a few minutes got safe to the other side, which he told me was the Narragansett country.

"Here we found great difficulty in traveling, the way being very narrow, and on each side the trees and bushes gave us very unpleasant welcomes with their branches and boughs, which we could not avoid, it being so exceeding dark. My guide as before, so now, put on harder than I with my weary bones could follow; so left me and the way behind him. Now returned my distressed apprehensions of the place where I was; the dolesome woods, my company next to none, going I knew not whither, and encompassed with terrifying darkness, the least of which was enough to startle a more masculine courage. Added to which the reflections as in the afternoon of the day, that my call was very questionable, which till then I had not so prudently considered as I ought.

"Now coming to the foot of a hill, I found great difficulty in ascending, but being got to the top, was there amply recompensed with the friendly appearance of the kind Conductress of

the night, just then advancing above the horizontal line. The raptures which the sight of that fair planet produced in me, caused me for the moment to forget my present weariness and past toils; and inspired me for most of the remaining way with very diverting thoughts, some of which with the other occurrences of the day, I reserved to note down when I should come to my stage. My thoughts on the sight of the moon were to this purpose:

Fair Cynthia, all the homage that I may
Unto a creature, unto thee I pay;
In lonesome woods to meet so kind a guide,
To me's more worth than all the world beside.
Some joy I felt just now, when safe got o'er
Yon surly river to this rugged shore,
Deeming rough welcomes from these clownish trees,
Better than lodgings with Nereides.
Yet swelling fears surprise; all dark appears—
Nothing but light can dissipate those fears,
My fainting vitals can't lend strength to say,
But softly whisper, O! I wish 'twere day,
The murmur hardly warmed the ambient air,
Ere thy bright aspect rescues from despair;
Makes the old Hag her sable mantle loose,
And a bright joy does through my soul diffuse,
The boisterous trees now lend a passage free,
And pleasant prospects thou givest light to see.

"From hence we kept on with more ease than before; the way being smooth and even, the night warm and serene, and the tall and thick trees at a distance, especially when the moon glared light through the branches, filled my imagination with the pleasant delusions of a sumptuous city, filled with famous buildings and churches with their spiring steeples, balconies, galleries, and I know not what grandeurs which I had heard of, and which the stories of foreign countries had given me the idea of.

"Here stood a loft church—there is a steeple,
And there the grand parade—O! see the people!
That famous castle there, were I but nigh,
To see the moat and bridge and walls so high—
They're very fine! says my deluded eye.

"Being thus agreeably entertained without a thought of anything but thoughts themselves, I was suddenly roused from these pleasing imaginations by the post's sounding his horn, which assured me he was arrived at the stage where we were to lodge; and that music was then most musical and agreeable to me.

"Being come to Mr. Haven's, I was very civilly received and courteously entertained in a clean, comfortable house; and the good woman was very active in helping off my riding clothes, and then asked what I would eat. I told her I had some chocolate, if she would prepare it; which with the help of some milk and a little clean brass kettle, she soon effected to my satisfaction. I then betook me to my apartment which was a little room parted from the kitchen by a single board partition; where, after I had noted the occurrences of the past day, I went to bed which, though pretty hard, yet neat and handsome. But I could get no sleep because of the clamor of some of the town topers in the next room who were entered into a strong debate concerning the signification of the name of their country; viz. Narragansett. One said it was named so by the Indians, because there grew a brier there of a prodigious height and bigness, the like hardly ever known, called by the

Indians Narragansett; and quotes an Indian of so barbarous a name for his author, that I could not write it.

"His antagonist replied no—it was from a spring it had its name, which he well knew where it was, which was extreme cold in summer, and as hot as could be imagined in the winter, which was much resorted to by the natives, and by them called Narragansett (hot and cold), and that was the original of their place's name—with a thousand impertinencies not worth notice, which he uttered with such a roaring voice and thundering blows with the fist of wickedness on the table, that it pierced my very head. I heartily fretted and wished them tongue-tied; but with as little success as a friend of mine once, who was (as she said) kept a whole night awake on a journey by a country lieutenant and a sergeant, ensign and a deacon, contriving how to bring a triangle into a square. They kept calling for t'other gill which, while they were swallowing, was some intermission; but presently, like oil to fire, increased the flame. I set my candle on a chest by the bedside and sitting up, fell to my old way of composing my resentments in the following manner:

"I ask thy aid, O potent rum!
To charm these wrangling topers dumb.
Thou hast their giddy brains possest—
The man confounded with the beast—
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy fumes!
O still their tongues till morning comes:

"And I know not but my wishes took effect; for the dispute soon ended with t'other dram; and so good night.

"About four in the morning we set out for Kingston (for so was the town called) with a French doctor in our company. He and the post put on very furiously, so that I could not keep up with them, only as now and then they would stop till they saw me. This road was poorly furnished with accommodations for travellers, so that we were forced to ride twenty-two miles by the post's account, but nearer thirty by mine, before we could bait so much as our horses, which I exceedingly complained of. But the post encouraged me by saying we should be well accommodated anon at Mr. Devil's, a few miles further. But I questioned whether we ought to go to the devil to be helped out of affliction. However like the rest of deluded souls that post to the infernal den, we made all possible speed to this devil's habitation; where alighting, in full assurance of good accommodation we were going in. But meeting his two daughters, as I supposed twins—they so nearly resembled each other, both in features and habit, and looked as old as the devil himself, and quite as ugly—we desired entertainment, but could hardly get a word out of them, till with our importunity telling them our necessity, etc., they called the old sophister, who was as sparing of his words as his daughters had been, and no, or none were the replies he made us to our demands. He differed only in this from the old

fellow in t'other country; he let us depart. However, I thought it proper to warn poor travelers to endeavor to avoid falling into circumstances like ours, which at our next stage I sat down and did as followeth:

"May all that dread the cruel fiend of night
Keep on, and not at this cursed mansion light.
'Tis hell; tis hell! and devils here do dwell:
Here dwells the Devil—surely this is hell.
Nothing but wants; a drop to cool your tongue
Can't be procured these cruel fiends among.
Plenty of horrid grins and looks severe,
Hunger and thirst, but pity's banished here—
The right hand keep, if hell on earth you fear!"

As has been said, Madam Knight's journal adds to its literary charm a considerable historical value. Her quaint and detailed characterization of the people she meets, leaves a distinct impression upon the mind, while she contributes not a little to our aggregate knowledge of conditions and customs in her day. Having arrived in New Haven, Madam Knight tells us in her journal that she "took some time to rest after so long and toilsome a journey," and then informed herself "of the manners and customs of the place." The results of her observation she records as follows:

"They are governed by the same laws as we in Boston (or little differing), throughout this whole Colony of Connecticut, and much the same way of Church government, and many of them good, sociable people and I hope religious too, but a little too much independent in their principles and as I have been told, were formerly in their zeal very rigid in their administrations towards such as their laws made offenders, even to a harmless kiss or innocent merriment among young people. Whipping being a frequent and counted an easy punishment, about which as other crimes, the Judges were absolute in their sentences.

"Their diversions in this part of the country are on lecture days and training days mostly. On the former there is riding from town to town, and on the training days the youth divert themselves by shooting at the target as they call it (but it very much resembles a pillory), where he that hits nearest the white has some yards of red ribbon presented him, which being tied to his hat-band, the two ends streaming down his back, he is led away in triumph with great applause, as the winners of the Olympic games. They generally marry very young; the males oftener, as I am told, under twenty than above; they generally make public weddings, and have a way something singular (as they say) in some of them; viz., just before joining hands the bridegroom quits the place, who is soon followed by the bridesmen and as it were, dragged back to duty—being the reverse to the former practice among us to steal mistress bride.

"There are a great plenty of oysters all along by the sea side as far as I rode in the colony, and those very good. And they generally lived very well and comfortably in their families, but too indulgent (especially

the farmers) to their slaves, suffering too great familiarity from them, permitting them to sit at the table and eat with them (as they say to save time), and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived near the town where I lodged, who had some difference with his slave, concerning something the master had promised him and did not punctually perform, which caused some hard words between them; but at length they put the matter to arbitration and bound themselves to stand to the award of such as they named—which done, the arbitrators having heard the allegations of both parties, ordered the master to pay forty shillings to black face, and acknowledge his fault. And so the matter ended; the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

"There are everywhere in the towns as I passed, a number of Indians, the natives of the country, and are the most "salvage of all the salvages" of that kind that I had ever seen; little or no care taken (as I heard upon inquiry) to make them otherwise. They have in some places lands of their own, and governed by laws of their own making. They marry many wives and at pleasure put them away, and on the least dislike or fickle humor, on either side, saying, "Stand away," to one another is a sufficient divorce. And indeed those uncomely "Stand aways" are too much in vogue among the English in this (indulgent) colony, as their records plentifully prove, and that on very trivial matters, of which some have been told me, but are not proper to be related by a female pen, though some of that foolish sex have had too large a share in the story.

"If the natives commit any crime on their own precincts among themselves the English take no cognizance of, but if on English ground they are punishable by our laws. They mourn for their dead by blacking their faces and cutting their hair, after an awkward and frightful manner, but can't bear you should mention the names of their dead relations to them. They trade most for rum, for which they hazzard their very lives, and the English fit them generally as well, by seasoning it plentifully with water.

"They give the title of merchant to every trader who rate their goods according to the time and specie they pay in. "Pay is grain, pork, beef, etc., at the prices set by the General Court that year; "Money" or "good hard money," as sometimes silver coin is termed by them; also "Wampum, as money" is provisions, as aforesaid, one-third cheaper than as the Assembly or General Court sets it; and "Trust" as they and the merchant agree for time.

Now, when the buyer comes to ask for a commodity, sometimes before the merchant answers that he has it, he says, "Is your pay ready?"

Perhaps the chap replies, "Yes." "What do you pay in?" says the merchant. The buyer having answered, then the price is set; as suppose he wants a six penny knife, in "pay" it is twelve pence — in "pay as money," eight pence, and "hard money," its own price, viz., six pence. It seems a very intricate way of trade and what *lex mercatoria* had not thought of.

"We may observe here the great necessity and benefit both of education and conversation; for these people have as large a portion of mother wit, and sometimes a larger, than those who have been brought up in cities; but for want of improvements, render themselves almost ridiculous. They are generally very plain in their dress, throughout all the colony, as I saw, and follow one another in their modes; that you may know where they belong, especially the women — meet them where you will.

"Their chief red letter day is St. Election, which is annually observed according to charter, to choose their governor — a blessing they can never be thankful enough for, as they will find, if ever it be their hard fortune to lose it. The present governor in Connecticut is the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., a gentleman of an ancient and honorable family, whose father was governor here sometime before, and his grandfather had been governor of the Massachusetts. This gentleman is a very courteous and affable person, much given to hospitality, and has by his good services gained the affections of the people as much as any who had been before him in that post."

One of the most interesting passages in the journal is Madam Knight's description of New York City where she tarried for two weeks in midwinter. It must be remembered that Boston and not New York, was the metropolis of the new world at that time, Boston containing a population of ten thousand and New York only half that number. Madam Knight's New York is a "well compacted city," where they "are not strict in keeping the Sabbath" and "treat with good liquors liberally."

We see in embryo a characterization of our modern city, as distinct from Puritan Boston. And in view of their respective populations in 1704, we cannot regard the free-and-easy going character of the New York of to-day as the mere result of her larger population, but rather as the inevitable development of the legacy of liberal customs left us by our Dutch ancestors in contrast to the rigor of the New England Puritans.

Madam Knight's journal says:

"The city of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a commodious river which is a fine harbor for shipping. The buildings, brick generally, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The bricks in some of the houses are of divers colors and laid in checkers, being glazed look very

agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the "summers" and joists are plained and kept very white scoured, as so are all the partitions if made of boards. The fire-places have no jambs (as ours have) but the backs run flush with the walls and the hearth is of tiles and is as far out into the room at the ends as before the fire, which is generally five foot in the lower rooms and the piece over where the "mantle" tree should be, is made as ours with joiners' work, as I suppose is fastened to iron rods inside.

"The house where the vendue was, had chimney corners like ours, and they and the hearths were laid with the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean and so are the walls of the kitchen which had a brick floor. They were making great preparations to receive their governor, Lord Cornbury, from the Jerseys, and for that end raised the militia to guard him on shore to the fort.

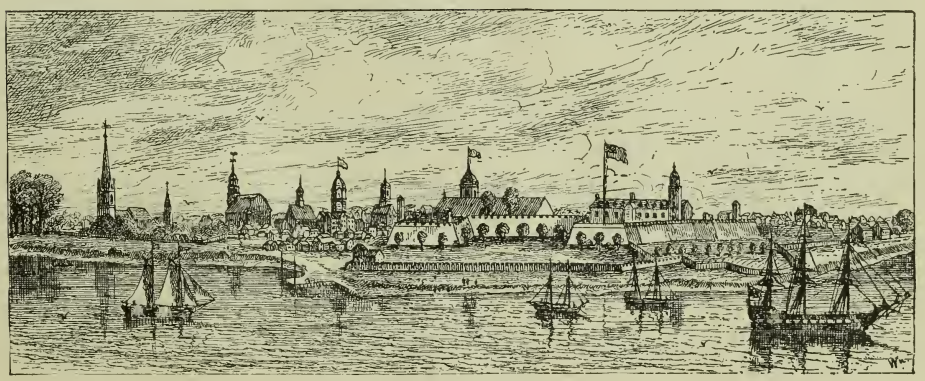
"They are generally of the Church of England and have a New England gentleman for their minister and a very fine church set out with all customery requisites. There are also Dutch and divers conventicles as they call them, viz., Baptist, Quakers, etc. They are not strick in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had been, but seem to deal with great exactness as far as I can see or deal with. They are sociable to one another and courteous and civil to strangers, and fare well in their houses. The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women; in their habit go loose, wear French muches, which are like a cap and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare which are set out with jewels of a large size and many in number; and their fingers hooped with rings, some with large stones in them of many colors; as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as young.

"They have vendues very frequently and make their earnings very well by them, for they treat with good liquor liberally and the customers drink as liberally and generally pay for't as well by paying for that which they bid up briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, though sometimes good pennyworths are got there. Their diversion in the winter is riding sleighs about three or four miles out of town where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery and some go to friend's houses who handsomely treat them.

"Mr. Burroughs carried his spouse and daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowes, a gentlewoman that lived at a farmhouse who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six dishes and choice beer and metheglin,

cider, etc., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we met fifty or sixty sleighs that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they will turn out of the path for none except a loaded cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, their tables being as free to their neighbors as to themselves."

No one can fail to remark the active imagination and quaint humor which is breathed into this journal, and we cannot repress a slight feeling of resentment against the stern Puritan civilization which discouraged this manifest genius from the growth and development which a literary career would have afforded. Interesting in itself, Madam Knight's journal becomes remarkable when we consider the time and place in which it was written.



VIEW OF NEW-YORK IN 1704.

Its author had very little in English literature, and absolutely nothing on her own continent to serve as model or encouragement to her play of fancy. The *Spectator*, to which Franklin acknowledged that he owed so much, had not been conceived at the time of her journey; Richardson's "Pamela" did not appear till thirty-six years after her narrative had been composed; while neither of the others of that pioneer group—Fielding, Smollett or Sterne—had yet been born; and Shakespeare, though nearly a hundred years dead, still lacked half a century of the beginnings of his world-wide popularity, so that it is quite possible, perhaps probable, that Madam Knight at that time may have never heard of him. In her own New England she had in the way of literature, only the sonorous sermons of Thomas Hooker and John Cotton, and more especially of the two elder Mathers—such portentious expositions as that of Increase

Mather on "Blazing stars" as "Heaven's alarm to a sinful world," and those lugubrious dissertations of both Increase and Cotton Mather on witches and witchcraft.

FRANK ALLABEN.

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A PAGE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY.

ROBERT HAMILTON BISHOP, JR. LL.D.

It is a trite remark, that all things are relative in this world. Among all earthly things surely human greatness is the most subject to the conditions of relativity. The wise man of old said: "Better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." Yet I greatly fear that many a man who has ruled his own spirit well will want for remembrance, while men still praise the redoubtable Demcoritus Poliorcetes. One thing it seems impossible to learn, that it is better and nobler and greater to serve a cause than to serve self. There is surely no higher service than complete dedication of a man's life to some worthy cause. Yet if a man reaches this point of self-surrender he is looked on as a sort of natural curiosity, even if he is not condemned as unambitious and unprogressive, yet when we are brought near to such men we gradually learn to appreciate and admire them. Their serene consciousness of the overpowering claims of duty, their calm perseverance in a course of devotion to an external object, begets in us confidence, and awakens in us affection. It is only fitting that one who gave his life for others should find some one to commemorate his faithfulness, and to point out how he rose to a place of great importance by his devoted life. Such an one was the late Professor Robert Hamilton Bishop, LL.D.

When John Cleves Symmes made his arrangements for the purchase of a tract of land in the Northwest Territory in 1787, the Congress of the Old Confederation provided for the setting aside out of his purchase of one township of land for a University. Financial complications prevented the carrying out of the original plan, but after many failures and vicissitudes a township of land was at length secured for the endowment of a University beyond the great Miami, and on the very border of the present State of Indiana. At last in 1824 the trustees were ready to begin the work of higher education. Prof. Robert Hamilton Bishop, then the Professor of ancient languages in Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., was chosen President, and in the autumn the college was opened.

Dr. Bishop was a man well advanced in age, strong, earnest and able. He had come to America early in the century at the invitation of Dr. John

H. Mason, as a missionary. A member of the Associate Reformed Church of Scotland, he was full of the vigor of Scottish Calvinism, and possessed all the force of character of his race. He was induced to make Central Kentucky his field and ministered to several churches in the neighborhood of Lexington under conditions of great hardship and pecuniary want. His ability won for him a conspicuous place in a singularly polished society, and in addition to his ministerial work he became a Professor in the University, then a most flourishing institution. Late in the second decade of the century the bitter conflict with the last ebbing tide of the deism of the eighteenth century and the atheism of the French Revolutionary influence, brought the University into trouble. An advanced New England Unitarian was installed as President and a fierce contest was carried on in the Legislature and in the Board of Trustees for the management of affairs. The Presbyterians promptly secured a charter and founded Carter College at Danville, and a general desertion of the old institution began. For half a dozen years Professor Bishop fought manfully in the faculty against overwhelming odds the battle of christian education. At length in 1824 came the call to Miami to found a distinctly christian college. He sacrificed much in giving up Lexington. It was a lovely town. Its society was the most polished in the West. Its advance in commerce and manufactures had been rapid, and in all the conditions of civilized life it was at the front. But the call to once more occupy a mission station was imperative. Taking his family and a little body of earnest christian students he once more began work as a pioneer to the sister causes of education and christianity.

Altho' the society of Lexington was polished and agreeable there was some social influences the good doctor didn't approve, and so he moved to a suburban farm where Robert H. Bishop, Jr., was born on Aug. 13, 1815.

Although only nine years old at the time of the removal to Ohio the son was at once put in the grammar school—a school which had been in operation for eight years, connected with the University.

It was, indeed, a thoroughly typical frontier town to which they had come, though the time was growing late for such towns in that immediate neighborhood. Hamilton, old Fort Hamilton, was a little more than a dozen miles away, and the main road to Indiana was some four miles north of Oxford. The situation of the town was superb, but the soil in the neighborhood was poor and did not strongly attract the best class of settlers. A part of the land reserved for the college grounds had been hastily cleared. Brick had been made on this cleared ground and a building erected. The ground was covered with stumps, and the building without design or beauty stood

out in bold defiance of its surroundings. Dr. Bishop as minister and pastor to the people, as well as head of the college soon brought order out of chaos. Wise and good men were called to his aid, and the college flourished for sixteen years under his firm but gentle rule.

The minutes of the Faculty which were singularly full and explicit in this early day show that the little boy did good and faithful work. He says of himself: "Almost all the students were older than I, and so it came to pass that I had scarcely any companions in my boyhood. I cannot say that I was a very dilligent student, and Ebenezer, an older brother, and I, spent much time in the woods and on the creek hunting and fishing." It was a healthful boy's life. The wise father knew when to make the strong Scotch hand relax, and doubtless he was more than willing that the too forward boy should not be pressed in his studies.

"In 1827," continues his own narrative — "the societies (the College Literary Societies) put up a printing office in the third floor of the main building of the university and printed a paper, the "Literary Focus," of which "Bob" Schenck, afterwards United States Minister to the Court of St. James, was chief editor. I took a fancy to printing, and spent much time in the office to the neglect of my studies, and at length was allowed to quit college and go into the office. While there the printer 'got drunk' and left, so that I was obliged to run the paper and in my pride put my 'Imprimatur' *i.e.* my name as printer, on several of the issues printed in this year, 1828."

Soon after, he returned to college and graduated in the class of 1831, a class which was among the more notable classes of the early period. Among his classmates were Freeman G. Carey, president of Farmer's College, Judges Wm. R. Cochran of Hamilton, O., Theophilus L. Dickey afterwards Chief Justice of Illinois and Charles G. Wintersmith of Kentucky. Among his collegemates there were a great number who afterwards won distinction. Besides Gen. Robert C. Schenck who has been already mentioned, there were John W. Caldwell, minister to Bolivia, Ralph P. Lowe, the war governor of Iowa, Charles Anderson, governor of Ohio, and the distinguished ministers, Doctors Wm. M. Thompson, Benjamin W. Chidlaw and Joseph G. Montfort. In the autumn after his graduation he went to South Hanover, Ind., to enter the theological seminary there. This step was taken at the instance of his father without any well-defined purpose as to his future. He was still only a boy just sixteen years old. His own views as to his future were entirely undetermined and it was with the intention of pursuing general studies such as we would now call post-graduate, rather than with the fixed idea of entering the ministry that he became a student in the sem-

inary. He looked back on the instruction of the venerable Dr. Matthews of Hanover, with great veneration and respect and seemed to regard it as of great weight in his future life. His stay, however at the seminary was short, owing to a very severe illness which rendered it impossible for him for quite a while to continue his studies. When he became convalescent he returned to Oxford and again entered the printing office which he purchased in 1835. This office had a quasi connection with the university and in a certain sense was recognized as a part of it though there was no actual business connection. During the next three years quite a number of books were published for the purpose of carrying out the views of President Bishop with reference to the needs of the university and its neighborhood. Volumes of addresses, reprints of theological works and other publications of a similar nature seem to have been the staple of its publication department. As the west expanded and the connections with the east began to be more intimate, the western printing houses generally abandoned their publication departments and this printing office became merely a local printing house. So in 1838, young Bishop readily accepted a position as assistant in the Grammar School connected with the university, although the salary was exceedingly small. He married in the following year and in 1840 became head master of the Grammar School upon a salary which for the first and only time in the history of the institution was made equal to that of a full professor in the collegiate department. As a teacher in the Grammar School his work from the first gave eminent satisfaction and his teaching throughout his life was colored by his early experience in this department. He possessed the untiring perseverance which is necessary for a successful teacher of the elements, especially of language. His drill was always thorough, far reaching and untiring, and it was no doubt due to the fourteen years of experience as a preparatory teacher that the characteristics of his university teaching were so markedly those of the untiring master of drill. Nor did he apparently ever go to an extreme in this direction. The circumstances under which the average student from the beginning to the present time has been prepared for Miami University has made drill absolutely essential to successful teaching to a much later period in the course than would be demanded in eastern institutions.

In 1841 an unfortunate complication arose which led to the far more unfortunate termination of the presidency of his father. He however remained as master of the Grammar School through the succeeding administration of Drs. Junkin and McMaster and three years of that of Dr. Anderson, when in 1852 he was chosen professor of Latin which

he somewhat reluctantly accepted. About this time he was also chosen as the secretary of the Board of Trustees and soon after became superintendent of the grounds and buildings. He was already for some years secretary of the Society of the Alumni. Thus there were gathered into his hands various lines which rendered his influence very great. His entire devotion to the university and to its interests became the most conspicuous, indeed the controlling influence in his life. Till the suspension in 1873 he retained all of these positions, and almost every department of the university showed more or less the mark of his solicitude and affection. The Alumni, for the rest of his life, held their annual meeting at his home, and, gathered around the great walnut tree on his lawn, annually concluded their meetings by the singing of "Auld lang syne." As the years passed he seemed to take less interest in anything outside of the Latin language and literature and the affairs of the university. For a great number of years he was never outside of the Township—scarcely a dozen times outside the corporation limits. He did not lack for society. Every alumnus or former student found his house their home. He followed them with unflagging interest and kept a faithful record of their careers. Their wanderings were his wanderings; their interests were his interests; their triumphs were his triumphs; and all were faithfully recorded in the remarkably complete records which he kept as Secretary of the Alumni Association. The closing of the doors of the university in 1873 was indirectly due to the war of the Rebellion. The call for troops first emptied the halls of students and depleted the faculty. Then the effect upon the money market and the subsequent commercial complications reduced the purchasing value of the endowment of the university below the possibility of carrying on the work. The closing of the doors was the great grief of his life, yet he remained, retaining the offices of secretary to the trustees and the Alumni and of superintendent of the grounds and buildings and ever watched for the day when the university should renew its youth. That happy day came in part in 1885, when a partial re-opening took place and he was again installed in his old professorship; and fully again in 1888, when a complete faculty was once more constituted. But before that day his failing health rendered him incapable of full performance of class-room duty, and in 1887 he was appointed Emeritus professor. Stroke after stroke of paralysis rapidly destroyed his already shattered health, and on the 5th of July, 1890, he fell peacefully asleep.

The college which he had loved so dearly in life did not forget him in death. A memorial service was held in memory of him on Tuesday, June the 16th, 1891, being a part of the exercises of commencement week. On

that occasion addresses were made by a number of his old students and the president of the college and a number of letters were sent by others who were unable to be present. Quotations from one or two letters will perhaps throw light upon his character as a man and as a teacher. Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, wrote as follows:

"It would be to me a source of great pleasure to join in the ceremonies on this occasion. To no one am I more indebted for any taste I may have for letters or the command of my intellectual resources than to this good and to me very great man. He served a long and useful life, exciting the ambitious efforts of those committed to his care, and I believe as much as any American teacher, held through life the affection and admiration of those he first led into the paths of usefulness.

I mention him without his titles, for though he was doctor of laws and professor of the University. he was to me, and always will remain in my memory, designated only by his plain name of 'Bob Bishop.'"

Rev. George H. Fullerton, D. D., of Springfield, O., wrote as follows:

"I was deeply impressed by him both as a teacher and a man. He at first seemed to me to be severe, and if he had worn a toga would have personified my boy's ideal of the old Roman. That towering form, bent over by reason of the weight of brain rather than of years; that keen eye, looking through you instead of at you, and magnified in its power of impression as well as of vision by the aid of glasses; that stride across the campus, becoming colossal if the recitation bell had rung a moment before the time! Who can forget such characteristics of the man? Our text books were full of pictures of him, and if I could find some of mine (Alas! in what garret or cellar or dust pile do they repose?) I think I could reproduce every feature of the professor down to his long and not exactly classical foot. One scene comes up before me as I write, as if it had occurred but yesterday. I was in the old recitation room and was struggling with some Latin about which I knew nothing, and concerning which I doubted if the author himself knew anything more—was catching at straws as drowning students will always do, and hoping that the next lunge might enable me to touch bottom, when lifting my eyes I saw that the professor had turned his book over on his knee and was contemplating me with one of those anatomical looks which nobody who has been dissected in like way can ever forget. I can feel that look to-day after more than thirty years of experience in life's dissecting room; and I can feel the relief which came to me also when the professor firmly but kindly said, "Sit down sir!" and I dropped out of my misery amidst the titter of my classmates. But I assure you that pleasanter memories predominate as I

write. As I learned the man as well as his lessons, I became warmly attached to him; and it was rarely the case that a student who was not lazy or tricky left college without almost a filial feeling for "Old Bobby" as we called him. I remember that I wrote his biography as far as was then practicable for my Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and when I closed it in a poetical way with the refrain;

"The old oaken Bobby
The iron bound Bobby
The moss-covered Bobby
That loves us so well."

I was greeted by a round of applause from all present, and I do not recall anything I did at college that made me so popular.

After graduation I saw but little of Prof. Bishop, until a year ago last September, when I had the privilege of spending a day with him in his hospitable home. He was then in Beulah land to borrow Bunyan's imagery. He knew that the river of death was not far away, and was contemplating through the mists that lay over it, the towers and mansions of the celestial city. There was no rapture in his experience. The convictions of a lifetime and sturdy adherence to duty in the closet and home and college and church, had provided for him a holy calm which was like a benediction upon all who approached him. The finest thing that Thackery ever wrote, is his description of the death of Col. Newcome. As death called him, the old soldier is a schoolboy again, and his schoolmaster is calling the roll; but let me quote Thackery's own words; 'At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat a time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face and he lifted up his head a little and quickly said 'Adsum' and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called, and so he whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name and stood in the presence of the Master.'

I have thought of Prof. Bishop as responding in like way in the language he loved so well, 'Adsum, Domine,' when that final roll call of earth's schoolhouse reached his name; and that he stepped humbly but triumphantly into the presence of the Great Teacher, no one can doubt who remembers how diligently while teaching others he himself learned Christ."

Such was the man and the teacher. Within the class-room he was something of an autocrat and in his home circle where he gathered a large family about him, he was not merely the affectionate husband and father but distinctly the head of the family, ruling with gentleness yet firmness. In all things he had the courage of his convictions. Those who differed from him found him inflexible. Those who agreed with him were likely to find him an indefatigable leader. Those

who loved him found in him always a tireless friend and rejoiced in the singular purity and devotedness which went down to the grave under the ever darkening pall of physical infirmity but in the unfading brightness of complete christian dedication.

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD.

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

HENRY CORWITH.

THERE was a time in the history of Illinois, when the town of Galena was the most prosperous, and perhaps the most populous town in the State, and had the brightest prospect of being one of the great cities of the West.

It was the first settlement in the State in which any industry of consequence of other than an agricultural character was developed, and to this early industrial centre many of the most noted of the Illinois pioneers were attracted.

The site of the noted old town was occupied—prior to its settlement by white men—by the Sac and Fox Indians, and local historians affirm that the aborigines had some knowledge of the value of the extensive lead deposits in the vicinity, and engaged in a crude way in mining prior to 1820.

It is even asserted that the antiquity of mining operations dates back to 1800 or earlier, and that Julian Dubuque was the first white miner.

One thing which is definitely known about the early settlements of this interesting locality is that mining, in a more or less systematic way was begun in 1820 by James Johnson, a Kentuckian; a brother to the famous Col. R. M. Johnson, the slayer of the noted Indian Chief, Tecumseh.

Three years later Dr. Moses of Cincinnati, Ohio, came to Galena, or as it was then called by the French traders, La Pointe, bringing with him a small colony of miners and traders who effected a permanent settlement. The successful operations which he and his associates carried on in bringing to light the rich deposits of lead ore, soon made the region famous, and brought to it emigrants from all parts of the country. The result was, that what had for many years been known as an Indian trading post, speedily became the scene of wonderful activity as a mining camp.

In 1826 the settlers and miners who had flocked to the country came together and decided that a town should be regularly laid out, on what was then known as Fever or Bean River, now Galena River, at a point six miles above where it flows into the Mississippi River. Lieutenant Thomas, an officer in the employ of the United States Government, laid out the town, and to him it is probably indebted for the name it bears,

although this statement cannot be made with certainty as to its historical accuracy.

As an organized municipality, Galena grew rapidly in importance, and within a few years thereafter it had unquestionably attracted the attention of a greater number of investors, explorers and fortune hunters than any other town in Illinois. Its future was, at that time, full of promise. It appeared to be the natural trade centre of a vast agricultural district, and in addition to this, the mineral wealth by which it was surrounded seemed destined to build up at this point a metropolis of considerable consequence.

It was during this period that there came from New York to Galena, a young man whose financial genius made him for years one of the most prominent factors in the expansion and development of western commerce. It was in 1833 that Henry Corwith, then in New York, was selected by Charles H. Rogers as a suitable person to take charge of a general merchandising establishment, which Mr. Rogers had decided to start in Galena. Mr. Corwith was then a young man, twenty years of age, having been born at Bridgehampton, L. I., June 13th, 1813. He was the son of Gordon Corwith of Welsh descent, and his mother—before her marriage, Susan White—came of one of the pioneer families of New York State.

Henry Corwith had spent his boyhood on his father's farm; had received a good common school education, and had been in the employ of Mr. Roger's father in New York something like a year before he was called upon to look after his employer's interest in the West.

Readily acccepting the proposition made to him to emigrate to Illinois, he started with a stock of goods which were shipped to Galena by way of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis by the tedious methods of transportation in vogue in those days. When he reached his destination he began business without delay, and the first year worked on a salary. The second year his employer divided with him the profits, and the third year he became a full partner in the business. Being a young man of keen perception and extraordinary sagacity, he was not slow to discover that quite as much could be realized in the way of profits, by becoming a purchaser of the products of the lead mines as could be realized from the sale of merchandise, and he accordingly began purchasing lead and shipping it to New York, where it was disposed of by his partner, Mr. Rogers. "New York Exchange" being then in great demand in the West, it was found convenient to allow the proceeds of sales of lead to accumulate in New York, to be drawn against by western merchants and other traders, through the house of Rogers & Corwith, and this soon led to the establishment by this firm of a regu-

lar banking establishment. As early as 1842, they were known as bankers, and this branch of their business, and their lead shipping business continuing to expand, they gave up merchandising entirely in 1847, and thereafter gave their entire attention to these two interests. In 1853, in company with his brother Nathan, who had joined him at Galena, Mr. Corwith established the Bank of Galena, which became one of the most noted of the pioneer financial institutions of the West. Notwithstanding the "Wild Cat" banking tendencies of that era, Mr. Corwith, as president of this bank, was little inclined to issue paper currency, although authorized to do so under the charter granted to the bank by Act of the Illinois legislature. A limited amount of currency was issued after a time, but each of these paper dollars was always worth a dollar in coin, and not one of them was ever presented for redemption which was not duly honored. Not even during the disastrous financial panic of 1857 did the bank suspend specie payment temporarily, and the venerable cashier of the institution, Mr. C. C. P. Hunt, now living in Chicago, relates with much satisfaction instances in which the holders of notes during that exciting time, expressed their appreciation of the bank's resources, and its fidelity in redeeming all its promises to pay. On one occasion, says Mr. Hunt, a stranger in Galena entered the bank, and presenting a roll of bills at the cashier's desk, asked what he could get for them. "You can get gold for them" was the cashier's answer. "But how much?" inquired the holder of the notes. "Just the amount of their face value" was the response, which astounded the stranger quite as much as a bank customer would be astounded in these days at being informed that he could not exchange a national bank note for silver dollar. His experience with Illinois State Banks had been of so different a character, that not being familiar with the history and methods of the Bank of Galena, he was surprised when it did not propose to discount its own paper.

Mr. Corwith and his associates continued to operate the bank under State laws until 1865, when it was reorganized under the National Banking Laws and became the National Bank of Galena. When its first charter as a National Bank expired, Mr. Corwith severed his connection with it, but the bank is still doing business as the Galena National Bank.

While engaged in banking he continued his purchases and the shipment of lead, and for many years he and his associates are said to have handled and sent to market three-fourths of the output of the Galena mines. All of the early shipments of lead were by way of the Mississippi River and New Orleans to New York, but at a later date shipments were made largely by way of Chicago.

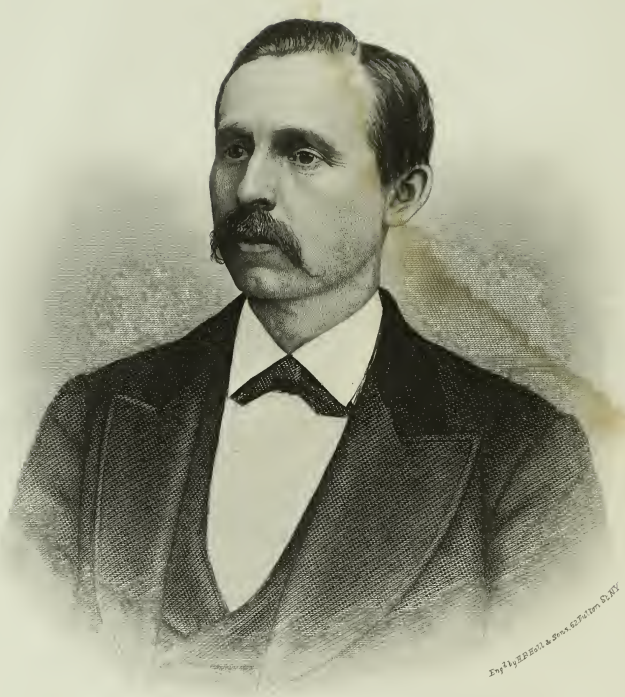
The lumber interests of Southern

Wisconsin were also indebted largely to Mr. Corwith for their rapid advancement. Although he became the owner of some valuable tracts of pine lands, he did not engage in cutting lumber to any considerable extent, but the lumbermen of this region relied upon him largely for the means necessary to get their products into market and to carry on such operations as they planned from time to time. In this way, and in the marketing of the lead product of the Galena region, Mr. Corwith contributed greatly to its industrial development.

While still living at Galena, he made numerous investments in both St. Louis and Chicago, and for a time hesitated as to which of these cities he should make his permanent home. At the time of the Chicago fire, a considerable number of business buildings of which he had become the owner, were destroyed, and the re-building of these buildings brought him to this city, of which he became a resident in 1873. From the date of his location in Chicago, he did not engage actively in business, giving his attention solely to the management of his large private interests. He died in Chicago in 1888, having accumulated a splendid fortune as a result of his own efforts.

His wife, who before her marriage, was Miss Isabelle Soulard, daughter of James G. Soulard—who belonged to an old St. Louis family but settled in Galena in 1827—is still a resident of Chicago, as are also his three sons and four daughters.

For nearly fifty years he was a conspicuous figure in the western business world. Not only did he supply those who are engaged in the development of the resources of Northwestern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, with a large proportion of the means necessary for such development, but he was to a great extent the confidential friend and adviser of the men engaged in the conduct of these various enterprises. He belonged to the class of pioneers who comprehended to a large degree, the vast possibilities of "The West." He had abundant faith in its resources, and he therefore counseled wisely those who came to him for advice. A banker, during the formative period of western banking—when the financial affairs of this region were in a condition truly chaotic—he proved himself a financier of great ability, and in later years when enterprises with which he was connected brought him into contact with distinguished eastern financiers, he demonstrated that he was the peer of any in dealing with important monetary problems. A genial gentleman of the old school, a helper always of men who sought to help themselves, Henry Corwith was a man widely known and greatly respected among the pioneers of the Northwest, and his influence in building up the trade and commerce of this section can hardly be over-estimated.



Engd by E.P. Reid & Sons, Fulton St. N.Y.

J. A. Brown

Ira Brown.

On a beautiful hill overlooking the village of Wheaton, the county seat of Du Page County and a suburb of Chicago, stands one of those country houses which itself expresses the culture, refinement, broad liberality and generous hospitality of its occupants.

It combines, as the perfect place of abode should, the most charming features of country and city. Broad lawns, graveled walks and drives, vines and fruit trees in profusion, leave little to be desired to make the outward beauty of this charming country seat complete.

In this home presides with quiet grace and dignity the daughter of Levi Ballou, one of the earliest as well as one of the best known of the Pioneer settlers of Du Page County, as the wife of Ira Brown, one of the Pioneer business men of Chicago and one of that striking group of the eminently successful self-made men of the West.

In 1833, Ira Brown, Sr., a native of New York State settled in Northwestern Ohio, when that region of what is now fertile farms was an unbroken wilderness.

He was the son of Ephraim Brown who sacrified his life in the war of 1812, and his mother achieved the distinction of living to the age of one hundred and four years. It was soon after his marriage to Miss Harriet Loughborough, sister of William Loughborough, a noted member of the Rochester, New York, bar, that Mr. Brown settled at Perrysburg, in what is now Wood County, Ohio. Here they resided until the spring of 1835, and it was here that their son Ira, was born in the early part of the same year. Not being satisfied with the original location, the elder Brown arranged, in the spring of that year, to remove his family into what is now Defiance County, Ohio, to a settlement near the present city of Defiance. There were no improved roads in that region of country in those days and it was decided to make the trip from the old to the new home by way of the Maumee River.

All the goods and household effects of the family were accordingly loaded into a large sized "dug out," which was launched on the river, and the intention was to have members of the family embark in the same boat. When everything was in readiness for the start, Mrs. Brown declined to trust herself and child to the treach-

erous looking craft, and bundling up the infant in Indian fashion she set out on foot, traveling the entire distance that way. It was in this primitive fashion that Ira Brown made his entrance into the neighborhood in which he grew up, and which he only left, when he set out for Chicago.

His father purchased a large body of land near Defiance and began farming on an extensive scale, giving his attention in later years largely to the raising of fine stock, fine horses being his special pride and delight. It is an interesting fact that, although he is now eighty eight years of age, and the oldest resident of the county in which he lives, the elder Brown is still actively engaged in carrying on farming operations and is one of the most widely known farmers in the State.

In 1835, what was known as Fort Defiance occupied the site, or at least a portion of the site of the present city of the same name. The country surrounding it was an unbroken forest, in which the howling of wild animals were familiar sounds, and in which Indian hunters were far more numerous than white ones. It was in the wildest and newest portion of a comparatively new state, and the experiences of boys who grew up in this region within the next few years were such as to fit them for pioneer life in almost any western community. The experiences of Ira Brown were not different from those of the average country youth of that period in Northwestern Ohio. During the summer and winter months of each year he attended school at Defiance until he was old enough to make himself useful on the farm. Dividing his time between farm labor and the school room, he remained at home until he was seventeen years of age, when he reached the conclusion that farming was not altogether to his taste, and he was anxious to see something more of the world before deciding on a permanent occupation. As he was still a mere youth, his idea of getting away from home, did not receive the endorsement of his parents and the differences of opinion between them were so radical that the young man finally concluded to settle the matter for himself. Accordingly when a fortunate circumstance made him the possessor of ten dollars, he quietly gathered together such of his effects as he could carry in a small bundle, and without informing any one of his intentions, set out for Chicago. This was long before the days of railroad communications between Chicago and the Maumee Valley and he spent three days traveling through the forest to reach Coldwater, Michigan, where he boarded a train which brought him to his destination.

Arrived in Chicago he found himself in the largest city he had ever seen up to that time, among strangers, with something less than four dollars in his pocket. He determined to make

the best of the situation and to obtain some sort of employment without delay. Stopping at the American Hotel, one of the well known hotels in those days in Chicago, he began making himself useful in various ways, with the result that by the time his money was exhausted he had secured a position as night clerk in the hotel. His promotion to a more responsible position was rapid. He was connected with this enterprise for five years. At the end of that time he sold out and embarked in mercantile business which he continued for several years, until his realty interests became such as to demand all his time and attention.

It was developed early in his career that he was especially adapted to successful dealing in real estate, and he began making investments in realty as soon as he was able to command any money for that purpose, and his earliest purchases showed good judgment and close calculation. Readily grasping the idea that the largest profits in realty transactions are made through the sub-division and sale of lands,in small parcels to persons who want homes or business locations, he turned his attention to the selection of sites eligible for this purpose, and has adhered to this system of operating to the present time. Naturally a sagacious man, it required comparatively little experience to make him an expert judge of land values and to enable him to look about and take something like an accurate measurement of the city's prospective growth.

As a consequence of this forecast of the future, he long since began reaching outside of the city limits of Chicago, and devoting his energies largely to the building of quiet, orderly, well laid out suburban villages adapted for homes.

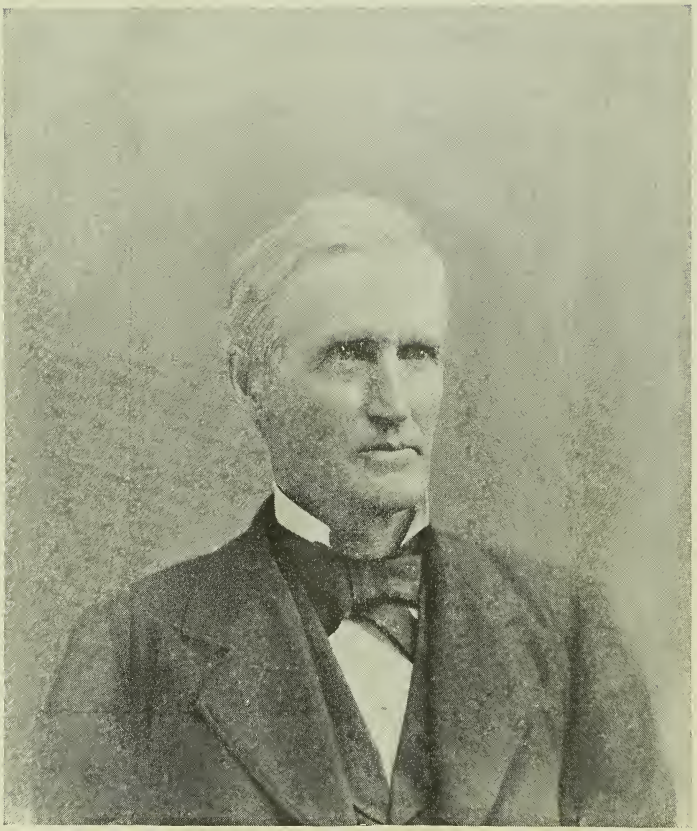
The plan adopted by him has been one which commended itself to the masses of home-seekers belonging to the middle and laboring classes. He was the originator of the monthly payment plan of selling lots, and not only has he disposed of hundreds of city lots and larger parcels of land in this way, but in many instances homes have been built by Mr. Brown and his associates,and sold on the "easy payment" plan to industrious mechanics, tradesmen and laborers, who were thus enabled to become the owners of their own residences. No honest industrious man seeking for a home in good earnest,ever appealed to Mr. Brown to be given an opportunity to acquire one, without meeting a generous response. In hundreds of cases little more has been required from such purchasers, to begin with, than evidence of their good intentions, and the man who could save five dollars a month out of his salary or wages was put in the way of acquiring a homestead. In this way Ira Brown has perhaps supplied a greater number of people with homes than any man now living in Chicago, and he has certainly contributed to the building up of a

larger number of Chicago's suburbs than any other citizen of the city. In this respect his record has been a remarkable one, the public records of Cook County showing that through his various subdivisions of large bodies of land, he has added nearly fifteen thousand lots to the city of Chicago and its suburbs. Nor does this represent the total of his operations. In 1874, while spending the winter in California he became largely interested in San Diego lands, which he subdivided and sold ten years later.

While his work in and about Chicago has been alike beneficial to the community at large and to those who were aided to become property owners through his enterprise, he has been practically philanthropic in the sense that in helping others he has helped himself, and the profits he has realized from operations in this fruitful field represent a handsome fortune of his own building. He is also interested in banking as a large stockholder and member of the Board of Directors of the Security Loan and Savings Bank of Chicago and in other important enterprises.

Believing that good fortune imposes obligations upon its possessors, Mr. Brown has been a liberal sharer of his wealth with educational, charitable and religious institutions and enterprises. A member of the Methodist Church, he has been a liberal donor to the Northwestern University at Evanston, and it was largely through his generosity that the Ada Street Church of this demonination was built in Chicago. As a member of the Building Committee in this instance, he carried the church obligations until such time as the congregation found it convenient to liquidate the indebtedness. In the work of inaugurating the famous Desplaines Camp meeting, at which thousands of western Methodists gather annually, he was a prime mover and in many ways has he given substantial assistance to the church with which he has been identified since early manhood and with which he still retains his connection. While he has always been much attached to this denomination he has at the same time been broad-minded and liberal in his religious views. This is evidenced by the fact that when Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas, one of Chicago's most illustrious preachers, was driven from the Methodist Church by the heretic hunters, Mr. Brown was one of the first to come to his assistance, and, to set on foot a movement which has kept him in the ministry and built up one of the largest independent church congregations in the city.

In politics Mr. Brown has been a Republican since he cast his first vote for John C. Fremont for President, but he has been active only to the extent of seeking, where opportunity offered, to promote the interests of his party, and to secure good local government for the city in which he has been so largely interested.



Alonzo Pellow

ALONZO PELTON.

One of the pioneer merchants of the west passed away recently when Alonzo Pelton died at his home in Chicago. Although he was well known in the city which had been his home for a number of years, Mr. Pelton's pioneer life did not begin in Chicago, but in the town of Prairie du Chien in the neighboring State of Wisconsin.

He was a native of Hampden county Massachusetts, having been born in the town of Chester, March 26th, 1816. His family was one which became identified with the history of New England during the Colonial era, and his grandfather Ethamer Pelton, was one of the patriots who contributed his share toward establishing the independence of the United States as a soldier in the Revolutionary struggle. His father Ezra Pelton, and his mother, before her marriage Chloe Wright, were both natives of Massachusetts.

The family of Ezra Pelton was one of a fashion long out of date, as it consisted of thirteen children, of whom Alonzo was the youngest but one. He was brought up on the farm owned by his father, trained to habits of industry, and given a common school education. Being one of the younger children he became in his young manhood the chief support and dependence of his parents in their old age, and it was not until after the death of his father that he felt at liberty to leave the old homestead and cast his fortunes with the large number of enterprising young New Englanders who were at that time seeking homes in the west.

Two brothers older than himself preceded him to Wisconsin and located at Prairie du Chien, where they engaged in merchandising. After remaining with and caring for his father in his declining years, Alonzo came west about 1840 and joined his brothers in Wisconsin.

The brothers had built up an extensive business for those days at Prairie du Chien, and upon his arrival there he entered their employ as a clerk. After serving his apprenticeship as a clerk he became a partner in the same establishment, and continued his connection until 1867, when he removed to Freeport, Illinois. He there established himself in business, entering into partnership with E. C. Dwight his nephew, under the firm of E. C. Dwight & Co. This

firm became one of the most widely known and successful in the west, and for many years did a prosperous business in jewelry and musical instruments, extending its trade over a wide area of territory. Mr. Dwight retired from the firm in 1869, on account of ill health and removed to Minnesota where he died. Mr. Pelton then became the head of the firm, with a former employe as his principal partner. Early in the "Seventies" the business was removed to Chicago, where it continued to expand until the admission of a third partner into the firm was followed by disaster. The success of the enterprise, which had been built up largely under his management, was in a great measure due to the conservatism and careful methods of Mr. Pelton, and a change in the long established system of doing business was followed by serious consequences. The result was that Mr. Pelton was a heavy loser through the failure of his firm, and although he continued in business for several years afterward, he succeeded in recovering but a small portion of the fortune which he had accumulated earlier in life.

During his long career as a merchant and a man of affairs, both in Wisconsin and Illinois, he was much esteemed by those who were brought into contact with him in every day life. Under all circumstances he was the same upright, honorable and conscientious man, commanding the fullest confidence of his associates and of the general public. Kindly, courteous and sympathetic, he was deeply loved by those who knew him as a member of social and domestic circles, and particularly by those who were brought into intimate relations with him in church and charitable work.

In his young manhood, while attending a Methodist "Class meeting," of the character for which Methodist churches were noted fifty years ago, he was so deeply impressed by what he saw and heard, that he became a convert to Methodism and united with the church at Middlefield Massachusetts, which was but a short distance from the home of his parents. To the obligations which he took upon himself when a boy he adhered faithfully through all the years of his later life, and he was always a firm believer in the christian religion and a warm hearted, earnest, ardent supporter of the church of his choice.

Always a devout man, during the later years of his life he gave much of his time to religious reading and study, and also became deeply interested in advancing the cause of temperance and sobriety. With much reluctance he finally severed his political connections with the Republican party with which he had been identified since "anti-slavery" days, and became an advocate of prohibiting the traffic in intoxicants, and a member of the prohibition party. Believing that through this agency and by this means alone could the

evils of the liquor traffic be succesfully dealt with, he championed the doctrines of the prohibition party warmly and aided as far as lay in his power to advance its principles.

In 1845 Mr. Pelton was married to Miss Emeline A. Tainter, a daughter of Mr. Ezekeil W. Tainter, one of the early settlers of Wisconsin and still living in Chicago. Mrs. Pelton and four children are the surviving members of Mr. Pelton's family.

At the time of his death, which occurred at his home in Chicago Sept. 21, 1891, Mr. Pelton was one of the pioneers of Methodism in the west. For more than fifty years he had been a member of the church and for more than forty years he had served the church as a class leader and in other official capacities.

THE PATROONS.

One of the most singular things connected with the settlement of New Netherland was the introduction of the Patroon system of colonization. This system was authorized by the States-General of Holland and they provided that any member of the Dutch East India Company who might establish in any part of New Netherland, within four years after notice of his intention a colony of fifty persons upward of fifteen years of age, was to be entitled by the name of Patroon, to a grant of territory so occupied, sixteen miles in extent along the sea-shore or the banks of some navigable river, or eight miles where both banks were occupied with an indefinite extend inland.

The island of Manhattan and the fur trade with the Indians were expressly reserved to the company; and upon all trade carried on by the patroons an acknowledgement of five per cent was to be paid.

These patroons were to extinguish the Indian title and were to settle their lands with tenants, farmers having indented servants the same as those of Virginia, but the fuedal privileges reserved to the Patroons some traces of which still exist, present a marked difference between this Dutch scheme of settlement and the free tenure of lands adopted in Virginia. In accordance with the colonial system of all European nations, emigration was to some extent encouraged, but the colonists were forbidden to make any woolen, linen or cotton cloth, or weave any other stuffs on pain of being banished "as perjurors."

Notwithstanding these restrictions a boom in real estate soon broke out and we find that one Godyn and Bloemmaert employed agents to purchase from the Indians a tract extending from Cape Henlopen, thirty-two miles up the west shore of South or Delaware Bay, and not long after the same proprietors made a purchase sixteen miles square on the opposite shore including Cape May.

To these purchases they gave the name of Zwanendale or Swansdale.

Penn, one of the Directors of the West India Company, bought up the Indian title to the district named Hoboken, to which Staten Island and other neighboring tracts were added and this whole region was named Pavonia.

Van Rensselaers' agents purchased

lands above and below Fort Orange, twenty-four miles long by forty-eight broad, embracing all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer with a part of Columbia, which was called Rensselaerswyck.

This colony or kingdom afterwards cut a large figure in the history of New York, but it would take a volume to tell it.

A sort of independent government was established which was vested in two commissaries, one of whom acted as president, and two counselors, assisted by a secretary, Schout Fiscal and marshal. The commissaries and counselors composed a court for the trial of all cases, civil and criminal, from which however, an appeal lay to the director and council at Fort Amsterdam.

The code of Rensselaerswyck, as of the rest of the Province, was the Roman-Dutch law, as administered in Holland. Fort Orange was not included in the patroonship, but remained under the exclusive control of the West India Company and their director at Fort Amsterdam.

The population consisted of farmers who had emigrated at their own expense, other farmers sent out by the Patroon to establish and cultivate boundaries on shares or rent, and farm servants indented for a term of years.

The Patroon, in the beginning, bore the expense of preparing the land for occupancy. He set off farms, erected farm buildings, stocked them with tools and cattle and so brought the farmer to his work, unhampered by want of capital.

In return for these outlays the Civil Code gave the Patroon many of the rights, incident to lordship under feudal system. He was not only entitled to the rent fixed upon, but also to a portion of the increase of the stock and of the produce of the farm.

Even to the remainder he had preemptive right, and the farmer was not at liberty to sell any of his produce elsewhere until it had been refused by the Patroon.

He required each colonist to grind all grain at his mill, to obtain license from him to fish or hunt within the domain, and as "Lord of the Manor" he was the legal heir of all who died intestate within the colony. Serious difficulties commenced between the settlers and the Patroons at the very beginning, and so distasteful were the restrictions, that the settlements did not increase rapidly. The basis of the whole system it will be observed was monopoly in land and monopoly in government, and such a system could never thrive anywhere in this country.

The Patroons undertook to evade the law of feudal tenures and primogeniture, which were at an early period abolished by contriving a deed by which the grantees agreed to pay rents and dues.

This tenure proved to be very burdensome and odious, and about the

year 1839 associations began to be formed for the purpose of devising a scheme of relief from the burdens.

This movement was soon known as anti-rentism and soon grew into enormous proportions.

In 1841–2 Governor Seward recommended arbitration, but nothing was accomplished. Great insubordination was manifested in Delaware, Rensselaer and Schoharie counties, which led to bloodshed, and finally the matter was taken into politics and in 1842 one-eighth of the Legislature who favored anti-renters was elected, and in 1846 a clause was inserted in the Constitution by the Constitutional Convention, abolishing all feudal tenures and incidents, and forbidding the leasing of agricultural lands for a longer term than twelve years. In Rensselaer County, and in Delaware County several heinous outrages were committed, and the perpetrators being discovered they were tried and sent to States Prison.

Silas Wright, who had been elected Governor prior to 1846, was a candidate for re-election at the November election of that year, but having incurred the displeasure of the anti-renters was defeated by ten thousand majority by John Young, the anti-rent candidate, who released all offenders of the law who were in prison. The public feeling became so strong against the Patroons that they could not collect rents or do anything with their possessions, and they had to sell out their interests.

It was in the prosecution of some of these offenders against the law that John Van Buren, who was at the time Attorney General, greatly distinguished himself as a lawyer and advocate. Away from the vicinity of the Patroons, and all along the Hudson, there grew up Dutch Village Communities with all of the elements of self-government, and in marked contrast with the religous intolerance of the New England colonists.

The broad christian liberality of the Dutch and Huguenots who laid the foundations of New York State is worth remembering, and the origin and growth of this liberty-loving sentiment of the Dutch people can be traced back to the earliest ages of North European history, long before the days of William of Orange and long before the people residing between the Rhine and the Meuse, the Schelde and the Ocean, closed in a death-like grapple with the fanatics and butchers of Spain. Indeed as a recent historian says :

"From the banks of the Rhine, the germs of free local institutions, borne on the tide of western emigration, found here along the Hudson a more fruitful soil than New England afforded, for the growth of those forms of municipal, state and national government, which have made the United States the leading Republic among the nations."

Elliott Anthony.

THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK.

II.

With the adjournment of the meeting of January 13, 1886, the Ohio Society of New York may be said to have found a being, and to have entered upon its career of usefulness and success.

The next meeting of the new society was held at the Windsor Hotel on the first of the February succeeding. The committee charged with the preparation of a constitution had carried their labors along the line of policy suggested by the president, and when their instrument was presented it was adopted without a dissenting voice. Its provisions were brief and to the point. It was decreed that the name should be the Ohio Society of New York, and its object to "cultivate social intercourse among its members, and to promote their best interests." There should be three classes of members: Active, Non-resident, and Honorary. Any person over eighteen years of age, of good moral character, and a resident of New York City or vicinity, and who was a native or the descendent of a native of the State of Ohio, or who had at any time been a resident of Ohio for a period of seven years, was eligible to membership, upon the active list. The sections covering the other classes of members, provided that: "Any person of like age and character residing in Ohio, (or born therein, and residing elsewhere than in New York City or its vicinity,) may, in like manner, become a non-resident member. Honorary membership may be conferred by a unanimous vote of the Governing Committee upon persons deserving that distinction; provided, however, that not more than five such memberships shall be conferred during any one year, after the first year. Non-resident and honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, except that they shall not vote or hold office." It was further provided that the officers should consist of a president, five vice-presidents, a secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a governing committee composed of nine members and these officers. The annual meeting of the society should be held on the 29th of each November, except when that date fell upon the Sabbath, when it would be held upon the day after. An initiation fee of ten dollars was to be paid by each active member, with fifteen dollars annual dues. Each non-resi-

dent member was to pay ten dollars initiation and ten dollars annual dues. Regular meetings were to be held on the second Monday of each month; the duties of the officers and committees were defined; rules were established for the admission of new members; and such other regulations adopted as to ensure harmony, and make the society thoroughly effective in carrying out the purposes for which it was inaugurated.

On the 26th of February a special meeting was held at the Gilsey House,* where steps were taken looking to the securing of permanent quarters—the society had now a name and a being, and it was time to make sure of a home. The rooms now occupied at No. 236 Fifth Avenue were ordered leased, and arrangements set on foot to fit them for occupancy.

At a later meeting, held on March 8th, a Committee on History and Art was appointed as follows: J. Q. Howard, chairman, Cyrus Butler, William Henry Smith, C. H. Applegate, Andrew J. Rickoff, J. Q. A. Ward, J. H. Beard. A Committee on Entertainment was also constituted, and composed of the following gentlemen: General Thomas Ewing, chairman, Wallace C. Andrew, Richard C. Kimball, William L. Strong, Homer Lee, W. L. Brown, Bernard Peters, Carson Lake and Henry L. Burnett.

The April meeting was held at the Murray Hill Hotel on the 6th. The chief question now at issue was one of history rather than organization, and is thus touched upon by Secretary Homer Lee, in his first annual report: "At about this time a discussion took place as to the date upon which Ohio was admitted as a state to the Federal Union, with the view of celebrating the anniversary with a banquet. It was developed that there are no less than seven different dates given by historians for the auspicious event, as follows:

"April 28, 1802.
"April 30, 1802.
"June 30, 1802.
"Nov. 29, 1802.
"Feb. 19, 1803.
"March 1, 1803.
"March 3, 1803."

"A satisfactory date," adds the secretary, "could not be determined upon." Under these circumstances the arbitrary date of May 7th was fixed for the banquet.

We will reserve mention of that noted first social reunion, until the general work of the Society for the first year of its existence is briefly presented. The meetings of June and July were devoted to routine matters, and the August gathering was omitted because of the absence of many

*Before the Society had a home of its own, its various meetings were held in hotels, generously tendered by the proprietors for that purpose. Those to which the Society found itself under obligation were: The Sturtevant, the Windsor, the Grand Central, the Arno, the Fifth Avenue' and the Gilsey.

members from the city. The main features of the work during this summer season are thus presented in Mr. Lee's first report:

"At the June meeting, the first of a series of papers was read by Mr. J. Q. Howard, subject, 'An Outline of Ohio History.' At the September meeting, Mr. J. Q. Mitchell favored the Society in like manner, the subject being 'The Second Settlement at Marietta.' At the October meeting, Mr. James Beard delivered an extemporaneous address on Hiram Powers, the sculptor, replete with interesting reminiscences. At the November meeting, Judge Warren Higley read a paper on 'The Second Settlement of Ohio at Cincinnati.'

"The Society has been called upon to mourn the loss of two of its members by death: Mr. William Hunter, formerly of Mansfield, Ohio, and for upwards of twenty years connected with the Western Union Telegraph Company, and Mr. J. Monroe Brown, banker, formerly of Licking County, Ohio, for many years a prominent member of the New York Stock Exchange. Both these gentlemen were persons of more than ordinary business ability, attractive social qualities and high personal character.

"The Society has nearly three hundred members on its roll.

"Thus ends the first year of the Pioneer state Society of the Metropolis."

The outside work only of the Society for its first year has been given in the above, and more than this is needed to show the earnestness with which the self-exiled Buckeyes took hold of their labor of love, and what they really accomplished in the first ten months of their being. The first annual report of the Governing Committee, under date of November 29, 1886, so fully supplies the needed links of detail that we are tempted to quote quite fully. The committee says:

"The members of the Governing Committee were elected by the Society at its first meeting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on the 13th day of January, 1886. Said members were called together and met at the office of Henry L. Burnett, 67 Wall street, on the sixteenth day of January 1886, when Henry L. Burnett was elected Chairman and Carson Lake Secretary. The Committee held its first meeting January 16th and its last on November 17th, and during this eleven months held twenty meetings. The interest of the majority of the members of the Committee in the welfare of the Society, and an earnest desire to discharge with faithfulness and efficiency the duties which had been imposed upon them by the Society, was at all times manifest.

In the performance of their duties the Committee proceeded to act first upon the admission of members, and prepared and adopted forms for application of membership.

The Constitution provides that

"Any person over eighteen years of age, of good moral character, and a resident of the city of New York or vicinity, * * * may be admitted as an active member."

In order to give an interpretation to, and define the expression "or vicinity," the Committee at its meeting on February 12th, 1886, passed a resolution to the effect that persons otherwise eligible, residing within a radius of fifty miles of the City Hall should be eligible to active or resident membership.

Our present membership is as follows, viz :

Resident members,	229
Non-resident members,	62
Total,	291

The next step taken by the Committee in managing the affairs of the Society, was to secure attractive and commodious permanent rooms or headquarters for the Society. After careful consideration of the subject and personal examination of rooms in various localities by several members of the Committee, the present rooms at 236 Fifth Avenue were unanimously selected. On the 26th of May, a card was issued to the members, notifying them that the rooms were then substantially in order and ready for the use of members.

The Committee, by way of suggestion or recommendation beg to say that in order to maintain the requisite membership, a sustained interest in the monthly meetings and in the general purposes and objects of the Society must be manifested by the present members. First: There ought to be a greater attendance, a more frequent dropping in of the members to the rooms of the Society, afternoons and evenings. It might be well for the Society or Governing Committee to designate some special evening each week as Ohio Society night, when it shall be understood that as many of the members as can possibly do so will visit the rooms.

No more attractive feature could possibly be added to the society rooms than to fill them comfortably with the cultivated, able and attractive men who constitute its membership. "All place a temple, all season summer" where such men do congregate.

Then again, while the papers read at our monthly meetings are most interesting and instructive; are filled and weighty with great truths and historic facts, yet may they not be just a little depressing, from their very ponderosity? Might it not be well to lighten these occasions by a little music—a sprightly duet or a stirring glee song? I doubt not we have the talent. Our committee on history, art and literature might brighten the sombre tints of the evening by a choice recitation or reading. Why can we not have the presence of ladies at our monthly meetings or semi-monthly meetings?

Wager Swayne

Their presence would certainly bring into our rooms Matthew Arnold's vision of "Sweetness and Light."

HENRY L. BURNETT.
Chairman Governing Committee.

The Society even at this early period had quite an extensive list of daily and weekly Ohio newspapers on their files. These were in part due to the generosity and interest of their friends at home, as the following resolution adopted by the Governing Committee will show.

"*Whereas*, a number of Editors in the State of Ohio have very kindly and generously furnished their papers to be placed on file in the rooms of this Society for the use of its members, be it therefore

Resolved: That in recognition of their courtesy and generosity, the Secretary of this Committee be instructed to notify the gentlemen thus contributing their papers, that all the privileges of non-resident membership in this Society are hereby extended to them, and that copies of all notices of meetings and publications of the Society in future be sent to their addresses."

A number of books, including several County Histories, were presented to the Society during this first year by the Hon. John Sherman, Gov. Robinson, Col. Strong and others.

GEN. WAGER SWAYNE, THE SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

There have, as yet, been but two presidents of the Ohio Society of New York, the distinguished jurist and soldier whose career has been already reviewed, and the equally distinguished soldier and jurist whose record is briefly touched upon in that which follows; and if General Swayne's strength continues equal to the many charges upon it, and if he does not refuse *in toto*, it will probably be a long period before there is a third. He is the ideal presiding officer, and the society feel that each stated meeting will be sure of something worth hearing and remembering, if President Swayne is in the chair.

Since 1879 Wager Swayne has been a member of the New York bar. He came here, not because he had outgrown his love for Ohio, but because his widening practice demanded that he should stand in the very centre of affairs. He had been a member of the Ohio bar with honor and success; he had been a soldier who had won his stars by high services and the gift of his blood. He had also shown in a field of labor peculiar to itself, and in which he had to blaze his own way along unbroken roads, that his heart

was with the downtrodden and oppressed, and that, although of Southern blood, his heart was filled with the gentlest compassion for the slave. Add to these facts engaging personal qualities, and one may somewhat understand why General Swayne holds so high a place in the confidence and love of those with whom he comes in contact.

The earliest member of this branch of the Swayne family in America, was Francis Swayne, an English surgeon who sailed from East Hampstead, Berkshire, and made his home in East Marlborough, Pennsylvania, in 1710. Descended from him was that distinguished and high-minded jurist, Noah H. Swayne, who, at the call of Lincoln —at a time when only the ablest and purest could find favor in the hearts of a stricken and God-fearing people —became an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and gave a conspicuous and brilliant service until his retirement in 1881. He had already made his mark as a lawyer and public official in various stations of duty in Ohio.

In 1832, Noah H. Swayne was united in marriage to Sarah Ann Wager, a woman of noble qualities, and one who left a train of quiet blessings all along the pathway of a useful life. Nor was she one who held alone to the theory of good works; she practiced as she taught others. Of Southern birth and receiving slaves by inheritance, she gave them freedom at the time of her marriage and did all that lay in her power in after life to help the black man, slave or free, to education and self-help. When she found a home with her husband in free-soil Ohio, some of these helpless children of the South followed her, and General Swayne mentions often, with tender reverence, the care she bestowed upon them and the help she gave them. He often, when a mere boy, accompanied her to the Sabbath School, where she employed him in teaching old negro men and women to read that they might read the Bible.

General Swayne was born at his father's home in Columbus, Ohio, November 10, 1834. After the usual preparatory course, he entered Yale, from which he was graduated in 1856, in a class of which Chauncey M. Depew, Judges Brown and Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court, and a number of other now distinguished men were members. He then entered the Law School at Cincinnati, from which he also graduated in 1859. He at once went home to Columbus, and became a partner of his father, under the firm name of N. H. & W. Swayne. His continuance in this chosen labor of life was not of long duration. The civil war came, and the son of a Virginian father and mother laid down his books, and briefs, and offered his services in aid of the principles he had learned at his mother's knee. In July, 1861, he was appointed major of the Forty-third Ohio, a regiment that in company with Garfield's For-

ty-second was stationed at Camp Chase, near Columbus. The first active service was with Pope, in his Missouri campaign in 1861 and 1862. The regiment took part in the capture of New Madrid and Island No. Ten, and was in the battles of Corinth and Iuka. The loss of the colonel, in one of these severe engagements, threw the command upon Major Swayne who was soon promoted to the office of colonel. He fought with his regiment until 1863, in Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama; was with Sherman in his march to the Sea, and upon the march North from Savannah, he lost his right leg by the explosion of a shell. For "gallant and distinguished services," as the official language put it, upon these occasions, Col. Swayne was commissioned Brevet Brigadier General, and later to the full rank of Brigadier. Because of his missing leg he was an invalid until 1865, when at the request of Gen. O. O. Howard, chief of the Freedman's bureau, he was sent by the War Department to Alabama, as assistant commissioner of the bureau for that state—a remarkable experience in view of the scenes of his early life.

Alabama was at that time the very theatre of events, and the poor blacks, in possession of a boon they had no idea how to use, went their way in all directions, knowing only that they were free, but having no knowledge of self-support or self-direction. General Swayne set himself resolutely to work to make the government parental in its character towards these wards of the people so far as it lay within his power. He gathered large numbers of them upon the various unoccupied plantations, from which many of them were taken by the former owners, who accepted the situation and made equitable arrangements for the labor they had once got for nothing. In many ways impossible to enumerate here, General Swayne showed his zeal for the freedman, and his good judgment in placing them in positions where they might help themselves. Especially was he interested in their education, his early experience having given him peculiar insight into their needs, and the best way by which they might be supplied. By personal effort he secured through Secretary Stanton a special order from Pres. Johnson, the utilization of the confiscated war material for the purpose he had in mind; following the spirit of Holy Writ if not the words, that the spear and the sword should be beaten down to the needs of the husbandman,—for the remnants of an old cannon foundry, and other implements of the past contest were sold, and the proceeds used for the education of the freed slaves. The fact is, that the history of the Freedman's Bureau and the life of General Swayne were almost contemporaneous for the three years of this service. Following a liberal appropriation of Congress for the relief of the ex-slaves came the troubled

period of reconstruction; the General was charged with the administration of Alabama; his policy was not that of President Johnson, and at the crisis of the difference he was relieved in the summer of 1868, the volunteer service being necessarily at an end.

In the summer of 1866 Congress increased the regular army of the United States by the addition of four regiments of infantry, to be known as the "Veteran Reserve Corps," and officered from those who in the volunteer service had been wounded in the line of duty. Generals Daniel E. Sickles, John C. Robinson, Thomas G. Pitcher and Wager Swayne were selected and appointed to the command of these regiments. The last named had not asked, and did not desire the appointment but accepted it at the request of General Howard and his superior officers, as the means of continuing his work in Alabama.

In December, 1868, Gen. Swayne had taken yet another forward step in the journey of life, and was married to Miss Ellen Harris, a daughter of Alfred Harris, a prominent lawyer of Louisville, Kentucky. In the year following he was assigned to duty in the war department, where he remained until June, 1870, when he was retired at his own request. He went to Toledo, Ohio, and after this long and stirring interval again took up the chosen purpose of his life, and once more entered upon the practice of the law. He was among the prominent members of the Ohio bar from the first, and also took an active part in various public or semi-public enterprises; was interested in a railway from Toledo to Mansfield; and among the great causes of litigation in which he took a professional part, was the adjudication of the question whether the state had the right to tax the National banks out of existence, which he fought through to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was settled forever in the negative.

It was not long before General Swayne was brought to the conclusion that his responsibilities had outgrown his environment. Among his clients were the American Union Telegraph Company of which he was general counsel, the Wabash Railroad Company and other corporations of like character, and duty to them demanded that he should remove to New York. So he came in 1879, and has since been one of the busiest and most successful of the leading members of the New York bar. In May, 1881, he formed a partnership with Hon. John F. Dillon, who for many years had been a United States Circuit Judge in Missouri, and afterwards a professor in the Columbia College Law School. The firm of Dillon & Swayne became general counsel of the Western Union Telegraph Company, of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and of other great commercial and railway interests, besides possessing a large general practice.

General Swayne, in addition to his

S. S. Packard

professional duties, is also engaged in many good works that occupy his spare time and allow him to be of special service to his kind. Mention will come elsewhere of his services to the Ohio Society; he is a member of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society, of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an active Sunday School worker, Commander of the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion etc., etc. His chief ambition, in all these labors, seems to be that good may come to the world because he has lived in it, and no higher ambition could be nurtured in any man than seems to have moved General Swayne in all the years of his manhood, that he might be worthy of his father's fame, and true to his beloved mother's christian example and teachings.

General Swayne has a passionate love for historic research, not so much for argument or to prove preconceived theories, as to show that something more than human power has guided the ways of the world in all its wonderful progressions; to bring to light truth, especially in connection with the early days of our Republic. He has written some in the lines of general literature, but not much, his life has been too full of active things to leave time for theory or the expression of abstract views. As a presiding officer, whether in the meetings of the Ohio Society, the Loyal Legion, or at their annual banquets he is the ideal chairman—knowing just the one word, or the happy suggestion, or the touch of caution necessary to make all harmonious, and to keep the tide of interest at full flow. Of his personal life nothing need be said; nothing of value can be said, if that which has gone before does not suggest the noblest form of manhood known to the world to-day, the christian gentleman who is one in the world of affairs, but who keeps his soul pure, and his hands clean of any touch of those baser things that defile even though they may not destroy.

SILAS S. PACKARD; CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNING COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

CONTINUING this list of men who have been loyal to their old home, by perpetuating its memory in the creation of a great society in the new, we come to one who is not only one of the mainstays of that society, but who is recognized from one end of the land to the other as an educator who has nobly served his day and generation, and who is yet striving to make the world better by increasing the sum of the world's knowledge.

Silas S. Packard, President of Packard's New York Business College, has been for many years one of the most active and earnest members of the Ohio Society, and wherever a few Ohio men have been gathered together in the Metropolis, for any good word or work, he has been found among them. He has been a resident of this city since 1858, and although that has been long enough to acclimate him in all social and business ways, he has never forgotten his life in Ohio, nor outgrown his boyhood impressions there received, as the readers of these pages learned to their instruction and delight in the issues for February and March, 1891.*

While Mr. Packard was of New England birth he was taken to Ohio at so early an age as to be practically of Buckeye origin ; the more especially as the Ohio of his early days was only a part of Connecticut or Massachusetts set down in the western woods. His family line places him in the sixth generation of descent from Samuel Packard who came from Windham, England, to Hingham, Mass., in the Plymouth colony, in 1638. He was born in Cummington, Mass., April 28, 1826, the fourth son of Chester Packard, whose father, Abel Packard, was one of the earliest settlers of Cummington, having removed there from North Bridgewater, in 1774, five years before the town was founded. Near the Packard homestead, there now stands a handsome monument, to mark the birthplace of William Cullen Bryant.

The time had come when ambitious and hopeful men were moving in large numbers to the lusty young state just founded west of the Alleghanies, and Chester Packard soon found himself among them. With his five sturdy boys, he made the migration in 1833, traveling the entire distance from Troy, N. Y., by water, taking the Erie Canal from Troy to Buffalo, Lake Erie to Cleveland, and the Portsmouth and Ohio Canal to Newark, Ohio.

Like the great majority of those who went with them, the family were poor, depending upon the mechanical labor of the father, who was a carpenter by trade. They settled in the little town of Fredonia, Licking county, ten miles west of Newark, and six miles north of Granville. The boy Silas had the ordinary advantages of the district school until the age of fifteen, when he went for two terms to the Granville Academy. While at that academy he got a chance to saw and split wood, attend garden and take care of a horse, for his board, and as his tuition amounted to but ten dollars for the two terms, he soon earned that.

In speaking to those who know the earnest and energetic educator of today, it is needless to tell that these years, short as they were, were used

*"My Recollections of Ohio," Nos. I. and II., by Prof. S. S. Packard, in issues of February and March, 1891, pps. 396 and 564.

to the best possible advantage; and well for him that they were, for they comprised all his school opportunities, beyond those of the common district school. The youth had a natural taste for grammar and mathematics, and was always the best penman in school, having shown an aptitude for writing at a very early age. He was also the "composition boy," and had a great passion for using the longest and most uncommon words to be found in the dictionaries.

This ambitious young man commenced to teach at the age of sixteen, taking first classes in penmanship, after the then fashion of peripatetic writing schools, "boarding round," in the mode of the times. In 1845 he went to Kentucky, and remained there over two years, teaching school and painting portraits. "These portraits" he says, "were painted in oil," and he states this as a fact, because he used to buy the oil himself, boil it, buy the dry paint, grind it on a stone, which he carried about with him; and beyond this, to make his own brushes.

He removed to Cincinnati in 1848, and was employed as a teacher of penmanship in Bartlett's Commercial College, for the space of two years, and in July 1850, removed to Adrian, Mich., where he also taught writing for more than a year, when he again sought a new location—this time in Lockport, New York, which he reached in the autumn of 1851. He taught writing, bookkeeping, and drawing in the Lockport Union School for nearly two years, removing to Tonawanda, N. Y. in the spring of 1853. Here he established a "country newspaper," the *Niagara River Pilot*, which he conducted with much energy and fair success until the fall of 1856, when he became associated with Bryant & Stratton in the management of their Buffalo College, and entered upon the real work of his life. From Buffalo he went to Chicago, establishing there, in connection with Mr. Stratton, the Bryant & Stratton College. He remained long enough to get it well under way and then came to Albany, starting the college there on the first of January, 1857.

He had all this time been growing in mental stature, experience and a knowledge of the practical things of education, and at the same time gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the great centre where the chief labor of his life was to be performed. In May, 1858, Mr. Packard began his work in New York city, by establishing in connection with Bryant & Stratton, the school now so well known as Packard's Business College, on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. During the years 1859 and 1860, he prepared the Bryant and Stratton series of bookkeeping, comprising three separate editions—counting house, high school, and common school. In this venture Mr. Packard seemed to strike at once the high level of successful authorship, as the books then prepared

have held their ground as standard text-books on accounts, and are to-day the most popular and most extensively used throughout the country of any text-books on this subject. In the development and perfecting of plans and material of instruction which has made Packard's Business College a household name in the best families of the leading cities of the United States, he has found work enough for heart and brain.

In the creation, development, and management of this successful college, Mr. Packard seems to have been governed by two leading ideas: first, to meet the real wants of the business community in the matter of well trained clerks, and next to render his institution worthy the name of "college."

Not only is his influence felt in his own country, but much that he has done and is doing has been fitly recognized abroad. The business schools of France, particularly those at Paris and Rouen, under the management of the Chamber of Commerce at Paris were founded on Mr. Packard's model, and after a careful personal examination of his methods; and the *Bureau Commercial* of the Antwerp School has taken some of its features from Mr. Packard's scheme of "business practice."

But while thus engaged, through many years of active labor, Mr. Packard has not forgotten the duties of citizenship, nor the social debts that one owes to his kind. He has taken an active interest in many good works, and has been one of the moving forces that have made the Ohio Society what it is. He is at present a trustee, and chairman of the governing committee. He is constant in attendance, always prepared to do all that lies in its power to make the occasional gatherings a success. Genial, full of kindness to those about him, ever interested in the welfare of the young, he is a model citizen, a true friend, and in all respects one of those many "Ohio Men" who have made her name honored and loved wherever they go—and where they do not go, in all this broad land of ours.

HOMER LEE—FIRST SECRETARY OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

One of the most energetic members of that small group of men, to whom the Ohio Society is indebted for its birth, and whose skillful nursing of the infant organization has brought it to its present flourishing condition, was Mr. Homer Lee. As early as 1874 he had the idea of such a society in mind. He was one of several Ohioans, who, in the winter of that year, held a number of meetings in the endeavor to establish the "Buckeye Club"—an organization itself short-lived, but paving the way for the lar-

Homer Lee

The Homer Lee Bank Note Co. New York.

ger society, which eleven years later should finally realize the hopes of these projectors. Thus, naturally, we expect to find Mr. Lee performing the active part he took in 1885 in launching the Ohio society. He was the first signer of the preliminary proposal for such an organization, which hangs in the club-rooms, was made a member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, was one of the first to subscribe his name to the new Constitution, one of the Incorporators, and was elected first secretary of the society. The interesting Annual Reports of the organization, since its institution, have been the products of his pen.

Ohio, birth-place of so many presidents and statesmen, who, by their own efforts have raised themselves from the rudest walks in life to positions of highest trust, is not less to be congratulated for the illustrious list of her sons who have made a similar climb along a somewhat different but not less honorable nor less arduous path, to places of honor in the commercial world. No more honorable examples of this kind of achievement can be cited than are afforded in the careers of the Ohio society, and notably that of Mr. Lee. A typical representative of that peculiar product of American civilization, the American business man who stands without a counterpart in other countries, in the rare combination of executive energy, general intelligence and culture, and the eminence, social and political, to which he frequently attains, Mr. Lee's success has been distinctly the result of his own powers, and his individual skill in directing them.

He is a native of Mansfield, Ohio. His father was a watch-maker and engraver, who taught his trade to his son, and this art learned by young Lee in its elements at his father's work-bench, but developed later by his own studies and inventive faculties, became the foundation of one of the largest business enterprises in the country. Perceiving that Mansfield did not afford an adequate field for his business young Lee early decided to take his chances in some large city. Cincinnati was nearest to his home and he went there and made his first application for work to the American Bank Note Company, but was refused. The manager of that concern little dreamed that the ambitious youth whose services they declined was destined in the course of a few years to build up a great rival establishment, and that he himself would make application to Mr. Lee for work; which he did, however, and was successful.

Finding it difficult to obtain employment at his trade in Cincinnati he went to Toledo where he became proficient in enameling, and determined to do his next prospecting in New York city. He had not been long in the metropolis before he secured a position as an apprentice to an en-

graver, but one most unsatisfactory to a person of his ambitions. His employer, a card engraver on John street, agreed to pay him the magnificent salary of $100 per annum with the compensation of half of what he could make, by working after six o'clock in the evening.

But his employer failed, and Mr. Lee found himself once more out of employment, with the prospect of returning to Ohio or starting for himself. The desperate nature of this situation was really the crisis of his career since it threw him entirely on his own resources. He had a small capital of about $300, which he had saved by the most frugal manner of life. With this sum he decided to start a card engraving business of his own, and accordingly rented a modest office on Liberty street, on the spot where the Real Estate Exchange now stands.

He adopted the firm name of "Homer Lee & Co." although it appears that he was both senior and junior partner of this concern, the "Co." having existence only in name. Though well satisfied in his own mind of his thorough mastery of his trade and his ability to demonstrate his fitness to all comers, he yet found himself failing of patronage because of his youth, which is scarcely to be wondered at, when it is considered that at this time he was not a legal voter. He overcame the difficulty, however, by affording desk-room in his office to an elderly gentleman of sufficiently dignified appearance, whose occupation was to read the papers in the office. This device proved a success. Customers were well content to trust their work to a firm which had such an energetic young manager in its service, and apparently a man of such ripe experience at its head—the solid man of the firm.

For several years the young engraver found it a stern fight, but his conscientious work began to tell, and presently he received an order for bonds from an Ohio Railroad, which netted him $1000. With the increase of capital and a constantly growing reputation, success became assured, and he was soon enabled to organize the Homer Lee Bank Note Company, which was incorporated in 1881 with a capital of $50,000, which has since been increased to $500,000. Before establishing this company Mr. Lee visited all the large establishments in Europe. Among its incorporators are names well known in the Ohio society. Among these are Col. Wm. L. Strong, Senator Calvin S. Brice, Gen. Samuel Thomas, A. D. Juilliard, Stephen B. Elkins and others. Mr. Lee has always been the head and front of the enterprise, and has entire charge of its details and policy. The home of the company is in the "Tribune" Building, Printing House square, its superb plant occupying a large portion of that structure. The growth of this establishment, from its hum-

ble origin in Liberty street to its present extensive clientage, beginning with the patronage of the United States and including that of the government of Mexico and most of the Central and Southern Republics, not to speak of the work done in the shape of bonds and stocks for railroads, banks, state and municipal governments, constitutes one of those phenomenal business developments which not infrequently reward the efforts of American enterprises. The paper money circulation for twenty million of people south of the Isthmus of Panama and throughout the most remote parts of the world bears the imprint of "The Homer Lee Bank Note Company."

The sharp, long contest between this company and the older American Bank Note Company to secure the patronage of the New York Stock Exchange, ending in final victory to the Homer Lee Company, resulted incidentally in raising the standard of such work to so high a degree as practically to revolutionize the business.

During the late revolution in Hayti, an issue of paper money became an urgent necessity to General Hippolite, the insurgent commander, to pay off his troops. Mr. Lee undertook to engrave and print the required amount ($300,000) and in eleven days a swift vessel was on its way with the issue, reaching its destination just in time to prevent a revolt, and proving to be the turning point of the revolution.

Mr. Lee's expert knowledge has brought him the honor, from time to time, of rendering valuable services to the governments of this and other countries. The passage by Congress of the law making it a criminal offence to counterfeit foreign bank notes in this country, was brought about largely by his instrumentality. Before the passage of this important measure, the banking institutions of foreign countries found themselves without adequate protection in America, and in many instances with absolutely no protection whatever against counterfeiters who were thus permitted to depreciate foreign currencies with impunity. In the Brockway, Charley Smith-Doyle bond case it was the expert report submitted by Mr. Lee which induced Secretary Folger to render his important decision, which resulted in breaking up the notorious gang of counterfeiters who for twenty years by their skill had baffled every attempt of Federal officers and detectives to bring them to justice.

He was twice offered the position of Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington and was complimented in a similar manner by one of the foreign governments of the east.

Mr. Lee has made several valuable inventions in machinery appertaining to the printing arts, which have been

used for several years at the treasury department at Washington, and by the governments of Germany, Sweden, Russia and others.

In addition to his conection with the Ohio society Mr. Lee is a trustee in St. Johns' Guild, one of New Yorks charities, an incorporator of the East Side Bank, and an incorporator and director of the United States Saving Bank of New York. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and an Odd Fellow, of which Order his father was Grand Master of the State of Ohio in 1867 and 1868. He is a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Typothetae and other organizations.

It is a very interesting fact that Thomas Lee, his great grandfather, was one of the survivors of the wreck of the "Faithful Steward,"—a vessel which was lost in Delaware Bay off Cape Henlopen, in September, 1785. Nearly three hundred passengers were drowned, among them were forty-eight members of the Lee family. The disaster caused great excitement at the time from the fact that the captain was charged with having scuttled the ship for the insurance.

To his superior abilities as a man of business he superadds admirable social qualities. In point of years he is yet a young man, with the prospect of an extended and useful career before him, and in this happy circumstance he himself is not more to be congratulated than are his friends and the city of his adoption.

James Harrison Kennedy.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

In the October number of a magazine published by the students of the University of the South, Prof. Wm. P. Trent has some very suggestive things to say in connection with the founding of the "Sewanee Historical Society," on a subject which he calls "Our Local History."

What he says, while addressed to that particular Society, and intended to stimulate and direct its special work, as Prof. Trent regards it, yet states principles that apply to all the more local Historical Societies, with such pertinency and such felicitous and cogent illustration, that we feel impelled to make some rather extended extracts.

Naturally the smaller and more distinctly local historical organizations feel that their work is somewhat trivial, and even more uninteresting, as compared with the work and field of the larger State Societies, but if their boundaries are limited, and they are dealing with small things, if looked at properly, these are often not less important, and, set out in the right way, are not less interesting. No single life even is so barren of incident and color that, if one can find the right niche in which it should be exhibited, its history will not prove interesting even to those who are strangers to the person, the place and the historic background.

Says Prof. Trent: "The Sewanee Historical Society should be first and foremost a local Historical Society, and should be true to its name by collecting material for the history of Sewanee itself. That it can eventually do good work in the larger field of Southern history, and even in general history, I firmly believe; but every institution and association has its day of small things, and our day of small things is connected with the early history of our University, and it is necessary to insist at the start that small things are from the standpoint of the historian nearly always important and nearly always interesting."

It is, of course, difficult for those who have not been trained to historical study to fully appreciate the historical value of the small things, and to them the gathering and properly classifying and analyzing such material seems not only a small but a thankless task. With a little reflection, however, it is not difficult to perceive with great clearness, that these same facts, apparently insignificant and often entirely unrelated, often fall into a hitherto unsuspected sequence, and really form the basis upon which that history is written, which makes living the times, events and persons it portrays.

Prof. Trent, holding rigorously in view the value of this local historical work, admirably illustrates and emphasizes his ideas as follows:

"The University of the South, from its inception, had a cardinal idea and a noble one, and hence it might have a history even if the war had not intervened, and if the three million endowment had been secured. But who knows how soon peace and riches would have reduced the University to the dead condition of Oxford in the 18th century. Sewanee would probably have been pious and orthodox under any circumstances, but orthodoxy and piety will not of themselves make a University. There must be an indefinable spirit added to these—the spirit that is seen in the lover, the enthusiast, the martyr. Sewanee has much of this spirit now; would it have come to her if she had not gone through her day of small things?

But if this spirit had its birth in the day of small things, a careful history of that day will prove interesting and valuable, not only to those who love and believe in Sewanee, but also to students of institutional history the world over."

Prof. Trent then formulates with some detail the methods by which he thinks the Sewanee Historical Society should begin what he considers their particular work, and on what lines the search should be undertaken, and how to make it special and exhaustive, without which it would have little value. When these individual and collective investigations have been garnered and sifted he thinks the history of their University can then be fully and exhaustively written. He urges the Society to begin at once their preparation for their history, and makes an inspiring appeal, which has a value quite independent of the special purpose it is intended to serve. It is itself finely touched by that indefinable spirit of the lover and the enthusiast, to which he refers. We quote as follows :

" Next year you will see the 25th anniversary of the day when Bishop Quintard planted the cross on the spot where St. Luke's Oratory now stands. When I speak of Bishop Quintard as the true founder of Sewanee, I do not mean to depreciate the labors of the noble dead. I am fresh from a careful study of our early records, and I think I can say without prejudice that the real interest of our history begins from that day in 1867, when the newly consecrated Bishop rode to this abandoned mountain-top and planted the cross of his Master. After that day, the records give evidence of a pathetic yet proud faith in the midst of trials, which I almost venture to assert, cannot be surpassed by any chapter of institutional history yet written, or to be written. The story has been told often, but told so badly that many true friends of Sewanee are weary of it; but when it is told by the right man it will touch the world's heart and will live. Now if the war had not come to add the element of pathos to our history, there would never have been a chance of its touching the world's heart. Bishop Polk's letter, and the address of the southern bishops, and the proceedings of the first trustees, can be read to-day with interest, but touching they are not, and only slightly inspiriting. Who can take much real interest for example, in the eight bishops, two hundred presbyters and five thousand people assembled on the top of Cumberland Mountains " to witness the laying of our first corner stone" and to listen to the " eloquent oration " of the Hon. John S. Preston of South Carolina? It is all very far away—very American, and—may I dare say it?—it is somewhat Philistine. Good and enthusiastic people may have been 'convulsed' with tears when Mr. Preston apostrophized Bishop Polk as follows: 'When it pleaseth God, your Master, to stay your radiant and strong right arm from his battle fields on earth, and call you to share his everlasting triumph, the heavens and your grateful country will read on your gravestone, " The Founder of the University of the South,"' but a modern reader of the address is somewhat inclined to speculate upon the size of the engraved capitals and the number of the spectacles employed. But he would be a cold-hearted man who would read a plain narrative of the sacrifices made by Bishop Quintard and our early professors, without feeling his heart touched and his spirit kindled. With poverty and struggle 'sweetness and light' entered in and took up their abode with us. And what is a University without 'sweetness and light,' and how many American Universities can lay claim to the precious pair:"

It seems to be now well assured that the movement which has been set on foot for the purchase of Valley Forge will be successful, and that the property will pass into the hands of a national patriotic association, and be preserved for all time, as a conservator of

patriotic public sentiment. No influence is so powerful in perpetuating what we call the spirit of patriotism, as such visible monuments of a great struggle and a crucial winter, as the ruins of Fort Washington and the long line of earthern entrenchments, which make Valley Forge hallowed ground.

The present proprietor has in his possession the original brief of title to Valley Forge, and the old parchment deeds of different portions of the tract running back into the seventeenth century. The grant, as is well known, was made to William Penn by Charles II., in 1681. In 1701 Penn gave a patent to his daughter Letitia for nearly 8,000 acres for "one beaver skin," corresponding to the legal phrase "one dollar" of the deed of to-day. Letitia married William Aubrey, a London merchant, and they in turn sold to Sir Archibald Grant a large portion of this tract, which included the particular portion upon which Washington camped, and afterwards known as Valley Forge.

The Richmond (Va.) *Times*, in an article on the preservation of our history says :

"There are many indications that the Southern people are steadily growing more alive to the duty of preserving all the records upon which the future historian of the South must rely, in preparing an account of the great achievements which have illuminated its annals, as well as in analyzing those general tendencies which have differentiated it from other parts of the Union.

"That the Virginians themselves are awakening to a fresh interest in the heroic annals of their ancient dominion, even where those annals go back to the distant colonial period, is shown by the fact that the present year has been made memorable by the publication of two works by Virginian authors, which are destined to enjoy a permanent reputation. Alexander Brown's 'Genesis of the United States,' and Henry's 'Life of Patrick Henry,' are the two most notable contributions to general history that have been made for many years, and reflect the very highest honor upon Virginia historical research, as well as upon Virginia literary ability. If such works as these were to appear more often, our Commonwealth would soon be relieved of the reproach that she is indifferent to the preservation of her own history."

We reprint the following paragraph from the Editorial Notes of the last number.

The November number of the Magazine of Western History, which is the first number of the new volume (Vol. XV.), appears under a new name which will more adequately describe its present character.

The title chosen—"THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE—A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AMERICAN HISTORY"—is in keeping with the enlarged scope and purpose of the publication. When it first came into existence, its proposed mission was to gather and preserve the history of that great West which lies beyond the Alleghanies, and while that labor has been pursued with results that have enriched American history, the boundaries have been gradually enlarged, until the whole country has become its field of research, and readers and subscribers are found in every State and Territory. The Magazine has become NATIONAL, and it is believed that the present name will be accepted as more appropriate than the one that has been outgrown. The new name defines, perhaps with sufficient fullness, both scope and purpose, but for the sake of clearness we add that it is proposed to confine our interest exclusively to the field of American History, and whatever directly illustrates it.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

MAKERS OF AMERICA SERIES:

1. John Winthrop, first Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, by Joseph Hopkins Twichell.

2. Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations, by William Elliot Griffis.

Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

The publication of books in series seems to go on multiplying. We have now the American Statesmen, the American Men of Letters, the American Commonwealths, and this is the Makers of America Series. We must confess it is rather an interesting way of reading; we get "many men of many minds" giving us a group of related subjects, and though there are some interlappings and some necessary repetitions, yet these must come from different pens, and therefore afford us varying views of the same minor topics and events, while the main events or prominent individuals stand forth clearly as the result of specific research by one writer. The two books at the head of this notice present us with accounts of men who were Makers of America, in the best and most helpful sense of that term, yet each how different from the other! The one, Winthrop the Elder, laying slowly but surely and lastingly the foundations for our Republican institutions, long before these were dreamt of. "Building better than they knew," he and those of his age and of his stamp were themselves learning so as to teach, by example and precept, to succeeding ages what self-government was, and the result was finally autonomy for a nation of *United States*. We cannot study such characters too often or too carefully even to-day, for the lesson of self-government needs ever to be learned over again, yet it lies at the root of all other government among free citizens. And while Winthrop and men like him were making ready the people to be a Republic politically, Johnson was doing a work which was to secure us physical safety or existence, while going through that development. He was one of three (and the third and last) who reared, as a bulwark against a national encroachment that would have been fatal to our system, the hosts of the aborigines whose national destinies were otherwise fulfilled, and who were passing away from the face of our territory. These three men were Van Corlaer, Peter Schuyler and Sir William Johnson. They first raised up the barrier of Indian loyalty and friendship between France in Canada and England (*then* Holland; but "what's in a name," when "the rose," the essence of the nationality, was the same?) in the Provinces; the second held it firm and high and strong, in spite of King William's and Queen Anne's wars, and he handed over the good work to Sir William Johnson, whose skill and tact and honesty and courage, wielded this difficult but effective weapon against the French, so that even the "French and Indian War" could not shatter it. Then the times of the Republic were ripe, and such work was no longer needed.

"THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND; or THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATIONS TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY." By John Fiske. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1891. Boston and New York.

At a large meeting of the representatives of the best element of New England descendants in a Western city, a prominent divine, describing a recent visit to Leyden, declared that, as he stood before the site of Robinson's house, he involuntarily exclaimed: "Here

was the cradle of American nationality." In the book before us it is made clear why this exclamation was the utterance of a profound truth. When we turn to any of Professor Fiske's writings we are apt to look for deep searchings into quite obvious principles and well-known events or circumstances, until we are conducted to underlying principles and useful lessons, which we had never dreamed they contained. So here we find the old motto "no taxation without representation," which we had thought sufficiently honored as being the battle cry of our Revolution in its political and military struggle, raised to one of the three great "nation-making" forces in the evolution of human history. "Nation-making," he starts out with asserting, "is the real history of mankind. Battles and coronations, poems and inventions, immigrations and martyrdoms, acquire new meanings and awaken new emotions as we begin to discern their bearings upon the solemn work of ages that is slowly winning for humanity a richer and more perfect life." The author mentions three methods of "nation making." 1. The Oriental, or Barbaric, the principle of which is "conquest without incorporation." The Assyrian and Persian conquerors subjected nation after nation, but held them as slaves, never as equals of the conquering race. 2. The Roman, the central idea of which was "conquest with incorporation, but without representation." This vast empire slowly grew and was immensely strong, but fell to pieces from its own weight because not welded together. The method of its growth had made it brittle. 3. The English idea of "nation making." This contained "the principle of representation." Therefore war was unnecessary to it, as Scotland and England became one nation without it.

The first chapter of the book is devoted to a comparison between the Roman and the English ideas, and shows that the latter was bound to dominate the world when the other one, (and the Oriental before it), had outlived its usefulness. There was danger of its extinguishment in England when the Puritans under Winthrop sailed for Massachusetts. "To keep the sacred flame of liberty alive required such a rare and wonderful concurrence of conditions that had our forefathers then succumbed in the strife, it is hard to imagine how or where the failure could have been repaired." By coming to America and "making" a nation on the principle stated, the flame *was* kept alive, raising not only into being the Republic of the United States, but with that, and for that, maintaining the possibility of a similar "nation making" for the rest of the world.

The author shows throughout the remainder of the book, how New England fulfilled its mission in supporting the "English Idea." The current of events chosen to illustrate this ceases in 1689, because then, when New England had perfected the idea, it was forcibly repressed by her being made a royal province and being subjected to royal governors like the other colonies. This however gave her an opportunity of diffusing that idea secretly but certainly, until gathering strength by this very repression, as well as a tremendous vantage ground for putting forth its power, it sprung simultaneously into self-assertion from Virginia to Maine. A study of "The Beginnings of New England" will furnish us with such a clear view of the beginnings of our revolutionary struggle for "taxation and representation" that our study of that great struggle itself will be enhanced by a deeper interest, and will result in a more profound appreciation of its significance in the history of human kind.

THE SABBATH IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND, By Alice Morse Earle. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1891.

Any study of the Puritans has great fascination, but especially one which, steering clear of any discussion of what was peculiar in their religious beliefs and system of doctrine, seeks to bring them nearer to us in a

picture of their life and manners. Mrs. Earle has undertaken to do this as applied to a single day—the Sabbath—and from church records, newspapers and all manner of contemporaneous sources, has brought together a body of facts which vividly illustrate the character of this peculiar people. Her point of view is the external one—the "looker on" —and the meeting house, the forms of worship, the psalm singing, the social "nooning," and all the curious observances and ceremonies of the day are described to us. We shall, later, speak more at length of this most interesting book.

"THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG." Decisive Events of American History. Lee & Shephard, Boston. 50c.

The story of the battle of Gettysburg is one that has been told more often than that of any other one of the great battles of the civil war. In the present case it is told as one of a series of the "Decisive Events of American History," and the narrative, considering the limited space given it, sets out the facts with admirable clearness and an evident wish to be impartial.

The conclusion gives the keynote of the book: "Gettysburg made no reputations on either side. It may have destroyed some illusions in regard to the invincibility of Confederate generals. Victory restored to the Union soldiers their feeling of equality—their morale—and that was no small thing."

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

At the November meeting of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, Prof. Wm. Carey Jones read an interesting "Journal of a United States Soldier in California in 1846–47."

The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angelos, held a monthly meeting on November 3d. Some exceedingly interesting old Spanish documents were read by Col. George Butler Grlffin. These will be issued by the Society early in the ensuing year.

The New Haven, Conn., Historical Society is to have a building of its own, erected by the generosity of Mr. Henry F. English. Mr. English is the only child of the late Gov. English, and the building is also intended as a memorial. Gov, English was for a number of years President of the Historical Society.

The Wayne County Historical Association, Richmond, Ind., had a meeting on Novemher 11th. A resolution was passed, thanking Mr. Webster Parry for his efforts and success in procuring the ancient records of Friends' meetings in North Carolina.

The Chicago Historical Society, Ill., held its thirty-fifth annual meeting on Nov. 17th. President E. G. Mason announced that by their next annual meeting they would have a new home. The Society has $130,000 in the treasury and would erect a fine building.

The Harford Historical Society, Belair, Md., held its annual meeting on Oct. 30th. Dr. Forwood was elected president, and A. P. Silver secretary.

The Westboro Historical Society, Mass. held its annual meeting on Oct. 3d, and J. A. Fayerweather was elected president, and C. S. Henry secretary.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Newburyport, Mass., was held Oct. 30th. Wm. Little was elected president, and L. B. Cushing corresponding secretary.

The Secretary of the Old Colony Historical Society, Taunton, Mass., sends the quarterly reports of their last three meetings. They contain quite full accounts of the proceedings of those meetings, and the accessions to the library of historic gifts. A notice of the meeting on Oct. 15th was given in our last number.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held a meeting on the 12th Oct. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Justin Winsor, and others read papers. An elaborate paper was read by C. F. Adams on the site of Westons's plantation, in Weymouth, which was shown to be the first settlement in Massachusetts Bay. G. L. Lowell was appointed to prepare a memoir of James Russell Lowell for the Society.

The Shepard Historical Society, Cambridge, Mass., held its annual meeting on Nov. 17th. Rev. Alexander McKenzie was elected president, and Frank Gaylord Clark secretary. Dr. Griffis spoke of the influence of Holland on our Republic.

The Oneida Historical Society, New York, held a quarterly meeting on Nov. 10th. It was announced that S. N. D. North, of Boston, would deliver the annual address in January.

A meeting has been called to organize the Yonkers, N. Y., Historical Society. A committee of five was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws.

The New York Historical Society, New York, held its eighty-seventh anniversary meeting on the evening of Nov. 17th. President John A. King introduced President Low, of Columbia College, who delivered the anniversary address. It was a political contrast between the New York of 1850 and the New York of 1890.

H. W. Caldwell, secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, sends the following note:

"The Nebraska State Historical Society, after several years of discouragement, is apparently on the way to the fulfillment of its mission. The liberality of the State Legislature of 1891 has enabled it to provide for the publication of some of its papers, and also to arrange for opening the library for consultations. At present the library consists of something over 4,500 books and pamphlets, most of these obtained within the last six years. The Society sustains a severe loss in the resignation of its secretary, Professor G. E. Howard, who has held that office since 1885. The Society owes much of its progress to his unfailing energy and enthusiasm."

The annual meeting of the Hunterdon, Historical Society, Flemington, N. J., was held on Nov. 17th. Edward M. Heath was elected president, and Elias Vosseller corresponding secretary.

The Salem County Historical Society, Salem, N. J., which has a large collection of old parchment deeds is soon to receive the original parchment deed of the whole of West Jersey, from the Duke of York to William Penn. It was found among the papers of the Riley family, and presented by Joseph Riley, of Woodstown.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society have been holding some interesting meetings, at which Mr. Peter Lynch has read a series of papers on Halifax in the olden time.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Alleghany, is awakening to a fresh interest in historical matters through the leadership of such men as Hon. C. S. Fetterman, Rev. Father Lamburg, Prof L. H. Eaton, and others. A spirited and interesting meeting was held on the 19th inst. Papers were read by Mr. Thos. Hooper, and Father Lamburg.

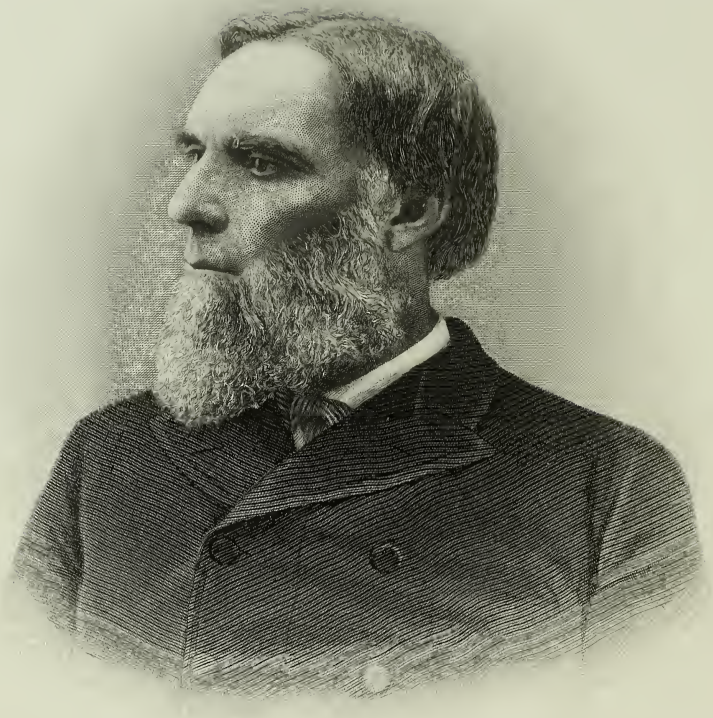
The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I., had a meeting on Nov. 17th, at which Record Commissioner R. O. Swan, of Massachusetts, gave an interesting address on "A Commission on Public Records; Its Work and its Possibilities."

The South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, is exhibiting great energy in its endeavor to gather all documents that illustrate the history of counties and families, as well as matters relating to its own general history.

The Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, held a meeting on Nov. 10th. Judge Lea read a memorial paper on the late Col. W. B. Reese.

The Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, has issued, in pamphlet form, a statement of its organization and purposes, prepared by Secretary Hobart. Its call says: "Washington was thirty-six years a Territory, and has been two years a State. Its early pioneers will soon pass away, and the story of their careers, and the traditions of settlement and progress, will be unrecorded unless reduced to history before the actors are gone."

The West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society has just made its quarterly report through its secretary, Prof. Virgil A. Lewis. From this it appears that they have a very large and important collection of war manuscripts which have not yet been catalogued or classified.



John F. Dillon.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XV. JANUARY, 1892. *No 3.*

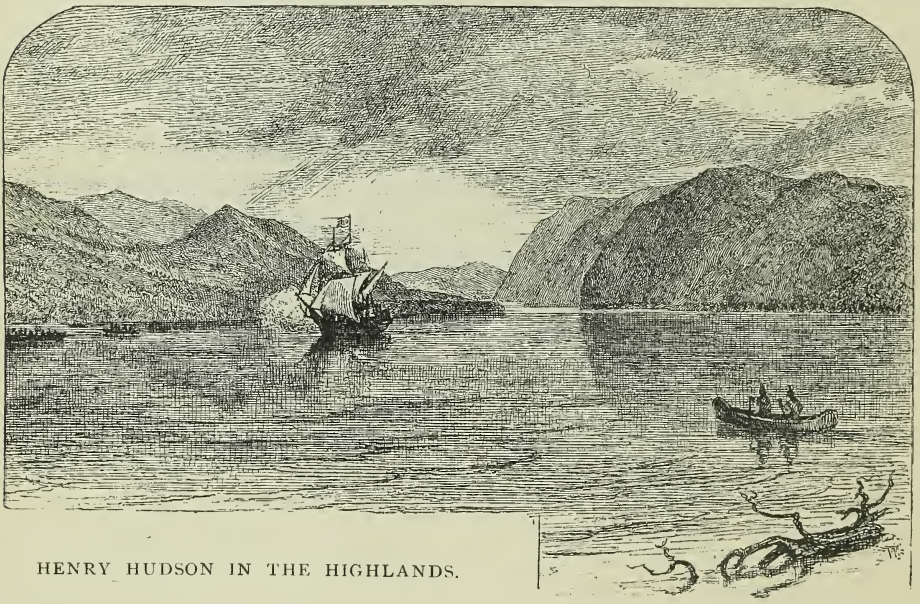
HENRY HUDSON'S VOYAGE AND ITS RESULTS IN TRADE AND COLONIZATION.*

ONE of the most interesting events in American history is the discovery of New York Bay and the exploration of the Hudson River. Quite apart from its local interest, the account of Henry Hudson's voyage in the Half-Moon, from beginning to end is full of romantic incident. Whatever other navigators may have entered the Bay of New York, or caught a glimpse of or even explored its noble river before him, the exploration made by Henry Hudson possesses over the others not only the great advantage of having been carefully made and circumstantially reported, but of having never been lost sight of from the time of its occurrence to the present day. It bore fruit immediately in trading voyages begun the very next year; in temporary settlements upon the banks of the great river within five years after it had thus become known to the world; and finally, in regular colonization and permanent occupation by a civilized community through a period of nearly three centuries. It will therefore never lose any of its importance and significance, and hence we shall ever be justified in regarding with interest the arrival of the Half-Moon in September, 1609.

From the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, from the Cabots to Sir John Franklin, Baron Nordenskjold, and Lieutenant De Long, the ignis fatuus of a passage through the frozen Artic to the torrid zone of India has been almost constantly pursued, and with disappointment or disaster almost as constant and certain. Until within a comparatively recent period the object which prompted men to Arctic voyages was not the verifying of a

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

fond and visionary fancy, or the higher aims of geographical and scientific discovery. It was purely commercial, and therefore intensely practical. It was believed by the Cabots and, as Motley tells us, by the Dutch cosmographers after them, that a good ten thousand miles of travel—not to speak of peril from the



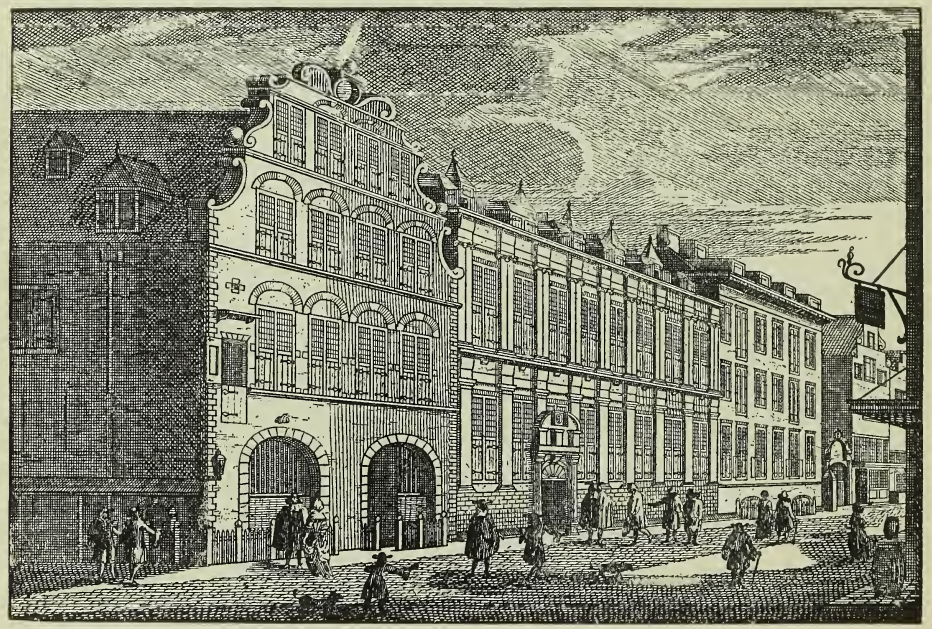
HENRY HUDSON IN THE HIGHLANDS.

warships of Spain—might be saved, if the passage to India could be effected by the north. It may therefore be accounted to the credit of Sebastian Cabot that he kept himself, and quite as persistently held others to that idea. But when towards the close of his eventful life Cabot left the service of Spain and returned to that of England, as a result we see English adventurers setting out for the Arctic regions as early as the year 1553. Having himself failed in the northwest, and others also, Cabot, as Grand Pilot of England, directed Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to steer northeastward. Again in 1556, he cheered on with hopes of the great discovery the brave Stephen Burrough, who in the service of the Muscovy Company of London, reached and partially explored the dual-island of Nova Zembla and the neighboring coasts, while Pet and Jackman made a similar voyage in 1580. Then the bold but disappointing work was taken up by Hol-

land. In 1594, 1595 and 1596, courageous men and skilful pilots were found willing to conduct the Republic's flag along the dangerous course and show the way to wondering Europe. The terrible experiences related by the survivors of the last expedition, who spent the winter of 1596–1597 on the dreary and deadly shore of Nova Zembla, effectually discouraged enterprise in that direction for some years. But Plancius and Linschoten, ardent promoters of the former undertakings, were not so easily disheartened. The reward of twenty-five thousand florins held out by the States-General as the premium upon success in Arctic exploration was still before the country, and was sure to tempt adventurers. Accordingly we find that nearly twelve years after the wintering on Nova Zembla there was another ship ready to proceed from the harbor of Amsterdam in quest of the northeast passage. Its captain and pilot was Henry Hudson, an English mariner, experienced in northern voyaging, who had distinguished himself considerably in the service of the Muscovy Company of London.

Of the parentage of Henry Hudson and of his personal history previous to 1607, little has been learned, and what is advanced concerning it is mostly conjecture. The whole period of his life known to us extends over little more than four years, from April 19, 1607, to June 21, 1611. During these few years his fame rests upon four voyages which all had in view the same object, to pass through Polar seas to the spicy Orient. In 1607, Hudson sailed in the employ of the Muscovy Company and penetrated as far as the latitude of Spitzbergen, or within 10 degrees of the North Pole. In 1608, again for the Muscovy merchants of London, he sailed further to the east, and became familiar with the regions around Nova Zembla. Returning to England before the end of the year, the news of his exploits spread abroad, and reached ears ever eager for such information in the city of Amsterdam. Some represent Hudson as having offered his services to his Dutch masters; others assert distinctly that he was invited to enter their employ. With men so keenly bent on one great project as Hudson, Plancius, and Linschoten, it would need but slight solicitation to bring them together in the pursuit of it. Perhaps before the year 1608 had closed Hudson was in Amsterdam, for personal conference with the Directors upon the subject of the expedition. The magnates of the great Company, however, were disposed to delay matters. This was a mere speculative venture, with no commercial advantages clearly or at least immediately in sight. They desired Hudson to postpone the voyage for a whole year, a serious objection to a man of his ardor and energy. But fortunately for the enterprise, an astute diplomat represented one of

France's greatest kings, Henry IV., as ambassador in Holland. It needed but a hint to put President Jeannin in communication with the distinguished English navigator, and nothing but the promptness of the Dutch merchants prevented Captain Hudson from following in the footsteps of Verrazano in the interest of France. No sooner did the East India Directors learn of the French negotiations than at once they came to terms with Hudson. On January 8, 1609, a small company of four earnest men assembled in one of the rooms of the East India Company's buildings. Two of them were a committee with power to enter into an agreement with Captain Hudson in behalf of the Company, the other two were the navigator himself and his friend Jodocus Hondius, the celebrated cartographer, formerly of London, but now of Amsterdam, who was present at this conference in the capacity of interpreter and witness. The delegation of this important work to a committee evinces the haste which it now seemed necessary to employ in order to anticipate the French ambassador, who in a letter dated January 25th was compelled to inform his sovereign that Hudson was no longer at liberty to serve him.



EAST INDIA COMPANY BUILDINGS, AMSTERDAM.

In the Royal Archives at the Hague is preserved a manuscript history of

the East India Company written by the counselor P. Van Dam, who served as their legal adviser from 1652 to 1706. Attached to this document is a copy of the contract between Henry Hudson and the Company. From it we learn that the Directors bound themselves to equip a vessel of sixty tons burden for a voyage to the North, around the northern extremity of Nova Zembla, to continue on that parallel until he could turn to the south and steer for India. For this voyage the Directors engaged to pay Hudson "as well for his outfit as for the support of his wife and children" the sum of eight hundred florins ($320), and "in case he do not come back (which God prevent) the Directors shall further pay to his wife two hundred florins ($80) in cash;" if he should be successful in his quest, the Directors promised to reward him "in their discretion."

Nearly three months intervened between the signing of this contract and the sailing of the Half-Moon from Amsterdam. Preparations for the severe experiences to be expected were thus made under the personal direction of the navigator who was so familiar with them; but the appliances of those times could but ill provide against the inevitable hardships, as compared with those which made possible the successful accomplishment of this same passage by Nordenskjold in our own day. During these months we may be certain that frequent intercourse took place between the English captain, the learned Plancius, and the veteran navigator Linschoten. Hudson particularly desired to be furnished with maps prepared by Plancius. And thus equipped, and stimulated by renewed studies and profitable converse with kindred minds, Captain Hudson sailed from Amsterdam on April 4th, and out of the Zuyder Zee, through the channel between Texel and North

EMANUEL VAN METEREN,

Holland, on April 6th, 1609. Scarce a month later the northeast journey was already abandoned, the ice preventing him from reaching Nova Zembla. Then, Van Meteren tells us —who died in 1612, and whose work must therefore have been published less than three years after Hudson's voyage—then Hudson made a proposition to his crew of twenty men to choose between two alternatives.

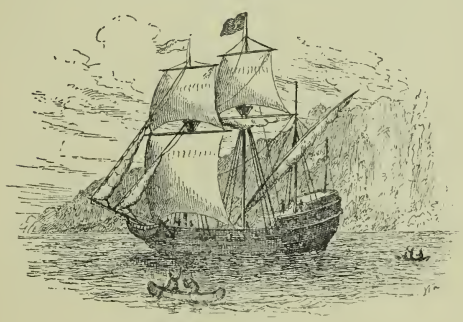
The one was to proceed westward, and seek for a passage across the continent of America, about the latitude of forty degrees north, "induced thereto by charts which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia." The other was to attempt to reach India by way of Davis' strait across the Pole to the northwest. The crew selected the latter course: but from every subsequent detail of the voyage it is evident that Hudson deliberately steered in the former

PETRUS PLANCIUS.

direction. Or it may be that a severe storm disconcerted his movements; for Van Meteren informs us that in latitude 44° he landed on the coast of New France in order to replace his foremast with a new one cut from the virgin forest. From this point he kept on along our coast southward until he came upon Cape Cod, discovered by Gosnold in 1602; but on Hudson's maps it had been wrongly placed, we are told by De Laet, so that he thought this was undiscovered land and gave it the name of New Holland. Standing out to sea to the south and east he did not see land again until he reached the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. Thence he coasted northward, entered Delaware Bay, sighted the coast of New Jersey, and on Wednesday September 2nd, 1609, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Half-Moon cast her anchor in a "great lake of water, as we could judge it to be." To the northward were seen high hills, "a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The hills were the Navesinks, and the lake was the Lower Bay.

For about ten days Hudson remained in the Lower Bay, shifting his position occasionally, sending out boats to cautiously sound the broad expanse of waters and ascertain the channel, and dealing distrustfully with the savages that flocked around his ship. At one time the boat was sent between the Narrows to explore the bay beyond; but it was a fatal mission resulting in the death of Coleman, one of the crew, whether by accident or design, shot through the throat with an arrow. At last, on September 12th, the Half-Moon was steered into the opening between the "small steep hills" which Verrazano had described, and went up two leagues, which if it were measured exactly from the Narrows would have brought her about oppo-

site the Battery. And now begins the oft-told story of Hudson's ascent and descent of the river that immortalizes his name and commemorates his exploit. The logbook of his English mate Robert Juet, which has the charm of quaintness and the advantage of being written by an eyewitness on the very spot where these first impressions of our noble river were received, gives a very circumstantial account of the journey, with the incidents attending, which are all familiar. On the 20th of September the



THE HALF-MOON.

head of navigation was reached for a vessel of the Half-Moon's size, but a boat was sent ahead to sound the river further up. On the 22nd of September the boat had gone up nearly twenty-seven miles beyond the present anchorage of the Half-Moon, and now the disappointing conclusion was forced upon the ship's company that their dream of a Northwest passage must be abandoned. There were but seven feet of water at that distance, and the river ever growing narrower and more shallow. Hitherto there had been nothing to discourage the belief that the river they were on might be a strait like Magellan's at the southern extremity of the hemisphere. For long stretches that strait drew its banks together to within even a smaller distance than that which separated the shores of this great River of the Mountains. But the report now brought by the master's mate was fatal to their hopes. This was a river, and not a strait; they had reached the head of navigation, "and found it to be at an end for shipping to go in." Accordingly on the 23d the anchor was weighed and the descent of the river was begun. On October 4th the weather being fair and the wind favorable, the Half-Moon sailed out again from between the headlands of the Narrows, the first vessel to leave the port of New York direct for Europe. She stood straight across the ocean, discarding the ordinary course by way of the West Indies and the Canaries, for as Juet concludes, "We continued our course toward England without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October; and on the 7th of November, 1609, the Half-Moon arrived safely at Dartmouth.

The English authorities no sooner ascertained whence the Half-Moon, a Dutch ship with an English captain had come, than they detained both ship and captain. Eventually Hudson was permitted to send his reports to the Directors of the East India

Company, and the Half-Moon reached Amsterdam in July, 1610; but it is very uncertain whether Hudson was permitted to proceed thither. The following year in June 1611, he ended a life of heroic adventure amid the very regions that had tempted him so often to bold endeavors. The manner of his death was cruel in the extreme, sent adrift by his mutinous crew amid ice-fields in an open boat; yet it was not an inappropriate close to a career such as his, and in this respect resembled that of the Dutch Arctic traveler, William Barents, whose exploits had no doubt helped to fire Hudson's ambition.

The Dutch East India Company had sent Henry Hudson to the northeast, or northwest, to seek in either direction a way to China and the East Indies by sailing through the Arctic seas. When it was reported by him that, failing in this, he had discovered unknown regions, or at least explored regions but little known before, on the continent of North America—the Company was prohibited by the express terms of its charter from utilizing such discoveries. But Hudson's report was not lost upon other portions of the commercial world centered at Amsterdam; nor were the Directors of the Company in their private capacity debarred from engaging in mercantile enterprises beyond the limits indicated by the charter. The papers forwarded by Hudson from England to his employers at length reached Amsterdam in the spring of 1610, while the Half-Moon did not return until July. But at that time a number of merchants, having associated together, were already prepared to send a vessel back to the parts whence she had come. A portion of her crew were at once induced to enlist in this new enterprise, and Hudson's Dutch mate was made captain or master of this vessel.

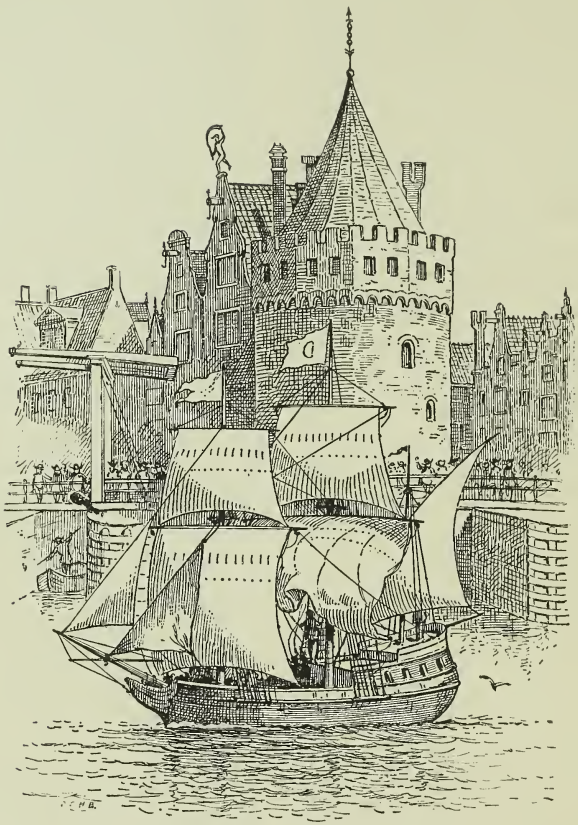
The chief consideration which led to these earliest voyages to the shores of the Hudson River was the establishment of a profitable trade in furs. This constituted by far the greatest proportion of the very extensive trade with the Muscovy States, or Archangel in Russia. But this valuable staple, for which the climate of Holland assured a ready sale, had to be purchased at Archangel in competition with other merchants as in any other civilized market. In the New World, it was ascertained, there was an inexhaustable supply of the same article, equal in quality, and obtainable by the inexpensive expedient of barter with the natives in whose eyes cheap and bright utensils were much more desirable than the gold of European currencies. When the sailors who had first come out in the Half-Moon saw their Indian friends for the second time, their persons were adorned with ax-heads and shovel-blades given in payment for furs. Such articles whether prized by the Indians for use or ornament, would inevitably assure a pro-

fitable return upon the beaver and other skins obtained for them.

There is little doubt that the vessel dispatched in 1610 returned with a cargo that realized a satisfactory profit for her owners, thus confirming the previous accounts of the country. Meanwhile interest in the regions brought to notice by Hudson's voyage had spread to other cities of the land besides Amsterdam. A number of merchants residing at Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen, then the most active commercial towns next to the metropolis, having heard something concerning a new navigable river and countries thereabout, but perhaps designedly kept in ignorance as to its exact location, brought pressure to bear upon the magistrates of their respective cities to demand for them, from either the Provincial or the General Government, precise information and official charts, so that they too might dispatch vessels thither.

Possessed of this information, some of the five ships mentioned by name in the charter of 1614 were no doubt despatched to the new quarter early in the year 1612. Of one of these ships, Henry Christiaensen was captain, master or skipper, as the commander of a merchant vessel was then variously designated. On the testimony of Wassenaer, living at that time, a resident of Amsterdam, and thus a fellow-townsman of Christiaensen's, the latter had been favorably impressed with the country about the mouth of the Hudson after but a brief glance at it. Sailing with a heavily laden ship from the West Indies towards Holland he approached our Lower Bay, but he dared not enter or anchor having in mind the fate of a former vessel from a neighboring city in North-Holland which had stranded here and had been wrecked. We have no other account of this vessel or of the errand upon which it was sent and which ended so disastrously; and hence, we incidentally learn that unrecorded voyages must have been made, perhaps in more instances than this during those early years after Hudson's. The glimpse which Christiaensen had obtained sufficed to kindle within him a strong desire to revisit these regions. He succeeded in awakening a similar enthusiasm on the part of his friend Adriaen Block. The two at first chartered a vessel together, they themselves going with it to America, but placing her in command of a Captain Ryser, which appears strange when we reflect that both of them were competent sea-captains. Without definite data to fix the exact time of this voyage it is probable that it took place in the year 1612; when perhaps, one or two others of the five ships named in the charter of 1614 may also have been despatched in pursuance of the information gained through the mediation of the States of Holland in the autumn of 1611. We may perhaps even specify that these were the Nightingale under

Captain Thys Volkertsen of Amsterdam, and the Fortune of Hoorn, under Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey or May; but the time of these



THE HALF-MOON LEAVING AMSTERDAM.

The illustration indicates the spot whence all vessels took their departure for long sea voyages. The tower was called "Schreyers Toren," or "Weeper's Tower, because here leave was taken of relatives and friends who were usually in a tearful condition as the ship proceeded on her way out of the harbor into the Zuyder Zee. It is unquestionably at this point that the Half-Moon cast off her moorings and began her eventful journey in 1609.

In regard to the subsequent fate of the Half-Moon, we are told by Brodhead that she was shipwrecked on the island of Mauritius in 1615, which information he derives from the East India Company's "Ship-book." But Mr. Murphy (Henry Hudson in Holland) gives the entry of this book, and while the remark "wrecked on the island of Mauritius" appears opposite a companion ship, that opposite the Half-Moon is "not heard from."

earliest undertakings cannot be stated with certainty.

Christiaensen and Block returning in their chartered ship brought with them, besides a cargo of peltries, two sons of chiefs, to whom were given the names of Valentine and Orson. The exhibition of these Indians contributed largely towards exciting an interest in America throughout the United Provinces. It is at least abundantly evident that the two friends themselves were satisfied with the result of their experiment as a commercial venture, for each now prepared to set out once more in command of a separate vessel—Christiaensen of the Fortune (of Amsterdam) and Block of the Tiger—having also enlisted other "adventurers" or merchants to share in the enterprise. It may be supposed that these two vessels sailed early in 1613. As the result of his experiences on this trip Christiaensen came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous to remain in America. He perceived that the trade in furs would obviously be very much advanced if a somewhat permanent settlement were established on some point or points along the Great River. The Indians could thereby become accustomed to bringing their skins to a fixed locality as a market. Naturally he first selected as the most appropriate place for such a market the island of Manhattan. Several rude houses built mainly of boards and roofed with great strips of bark peeled from the trees around them, were constructed here under Christiaensen's supervision, and historians attempt to identify the very spot. But although he provided himself with a place of abode on the island, Christiaensen at the same time diligently explored the bays, creeks and inlets of the immediate vicinity in every direction in order to effect negotiations with the natives.

While Christiaensen was thus variously employed, and while perhaps his comrade Block had either gone back to Fatherland or was exploring some other part of the coast, a visit of startling import was made to Manhattan Island in November, 1613, when an armed and strongly manned English ship sailed up into the Bay. On beholding the trading-camp in the midst of a wilderness the Englishmen were greatly surprised, but upon

finding that the traders were of the rival nation of the Dutch, their surprise changed into wrath. On the basis of John Cabot's view of so much of the continent of North America as he could gain from the deck of his ship in 1497, the English claimed all of that continent north of Florida as their own. The commander of the vessel now before Christiaensen's trading-post, Captain Samuel Argall, had just been engaged in an exploit which had given practical effect to this claim. With a squadron of three armed ships he had been sent from Virginia to dislodge the French settlements on the Bay of Fundy. The overwhelming force at his command secured the complete success of this undertaking, and on November 9, 1613, the ships left Nova Scotia on their return voyage. A storm scattered the vessels; one foundered in mid-ocean; a second was driven to the Azores whence it returned to England; while the third bearing Captain Argall himself, was forced to seek shelter in our bay. If the French could not be tolerated on what was claimed as English territory, neither could the Dutch. The alternative of destruction or tribute being placed before the handful of traders the latter was naturally chosen and Argall could depart with the satisfaction of having made an additional conquest, and thereby once more vindicating his country's title to this portion of America. But the people he had to deal with in the present instance were not so easily turned from their purposes of commercial or colonial enterprise.

Undismayed by this unpleasant interruption and doubtless feeling but slightly troubled by the promise of tribute just made, should the English return to collect it, Christiaensen continued trading with the Indians. Taking his vessel, the Fortune, he went up the river to the head of navigation. Here above the site of Albany, near the junction of the Mohawk with the waters of the larger river, was the place where several routes of Indian trade concentrated. The Mohawk Valley formed a natural highway between the east and west, between the great Lakes and the Hudson; and down from the North along Lake Champlain and Lake George and the course of the upper Hudson and St. Lawrence, Indians came hither from points as distant as Quebec. So advantageous did this place appear that when the winter was past Christiaensen immediately proceeded to erect a primitive fort in this vicinity. He selected for its site an island in the middle of the river, a little nearer the west bank than the eastern one. Upon this first stronghold of the Dutch in New Netherland was bestowed the name of "Nassau," in honor of the Stadholder of the Republic, Maurice, Count of Nassau; and about the same time his first name in the form of "Mauritius" was given to the Hudson River, hitherto designated as the River, or the Great

River of the Mountains or sometimes simply as the Great River. Having completed this work Christiaensen departed to rejoin his trading-post on Manhattan. Not long after, this bold navigator and intelligent trader was, Wassenaer tells us, killed by Orson, one of the two Indians whom he had taken to Holland. We are not informed what provoked the murder, which was avenged on the spot by Christiaensen's companions. Jacob Eelkins, a character who appears more than once, and under various lights in the subsequent history of these early days, was placed in command of Fort Nassau by Christiaensen on the latter's departure, and remained at the station uninterruptedly during three or four years, acquiring much facility in the intercourse with the natives.

A serious misfortune meanwhile, had fallen Adriaen Block; serving, however, rather to stimulate than to discourage the energies of himself and his men. While Christiaensen was spending the winters with his ship at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson, Block's vessel, the Tiger, lying at anchor in New York Bay, accidentally caught fire and was totally destroyed. When the opening of spring (1614) found Christiaensen erecting a fort at the north, it heralded the completion by Block of the first vessel constructed in the port of New York. There was indeed, an abundance of timber, but it was not in condition for being immediately applied to ship-building, and with insufficient and imperfect tools the undertaking must have taxed the ingenuity as well as patience of captain and crew. The result of the labors of the winter and early spring was a shapely ship of sixteen tons burden. To this little craft was given the name of "Onrust" or Restless. Proving as restless as his new vessel, Block could not idly await the arrival of ships from the Fatherland, but at once set out on a voyage of exploration, for which the Restless was well adapted, since with her he could venture into waters which were inaccessible to larger vessels. He first pushed boldly through the hazardous channel which we now call Hell Gate; a name which at that time designated the entire East River. He thus made his way, the first of European navigators, into the broad expanse of Long Island Sound. He coasted along its northern shore; entered the inlet of New Haven, the "Rodenberg" or Red Hill of the Dutch; and sailed into the Connecticut, which, contrasting it with the salt and brackish water of the Hudson far into the interior, he called the Fresh Water River. The three-cornered island which Verrazano had seen and named, Block also saw, giving it his own name, which is the only appellation of his bestowal that has survived the changes of years and the supremacy of the English language. He had by this time established the interesting fact that the long stretch of coast running

almost directly east from the mouth of the Hudson, apparently a part of the mainland was in reality an island. The Restless was next guided into Narragansett's Bay, where Verrazano had spent a fortnight and its noble proportions induced the Dutch to give it the name of "Nassau." Block passed and named several islands, doubled Cape Cod and did not turn his vessel's head homeward until he had penetrated as far as Salem Harbor, then called "Pye Bay." On the return to Manhattan, in the neighborhood of Cape Cod, he fell in with Christiaensen's ship which was directing its course to Holland, probably to announce the news of its master's fate. It was commanded by one Cornelius Hendricksen or Hendrick's son, so that it is not unlikely that he was the son of Hendrick Christiaensen, if we are to judge from the prevailing custom of family names among the burgher class of Holland at that date. Block directed Hendricksen to take charge of the Restless and to continue in her the series of discoveries which he had begun. He himself embarked in the Fortune and kept her on her course to Amsterdam to report the results of his adventures. Before following him thither, to note the consequences of this report, a few words will suffice to indicate his subsequent career. He does not seem to have ever re-visited the regions which he so industriously explored. He entered the service of the great "Northern Company," and in December, 1624, he was promoted to the command of an entire fleet of whaling ships; but history makes no further mention of him.

Besides his own explorations Block had also in charge to report those made by Captain May in the ship Fortune of Hoorn. May had been busy on the south coast of Long Island while Block was in the Sound north of it, for on his authority its length is given by the historian De Laet as being twenty-five (Dutch) miles from Montauk Point or "Viscsher's Hoek," to the Bay of New York."

Fortified with these facts, and it is more than likely aided by what is known as the Figurative Map, Adriaen Block appeared before the authorities at The Hague. In March of this very year, 1614, the States-General had published a decree, than which nothing could have been better calculated to stimulate enterprise or to advance the cause of geographical discovery, in an age when such discovery was not merely a noble ambition but had become a veritable passion. It was in the form of a "General Charter for those who discover New Passages, Havens, Countries or Places." Thus it was a charter in blank, so to speak, to be filled in with the names of the most successful adventurers on the one hand, and on the other, with the names of the regions which they should bring to a knowledge of mankind. The reward was to be a monopoly of trade

to such countries, but only to the extent of making four voyages thither. A final proviso was that within fourteen days after the return from the original exploring voyage, a report of which Block arrived in Holland. The Restless could not have been ready for launching till part of the spring had elapsed, and the minute exploration of every prominent feature that

THE "FIGURATIVE" MAP.—1614 or 1615.

Showing the Mauritius or Hudson River and the Connecticut or Fresh Water River.

the same with careful details of the work accomplished, should be made to the States-General. There are no means of ascertaining the date on offered itself along some hundreds of miles of coast-line must have consumed months at least. Add to this the return trip across the Atlantic in

the Fortune, which was not a matter of a few weeks or days then as now, and our calculations will bring us to about October 1. He doubtess hastened to The Hague with his report before the required fortnight had passed; and on October 11, he arrived there. For there was good reason for promptness aside from the limit set in the charter. On the 18th of July, a number of merchants severally located in no less than six of the principal cities of the Province of Holland, appeared before the Provincial "States" or Legislature. They sought to obtain the indorsement of that influential body to a petition for a charter from the States-General for exclusive trade to Africa and America. Probably they had in mind the promised charter of the preceding March, and they may have urged the recent discovery of Hudson as sufficiently meeting the conditions of that document; the more so, as that discovery, while it had been followed by a number of ventures on the part of a few individuals, had not been made the basis for the organization of any very general association of merchants throughout the country.

Adriaen Block however, had something better to put forward than Hudson's exploit of 1609 as a claim for a charter for himself and the merchants he represented. On Saturday, October 11, 1614, in company with some or all of the captains or ship-owners whose names appear in the subsequent charter, he presented himself before the Assembly of the States-General. It was no imposing gathering so far as numbers went, only twelve deputies being present, including the illustrious John of Barneveld. For such a limited company the small hall of the States-General described in a previous chapter was amply sufficient. Standing by the side of the President on the raised dais near the three windows opening upon the Binnenhof, we may imagine Block explaining with the aid of the Figurative Map spread out upon the "Greffier's" or Secretary's table, the course of the Restless through Hell Gate into the Long Island Sound. Here certainly was a "new passage," an addition to the discovery of Henry Hudson. Block's arguments carried conviction with them; for new discoveries had indisputably been made by him. The latest maps then known, even the map of 1610 prepared expressly for King James and only recently brought to public notice, gave the coast-line along the Long Island shore without a hint of its separation from the main. A resolution was therefore at once adopted to grant a charter to the association of merchants for whom Block had spoken and the document itself was issued, signed and sealed on that same day, October 11, 1614. It is of peculiar interest because it first officially gave the name of New Netherland to this portion of the Republic, and by a curious coincidence, to which Brodhead calls attention, in the

very same month and year, the name New England was first applied to the adjoining regions (to some extent the same regions) by Prince Charles, heir to England's throne, when he was made acquainted with Captain John Smith's explorations on the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine.

To return to New Netherland: after the charter which gave it a name, the first event that calls for attention is the erection of a second fort. It has been supposed such was built on Manhattan Island in the year 1615. Twenty years later the West India Company reminded the States-General in a memorial that "one or more little forts were built," under their High Mightinesses' jurisdiction, "even before the year 1614." But this declaration, like some others of their historical statements, admits of doubt. And while learned historians differ as to the fact whether any fort was erected on Manhattan before that constructed by Director Minuit in 1626, perhaps we will not be far amiss in looking for the origin of the rumor that there was, in the very probable circumstance that Hendrick Christiaensen may have constructed breastworks or have surrounded his little hamlet with a stockade in anticipation of another visit from the English. Certain it is that neither on the Figurative, nor on what we may call Hendricksen's Map of 1616, do we notice any indication of a fort on Manhattan Island. But near the head of navigation there undoubtedly was one; and indeed, so great appeared to be the necessity for a stronghold there, that we find one succeeding another in rather rapid succession. Christiaensen's Fort Nassau, with Jacob Eelkens in command, remained "occupied steadily through three years," says De Laet, "and then fell into decay." Its position on the island was advantageous in some respects; but on the other hand the floods at the breaking up of winter made havoc, until in 1617, they swept away ramparts and warehouse and ditch and all. Eelkens thereupon promptly selected a less perilous situation. A few miles below Albany there falls into the Hudson River from the west a small stream known as "Norman's Kill," corrupted from Noordtman's, given to it by the Dutch because a Scandinavian at one time possessed a farm on its banks, but the Iroquois name "Tawasentha" was more euphonious. Its northern bank rose into an eminence called by the Indians "Tawassgunshee," overlooking the broad stream of the Hudson. Tawasentha has been the theme of many American poets, including Alfred B. Street and Henry W. Longfellow. At Tawasentha a redoubt was built to succeed the one on Castle Island, four miles further up the river; and having no information to the contrary, we may suppose that the name of Nassau was retained for its successor.

But the names of Tawassgunshee and Tawasentha have become historic for another reason. Here in 1618 was

held a great council of the chiefs of several Indian tribes, at which appeared also the commander and officers of the new Fort Nassau in order to effect with the red men a solemn treaty of amity and mutual assistance. About the mouth of the Hudson on the islands and the main, dwelt tribes belonging to the numerous Algonquin nation. But when the Dutch erected their forts in the vicinity of its junction with the Mohawk River, they had penetrated to the border-line between this and another great Indian family, not quite so populous perhaps, but much more formidable by reason of their political organization and warlike prowess. These were the Iroquois, and more particularly that part of them which was known as the "Five Nations," a confederacy comprising the tribes of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas, with whom the Dutch made a treaty at Tawassgunshee Hill in 1618. This compact was the basis of a lasting friendship between the Iroquois and the Dutch, to which the English succeeded and which raised a perpetual barrier to the encroachment of the French from the North. For the question of the domination and development of the continent of North America by a Latin or a Teutonic race and faith—"the most momentous and far-reaching question ever brought to an issue on this continent"—depended almost entirely upon this other question, "which side should win and hold the friendship of that powerful confederation of red men who overawed or held in tribute the Indians from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from Lake Champlain to the Chesapeake." No doubt Jacob Eelkens' sojourn of more than three years among them had enabled him to win the confidence and to understand the character of the Indians; and his share in this transaction goes far to condone one or two other acts

Champlain

which do not place him in so favorable a light. It may be added that, as a final ceremony on the part of the Indians, symbolic of perpetual peace, a tomahawk was trampled under foot until it had disappeared under the loose soil; while the Dutch on their side promised to build a church on the spot consecrated by this burial of the implement of war.

Hudson on his way along our coast had anchored within Delaware Bay and the curiosity and enterprise of the Dutch traders needed but this hint to send them off in that direction also, to see what could be discovered. It must have been some time during the year 1615, that Captain Cornelius Hendricksen sailed southward along the coast of New Jersey with the little Restless. He applied to at least one feature of it a name which has descended to our day, although in a translation; this being "Eyerhaven" or Egg Harbor. He doubled ere long the triangular point of land now called Cape May, but gave it the name of Hinloopen, either in honor of a merchant of Amsterdam or after the town of Hindeloopen in Friesland. The point opposite he called, with pardonable self-assertion, after himself, Cape Cornelius. But by a strange fate that designation has disappeared from our maps, "Hinloopen" having been substituted for it, and the first Cape Hinloopen becoming later Cape May, in honor of the navigator who afterwards came upon the scene, although he had already borne a part in the exploration of adjoining regions. Favored by the small size of the Restless, Hendricksen could now undertake what Hudson dared not do in the Half-Moon. He pushed his way up the bay that opened upon his delighted vision, entering the creeks or bays or rivers that offered on either side. He soon found the shores narrowing, however, until they became unmistakably the banks of a river, and it must have been no small satisfaction to him thus to realize that he was the discoverer of a new and unsuspected stream. In distinction from the Mauritius further north, he, or other Dutch geographers called this the "South River." He followed its course, it is supposed, up as far as the Schuylkill, thus passing the site of Philadelphia.

When the three years of exclusive trade to New Netherland conceded to the above company had expired, they found it difficult to obtain renewal of the privilege; for other merchants now claimed the right of sending ships thither. One company of adventurers, headed by a Henry Eelkens, no doubt a relative of Jacob Eelkens, obtained permission to send a ship, the "Schilt" or Shield from their port of Amsterdam to the North River, as the Mauritius was now designated, in October, 1618. But still the aim of each band of merchants who wished to send their ships to the fur regions of America was to enjoy such a privilege to the exclusion of others; and the competition to secure the monopoly became eager.

An incident now occurred to which attaches a special interest, for two important reasons: because, in the first place, it gives evidence that the idea of colonization, for which there was made such slight provision as has been seen in the charter granted to the West India Company, was dis-

tinctly entertained and its importance intelligently appreciated by many men in Holland whose attention had been directed to this country; and, in the second place, because it connects the Hudson River and Manhattan Island in an intimate and pleasant way with a neighboring colony, the advent of whose members to the shores of America is looked upon as the beginning of national history for the Republic of the United States.

On the 20th of February, 1620, a unique document was addressed to Maurice, Prince of Orange, the Stadholder of the Republic of the Netherlands. It was a petition from the Directors of the "New Netherland Company." The company was still in existence and actively engaged in the trade to the Hudson, although its charter had expired three years after January 1, 1615. The trade was now open to all, and there is not in their petition the slightest trace of a desire to revive their monopoly. Another, and we may say, a nobler project was in their minds. Beyond a mere trading-post they had conceived the idea of making the banks of the Hudson the seat of a regular colony. But it was not easy for Holland to colonize uninhabited districts in foreign lands. Much as has been said by some writers about the overcrowded condition of the United Provinces, we must accept such statements with caution. There was ample space for all her citizens within the territories of the Seven Provinces. At any rate they were not a people inclined to leave the Fatherland permanently. Restlessly diligent in pursuing wealth or glory to the remotest parts of the earth, her sons ever cherished the expectation of spending their last days amid the early associations of home. So it will be seen that the first attempts at colonization in connection with New Netherland depended for the supply of colonists upon refugees who had found an asylum in free Holland from religious persecution in their own lands. These having been once transplanted and not yet rooted to the soil, it seemed easier for them to make another change.

Now it "happened," the petitioners informed the Prince, and through him the Government, that there was "residing in Leyden a certain English preacher versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither to live." *i. e.*, to New Netherland. What is more, he was the representative in this proposal of no less than four hundred families who would "accompany him thither both out of this country and England." Here was thus a golden opportunity for forming a colony. A thousand people at their doors, indebted to Holland for a home and freedom of worship during a dozen years, besides several hundred fellow-sufferers in England ready to join their brethern in this change of abode and likely to be equally grateful for the favor accorded. Eagerly do the directors of the New Netherland

Company recommend this project to the Prince, requesting that they be aided in transporting these families. They had themselves, as we learn elsewhere, made generous proposals to these English exiles; New England historians call them "large offers," and well they may, for the directors promised to give them free passage to America and to furnish every family with cattle. But there was danger to be apprehended on the high seas, as well as after they should have landed on the distant shores, from the vindictive persecution of their own King; and hence the directors begged the Dutch Government to take the enterprise under its protection and to allow two armed ships to accompany the expedition.

There is no mistaking who were this preacher and the people for whom he was authorized to speak. John Robinson and his flock had been living in Leyden since 1609, and thus from the first must have heard of the exploit of Henry Hudson which had been for many years agitating commercial Holland. Their views of church government differing hopelessly from those prevalent in England and indorsed as well as enforced by the Crown, and king and prelates insisting on comformity thereto or banishment or worse, the nonconformist band at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, led by their pastor, chose banishment; and being assured of tolerance and protection in Holland, the asylum for the oppressed of all creeds or despotisms, they entered upon their first "pilgrimage," and took up their abode in Amsterdam in 1608. But in 1609 Robinson's flock found it more advantageous to remove to Leyden. Here they spent many peaceful years, though, being in a country just recuperating from a sanguinary war, they were compelled in common with her own citizens to maintain a severe struggle for existence, and they sometimes speak of "hard" times. Yet they must have been reasonably prosperous, for in 1611 they bought a large piece of ground with a spacious house upon it for over three thousand dollars, which would represent about four times that amount in our day. The site of this house is now indicated by a stone in the front wall of the building occupying it at present, which records that "on this spot lived, taught and died John Robinson, 1611-1625.* Believing in the independency of the

*It stands immediately opposite the St. Peter's Church, in which the remains of Robinson were deposited after his death in 1625. July 24, 1891, there was unveiled a large bronze tablet placed in the front outside wall of the church, at the instance of the "National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States of America." The unveiling was an impressive ceremony, witnessed by a large assemblage, including about sixty Americans. The whole town was en fete, and the ancient church decorated with flags and flowers. As it was unveiled the American, Dutch and English flags were unfurled and saluted, the band playing the "Star Spangled Banner," "God Save the Queen," and the tune "Plymouth Rock." The tablet having been formally delivered by the representative of the American Council to the city's keeping, the Burgomaster, Mr. De Laet de Kanter (presumably a descendant of the historian De Laet, who was a citizen of Leyden), accepted the trust with a few brief and appropriate words.

congregation as distinguished from the Presbyterian system of both the Dutch and the Scotch churches, and objecting to worship in buildings that had once been devoted to Roman Catholic services, Robinson himself could form no ecclesiastical affiliations with the church of the land, as the pastors of Scotch refugees had done;

SITE OF ROBINSON'S HOUSE, LEYDEN.

nor could his people be granted a sanctuary, as had been assigned to the Scotch, since the Protestants throughout Holland were wisely using the abundant supply of such edifices built in Roman Catholic times, which it would have been mere wantonness to destroy or to leave vacant. The Pilgrims therefore met for public worship in the spacious house they had purchased, which was also set apart for their pastor's residence; while about the extensive garden smaller buildings were erected for the use of a number of the poorer families. And it is certainly worth noting that upon this very ground stands an almost similar institution, it being a home for indigent people belonging to the French or Walloon congregation—that is, descendants of religious refugees from France and Belgium.

But while enjoying perfect liberty to conduct their church government on the principles which they had adopted and to exercise their worship in the place or manner that their consciences could approve, there were some considerations which made Robinson and his flock wish for different surroundings. In the recent discussions in New England in regard to erecting a monument at Delfshaven to commemorate the departure thence of the Pilgrim Fathers, those who oppose the scheme have charged that the Hollanders did not treat them handsomely. But we cannot discover this among the causes of their leaving. They were Englishmen, and the younger generation were fast becoming amalgamated with the foreign element around them. They were not far enough away from James I. to altogether escape his annoyances, for although the Dutch Goverment necessarily defied him in harboring

the refugees at all, it could not entirely break with the head of the only other great Protestant Power and thus at times it was compelled to give the appearance at least of heeding the remonstrances of their King. Again, the Pilgrims could not much better bear the Presbyterian government of the Dutch Church than they could the English Episcopacy; yet their children were growing up where they constantly saw this form exemplified, and they would thus not only be reconciled to it but might become identified with it. The new free principles of church polity for which Robinson and his co-religionists contended needed wide space and unmolested practice for their development. Early in their stay in Holland therefore, they began to turn their eyes towards America. Negotiations were attempted more than once with the London or the Plymouth Company. But their own countrymen could not be quite depended on, and their King least of all. Then their intentions were made known to the New Netherland Company, whose directors, as we have seen, met their advances cordially. When the matter however, came before the States-General they adopted a broader view of the situation. Here was not a mere colonizing scheme, an undertaking for enterprising Dutch merchants only. Important political questions were involved, which had not occurred to simple business men. Dutch statesmen, accustomed to take in a wider range and to look far in advance in their keen combat against overwhelming power, were not ignorant of the claims of the English, and how these might be favored in the future by the proposed action at present. Argall had given practical exhibition of the temper of his nation towards the Dutch on Manhattan. That which in a few decades was to find its way into printed volumes was undoubtedly then abroad in diplomatic circles—namely, that on the strength of Hudson's nationality all his discoveries properly belonged to England. It would therefore have been the height of impolicy to send as the first colonists to a section so strenuously claimed by England some hundreds of families who, although exiled, were nevertheless, to their honor be it said, Englishmen to the core. Hence the States-General denied the petition of the Directors of the New Netherland Company, and refused to allow the Pilgrims to proceed thither. Less than six months afterwards on July 20, 1620, the half of the number dwelling at Leyden left that city, parted from their pastor and the remainder of their brethern at Delfshaven, and sailed forth thence in the Speedwell to a glorious destiny, going out from the protection of the republican institutions of the United Netherlands to plant the seeds of a greater Republic on the far-distant shores of America. A simple memorial, an "answering monument" to that which on Plymouth Rock commemo-

rates the arrival of the Mayflower, might well therefore be set up to mark the beginning of a journey fraught with so much promise to our country.

The charter of the Dutch West India Company was granted in 1621: but not until 1623 was the Company ready for complete organization, and not till 1626 was the first regular colonial government provided for New Netherland. The interval was filled up with a number of voyages, of which some were for purposes of trade merely, while others were made in the interest of colonization.

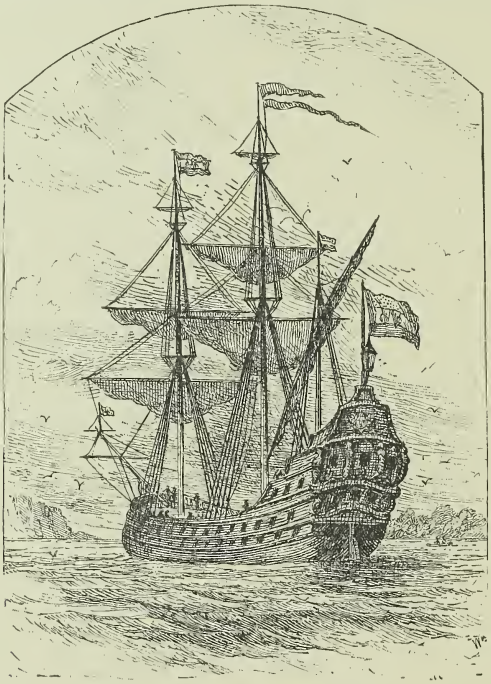
These numerous expeditions of the Dutch to the coast of North America embraced within our United States had not passed unnoticed in England. The maritime nations of that day were watching each other closely as to what was being accomplished on the new continent in the West. The Papal bull had given to Spain the entire world west of a certain imaginary line running through the middle of the Atlantic. But the decline of her power left her impotent to keep the Dutch, English and French from the regions north of Florida. That vast extent of country England claimed, and by virtue of that claim had devastated a few plantations of the French in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, while she was only waiting her opportunity to eject them from the whole of Canada, an achievement reserved for the middle of the next century. But now, south of Canada, into the very heart of the country, claimed not only but partly occupied by England, into the very portion that divided her northern from her southern colonies, the Hollanders were diligently penetrating and establishing a nucleus for profitable trade and future colonization. The voyages undertaken or licensed in 1621, and the charter extended to a Dutch West India Company in June of that year, led James I. in December to direct Sir Dudley Carleton, his ambassador at the Hague, to address a remonstrance to the States-General. After some preliminary exchange of communications, Carleton presented such an address in French to their High Mightinesses in February, 1622. In spite of the English title to those countries, which his sovereign declared to be "notorious to every one," yet was the King "informed that in the previous year some Hollanders had put foot in certain parts of the said country and had planted a colony there, changing the names of ports and havens, and baptizing them anew after their own fashion, with the intention of sending more ships for the continuance of the said colony, and that in fact they now had six or eight ships all ready to sail thither." Sir Dudley, accordingly, stated that his master had commanded him to apply to the States-General, and "to require of you in his name that by your authority not only the vessels already fitted out for the said voyage be detained, but also that the further

prosecution of the said colony be expressly forbidden." This was strange language to address to an independent republic, quivering with an irrepressible vitality born of forty years of heroic struggle against a foe much mightier than James; a vitality that had been seeking an outlet in commercial enterprises which embraced the ends of the earth! A visionary title to a vast region which England was incapable of occupying could not restrain a nation such as the Dutch. The foreign interference, therefore, the more exasperating because it proceeded from such a source, only stimulated instead of checking the "further prosecution" of colonizing New Netherland.

As if in defiance of England's remonstrance we now observe for the first time the participation of the West India Company itself in the enterprise. In the spring of 1622 the Company was still awaiting the slow ingathering of its required capital, and was therefore not yet fully organized. At this juncture, but a month or two after Carleton's protest, application was made to the States of Holland by a number of families who desired transportation as colonists to New Netherland. It was referred to the West India Company, and taken in hand by the Amsterdam Chamber, as doubtless its capital was fully subscribed before that of the other Chambers. Moreover, the families who had made this request were settled at Amsterdam, and there direct communication could be held with them. The same peculiarity attached to them which distinguished the people who had offered to form a colony in America in 1620. They too, like John Robinson and his flock, were exiles for conscience' sake, having been compelled to leave their homes in the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands, bordering on France, because they were Protestants, and the Belgian Provinces had failed to maintain a united struggle against Spain and the Church of Rome until for Protestant and Catholic alike there might be liberty of worship as in the provinces of the North. The inhabitants of the Southern Provinces of Belgium were designated by the name of Walloons, either on account of their Gallic origin, or of their proximity to France and the use of that language. Being, as the Pilgrims were, sojourners in a strange land, these Walloons were prepared to undertake a second removal, although the vast majority of their compatriots felt perfectly at home in Holland, and became thoroughly identified with all her institutions of Church and State. It seems possible that at first they hesitated to pass from Holland to regions to which Hollanders indeed were trading, but which, lying between the northern and southern limits of English patents, were a debatable land where no settlement might be secure. At least they applied to Sir Dudley Carleton to intervene for them with the authorities in

England to obtain permission to settle in Virginia. Failing to arrive at any satisfactory arrangements in this quarter, they had addressed themselves to the Provincial Legislature of Holland.

For the transportation of these fifty or sixty families there was provided, by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, a vessel of great size for that day, having more than three times the dimensions of the Half-Moon. It was appropriately christened the New Netherland. Thirty of the Walloon families were placed upon her, and it was carefully planned in advance how these were to be distributed into various settlements. Part of them were to go to the South River, and Cornelius Jacobsen May, who was made Captain of the New Netherland, was appointed to be director or governor of the settlement there to be planted. But he was to have a general survey of the whole expedition and of the plantation in America. Proceeding first to the head of navigation on the Hudson, he was to restore the former fort there or build a new one, and leave in command Adriaen Joris of Thienpont, or as some writers call him, Adriaen Joris Thienpont.



"THE NEW NETHERLAND."

The setting out of this first colon-

izing expedition to New Netherland cannot be regarded without interest. It left Amsterdam in March, 1623, or nearly a year after the application of the Walloon families had been laid before the States of Holland. It reached the mouth of the Hudson in May and proceeded up the river, perhaps now, or else on its return later, leaving a part of the Walloons upon Manhattan Island. At any rate, about this time a number of them must have settled at the "Waelenbogt," or Walloon Bay, the Wallabout of to-day, bearing testimony in this corrupt form to the presence of these earliest settlers in that portion of Long Island. And here, two years later, occurred an event full of human interest as well as of a merely historic one. A certain Simon Jansen de Rapallo or Rapalje, according to the Dutch spelling, having first settled on Staten Island, removed to the Walloon Bay in the spring of 1625. When but a few months in this new home, on June 6, 1625, he became the father of the first female child of European parents born within the bounds of New Netherland.* It was long supposed that Sarah de Rapalje was the first white child born in New Netherland. But the Labadist voyagers who photographed upon their written journal the manners and customs and people of New Amsterdam, and indeed of all New Netherland, as they were in 1679, have left the record that in this year they were introduced to one Jean Vigne, then about sixty-five years old, who was known to be the first child thus born. His birth, therefore, must have taken place in 1614 or 1615.

Approaching the head of navigation in the Hudson, the unusual size of the New Netherland, as compared with the class of trading ships that ordinarily visited these parts, proved to be of some inconvenience. When opposite Esopus Creek it was found necessary to lighten her by transferring a portion of her cargo to boats, and by this expedient she was enabled to work her way up as far as the Tawasentha. While this had been thought a good place for the small redoubt called Fort Nassau, now that it was contemplated to build a regular fort another site was deemed preferable. And thus Fort Orange, scientifically constructed, with four angles, a few miles further to the north, came to occupy the site of the present Albany, or that level part of it where its business is now transacted. At the same time that the engineers and soldiers of the expedition began marking out the angles of the fortress and digging the trenches, the Walloon colonists put their spades into the virgin soil and sowed their grain, so that when the fort was completed and Captain May, leaving Adriaen Joris in command, was about to betake himself to the quarter assigned for

* If Virginia Dare, the first white child born in the United States, had not perished less than three years after her birth, she would at this time have been nearly thirty-eight years of age.

his special jurisdiction, the grain stood high and promising.

The year 1623 had therefore been made memorable for Albany. Ere it was gone Captain May had already established himself on the South or Delaware River. He built a fort there also, for which he selected a spot on the Timmer's Kill, near the site of the present town of Gloucester, in New Jersey, about four miles south of Philadelphia. Four couples that had been married at sea, and eight men, were appointed to remain there. The name borne for nearly ten years by the redoubt on the banks of the upper Hudson was transferred to the stronghold on the Delaware, and there we must look henceforth for Fort Nassau. It is related, but with rather slight grounds of probability, that during this same year (1623) a fort was built and a colony, consisting of no more than two families and six men, established on the Fresh-water or Connecticut River, where, in 1633, Fort Good Hope was erected; but of this more hereafter.

Thus the first colonies had been established in New Netherland, but we need not suppose that the thirty families brought out by the first ship were the only ones to supply so many points. A few months after she sailed, or in June, 1623, the project upon which those who had despatched her were bent, was pursued still farther, and more of the Walloon families were brought over by an expedition consisting of no less than three ships at once—the Orange Tree, the Eagle and the Love. And it is to be noticed, moreover, that these vessels were sent, not by the Amsterdam Chamber alone, but by the West India Company as a whole. It was now perfecting its arrangements and fast completing its organization; its capital was nearly all subscribed, and notices everywhere published that its books would soon be closed. Perhaps in honor of this event and in compliment to the Company, the States-General in this very year (1623)

SEAL OF NEW NETHERLAND.

granted a seal for New Netherland, as if to place it on a level with the provinces of the Republic. As it will be remembered, these United Provinces had all originally been separate suzerainties—Duchies, Counties, Baronies or Lordships—and as such each had possessed his appropriate armorial bearings, which were still retained on their provincial seals. To New Netherland such armorial bearings were now assigned, which was equivalent to making it a province, the seal representing a shield bearing

a beaver, proper, over which was a count's coronet, surrounded by the words: "Sigillum Novi Belgii." Nor is it to be forgotten that a little later the American province received a conspicuous share of attention in the literature of Holland; for in 1625 there was published in Leyden, by the famous house of Elzevier, De Laet's "Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschryvinghe van West Indien," a monumental work, the source to this day of much of our information concerning Hudson's exploit, the condition of the country and of the natives at the time of his visit, also of the subsequent explorations by Block, May and Hendricksen. De Laet was one of the directors of the West India Company, and his book no doubt contributed greatly towards directing the attention of Hollanders to those interesting regions in America of which that great corporation was just beginning to assume the charge.

Director May's term of office having expired in 1624, another Director, appointed again for only one year, was sent out. This was one William Verhulst. As no trace of him appears on or about Manhattan, while in the Delaware there was an island known for some time as Verhulsten Island, whereon stood a substantial trading-house of brick, it may be concluded that the seat of his jurisdiction, like May's, was mainly on the Delaware River. One event of note, that gave evidence of how thoroughly the idea of colonizing had now taken root, marked his brief administration. This was the sending of over one hundred head of cattle to New Netherland by Peter Evertsen Hulft, one of the directors of the West India Company.

At the end of 1625 William Verhulst's term as Director came to a close, and about the middle of December of that year Peter Minuit was invested with the title of Director-General. Furnished with a staff of officers for a fully equipped Colonial Government, he embarked for his seat of authority on Manhattan Island, where he arrived in May, 1626, and regular Colonial history for the State of New York, or the then Province of New Netherland, began.

THE SPIRIT OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

This paper by Mr. James Schouler, the distinguished author of the "History of the United States," is so admirably suggestive that we reprint it by permission from Vol. IV. (Part 3), of the American Historical Association Papers.

WHAT, let us ask, is history? And by what image may we present to the mind of the student a proper conception of that department of study? Emerson, our American Plato, pictures as a vast sea the universal mind to which all other minds have access. "Of the works of this mind," he adds, "history is the record." That idea is a leading one of this philosopher. Man he considers the encyclopædia, the epitome of facts; the thought, he observes, is always prior to the fact, and is wrought out in human action.

Such a conception may suit the philosophic mind; it may commend itself to men of thought, as contrasted with men of action. But it seems to me too vast if not too vague a definition for an appropriate basis to historical investigation. No one can project history upon such a plan, except Man's Maker, the Universal Mind itself. Thought itself may precede the fact, but the two do not coincide nor form a perfect sequence. The empire of thought differs greatly from that of personal action; we each live but one life, while we may propose a hundred. The works of the mind involve all knowledge, all reasoning, all experience. Nor can we with accuracy picture the human mind as a tranquil sea tossing only in its own agitations. but rather as an onward force working through strong physical barriers. History, in truth, is the record of human thought in active motion, of thought which is wrought out into action, of events in their real and recorded sequence. The individual acts upon his external surroundings; those surroundings re-act upon him and upon his fellows. Men, tribes, nations, thus acting, mould one another's career and are moulded in return. History leaves the whole boundless empire of unfettered mental philosophy, of fiction, of imagination. It deals with facts; it notes and narrates what has actually transpired and by whose agency; and it draws where it may the moral. History, in short, is the record of consecutive events—of consecutive public events.

This broad truth should be kept in

view, that the human mind (under which term we comprise volition and not the intellectual process alone) that the individual character acts upon the circumstances surrounding it, upon external nature, upon external fellow-beings. These persons and things external not only modify and influence one's attempted action, but modify his thought and feeling; they re-act upon him, form and influence his character, his destiny. This makes human history, and it makes the forecast of that history forever uncertain.

The picture, then, that we should prefer to present to the imagination is not of one vast universal mind, calmly germinating, fermenting, conceiving; not of one mind at equilibrium, having various inlets—but of a torrent in motion. They did wisely and naturally who mapped out for us a stream of history flowing onward and widening and branching in its flow. Downward and onward, this impetuous torrent of human life obeys its own law of gravitation. It advances like a river with its feeders or its deltas: or like the march of an immense army, now re-enforced, now dividing into columns, now re-uniting —but going forever on and never backward. Let us reject, therefore, the idea of an *a priori* history and whatever conception conjures up a human mind planning history in advance and then executing it. Buckle was oppressed to death by the burden of such an idea as that of reducing the whole history of this world's civilization to a law of natural selection. There is no rigid scientific development to the human race. The particle of divine essence which is in man formulates, creates, compels to its will, changes because of its desire for change; though, after all, it bends to the laws of natural necessity. The man of genius may invent; he may construct a wonderful motive engine which propels by steam or electricity; yet he may be battered to pieces by this same machine, if ignorant or careless of some latent physical cause. We speak, too, of prophecy; but prophecy is vague. "Westward," says Bishop Berkeley, "the course of empire takes its way;" and he looked through the vista of a century. But who, of all our statesmen and philanthropists who flourished forty years ago—and wise and great indeed, were many of them—foretold with accuracy how and through what agencies the problem of American slavery, which they so earnestly discussed, would reach its historical solution?

To take then, our simile of the onward torrent from distant sources, or the army advancing from afar. Observe how absorbed was ancient history with the larger streams fed by hidden fountains; how its narrative was confined to the great leaders of thousands and tens of thousands. But in modern history each individual has his relative place; and looking as through a microscope we see an intricate network of rills from which the full stream is supplied. In this

consists the difference between ancient and modern life and ancient and modern history. Simplicity is the characteristic of the primitive age; complexity is that of our present civilized and widely multiplied society. The ancient force was the force of the pre-eminent leader—of the king, the warrior-chief; but the modern force is that rather of combined mankind—of the majority. Individuals were formerly absorbed under the domination of a single controlling will, but now they are blended or subdued by the co-operation of wills, among which the greatest or pre-eminent is hard to discover. The course of history all the while is consecutive, knowing no cessation. There is a present, a past and a future; but the present soon becomes the past, the future takes its turn as the present. And, after all, the only clear law of history is that of motion incessantly onward.

As students of history, we next seek a subject and a point of view. Look, then, upon this vast chart of the world's progress. Retrace its course, if you will, and choose where you shall explore. Do not choose at random, but with this great universal record to guide you as a chart; as a chart capable, indeed of correction, but in the main correct enough to serve the navigator. Having thus chosen, circumscribe your work; confine your exploration to a particular country, to a particular period, say of twenty, thirty or a hundred years; let your scrutiny be close, and discover what you may to render the great chart fuller and more accurate than hitherto. If universal history be your subject, you will not go far beyond tracing the bold headlands, while on the other hand, with a small compass of work, you may contribute much information of genuine value to your age. Explore from some starting-point; you can descend upon it like a hawk. You may require some time to study its vicinity, to look back and consider what brought the stream to this point. But your main investigation will be not by exploring to a source, but by following the stream in its onward and downward current. In the present age one must be ignorant of much if he would be proficient in something.

Our chart of history opens like an atlas; it presents page after page of equal size, but with a lessening area for the sake of an increasing scale. One page exhibits a hemisphere, another a continent, another a nation; others, in turn, the State, the county, the municipal unit. From a world we may thus reduce the focus, until we have mapped within the same spaces a town or city, or even a single house; from a population of millions we may come down to a tribe, a family, or even (as in a biography) to a single individual, and we retrace the human course accordingly. Or we may trace backwards, as the genealogist does, in an order reverse to biography or general history. As we

have projected, so we work, we investigate. In such an atlas as I am describing, how different appear both civil and physical configurations at different epochs. Compare, for instance, a map of the United States of our latest date with earlier ones in succession from 1787. Not only in national names and boundaries do they differ, not only in the obscure or erroneous delineation of lakes and rivers in unexplored regions, but in that dotting of towns and cities, that marking of county divisions, which positively indicates the advance of a settled population and settled state governments. Maps of different epochs like these, where they exist, are part of a permanent historical record.

Involved in the study of any civilization is the study of its religion, of its literature, of its political and military movements, of the appliances of science, of the changes and development of trade, commerce, and industries. Each of these influences may be traced apart, or their combined influence may be shown upon the course of some great people. In this present enlightened age, nations intersect one another more and more in their interests, and you may feel the pulse of the whole civilized world through the daily press. How different the task of preparing such a history as the nineteenth century requires, from that of ancient Athens, of China, of mediæval Britain, of early America. But in all tasks unity and selection should be the aim, and above all circumscription. One must measure out his work with exactness, make careful estimates, and work the huge materials into place, besides using his pencil with the dignity and grace of an artist. In a word, he should be a architect. It is because of this union of the ideal and practical that Michael Angelo deserves the first place among men distinguished in the fine arts. And for this reason, too, we may well rank Gibbon as the foremost among historians; as greater indeed, than Thucydides, Sallust, or any other of those classical writers who have so long been held up for modern reverence. And this is because, with skill equally or nearly as great as theirs, he conceived and wrought out a task far more difficult. In historical narrative the greatest triumph consists in tracing out and delineating with color and accuracy a variety of intricate influences which contribute to the main result. And who has done this so well as the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," that greatest of all historical themes, that most impressive and momentous of all human events? See the hand of the master unfolding the long train of emperors and potentates; painting the revolt and irruption of distant nations, of remote tribes; gathering upon his canvass the Greeks, the Scythians, the Arabs, Mohammed and his followers, the fathers of the Christian Church, the Goths and northern bar-

barians who were destined to shape the civilization of modern Europe; leading his readers with stately tread through the whole grand pathway down which the highest type of a pagan civilization sank slowly into the shades and dissolution of the dark ages. I will not deny that Gibbon had faults as a historian; that his stately pomp might become wearisome; that he partook somewhat of the French sensuousness and skepticism which surrounded him as he labored. But of his profound scholarship and artistic skill there can be no question. Contrast with a task like his the simple narrative of some brief strife under a few heroes or a single man—like the history of the Peloponnesian or Jugurthine war, or like that of the Cortes invasion of Mexico, which our own Prescott has so admirably described—and see how immense is the difference. Yet I would not be understood to disparage these other writers with simpler subjects. They have instructed and interested posterity and their own times; their fame is deservedly lasting; there is room in historical literature for them and for all. And our Anglo-Saxon appears to be, of all historical explorers, the best adapted to portray the manners and events of foreign nations and distant times. Thucydides and Xenophon wrote each of his own country alone; and so did Sallust, Livy, Tacitus. But Gibbon perfected himself in a foreign literature and tongue, so as to write of other lands; and so, too, did our Prescott and Motley.

Here let us observe how much easier it is to be graphic, to interest and attract the reader, when one's story has simple unity and relates to personal exploit. Biography, or the study of individual leaders, is at the foundation of the narratives which are most widely read and most popular; in the Bible, for instance, in Homer, in the wars of Alexander, Cæsar or Napoleon. Biography excites interest because it develops, as in the reader's own experience, the growth of a certain individual life to which all other lives bear but an incidental relation; and for this reason, too, biography is partial. The modern temperament, however, leads us to investigate, besides, the growth of the people who are ruled, the development of their laws, manners, customs and institutions. In either case the interest that moves the reader is human. That military and political course of a community with which history is chiefly engrossed moves far differently,to be sure, under an absolute monarch than in a democracy; in the former case foibles and caprice are those of a person, in the latter they are those of a whole people. Yet we observe in all but the ruder ages of mankind the refining influence upon rulers which is exerted by philosophy, by religion, literature and the arts. Note this, for example, under the reign of Solomon, of Pericles, of Alexander, of Constantine;

and yet it is a lasting regret to posterity that out of epochs like theirs so little is left on record concerning the daily lives and habits of the people they governed. That must be a rigid tyranny, indeed, whose government has not recognized to some extent the strong though insensible force of popular customs. Custom constantly crystallizes into laws, which the legislature, the court, or the monarch stamps with authority; and thus are local institutions pruned and trained like the grape-vine on a trellis. We find in the most primitive society wills and the transmission of property recognized; buying and selling; trade and commerce (whence come revenue and personal prosperity); marriage and the seclusion, greater or less of the family circle. How seldom has the reader associated all these with the wealth of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, with the vicissitudes of Crœsus; and yet it is certain that unless the subjects of monarchs like these had pursued their private business successfully, amassed fortunes of their own, brought up families, and increased in numbers, the monarch could not have been arrayed with such luxury; for royal revenues come from taxation, and the richest kings und nobles take but a percentage from the general wealth. The customs of one nation are borrowed by others; Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, among the great lawgivers, framed codes, each for his own people, after observing the institutions of other and older countries, and considering how best to adapt them. Government has rightly been likened to a coat which is cut differently to fit each figure, each nation; and, more than this, the garb itself may differ in pattern, since the object is to clothe different communities appropriately to the tastes and habits of each. We shall continue to regret, then, that the ancient writers have left us so little real illustration concerning the habits of these earlier peoples—how they worked and sported, and what was their intercourse and mode of life. Research in archæology may yet supply such information in a measure; and of the institutions, the embodied customs, we have, fortunetely, some important remains. No contribution survives, more valuable to this end, than the books of Roman jurisprudence which were compiled under Justinian. Though one of the lesser rulers of that once illustrious empire, he has left a fame for modern times more conspicuous than that of Julius or Augustus Cæsar; and this is because he brought into permanent and enduring form for the guidance and instruction of all succeeding ages the wisest laws, the best epitome of human experience, the broadest embodiment of customs, which ever regulated ancient society in the mutual dealings of man and man.

As for the progress of our modern society which emerges from the mediæval age succeeding the Roman collapse, its advance in knowledge and

the arts, in the successive changes of manners and pursuits, there is much yet to be gathered and exposed to view for illustration; though with respect to England we owe much to Macaulay for setting an example of investigation upon that broader line which Niebuhr and others of his school had initiated for Roman history. And Macaulay achieved the additional triumph of making such investigation attractive. Statutes and judicial reports (to quote Daniel Webster) are overflowing fountains of knowledge respecting the progress of Anglo-Saxon society, from feudalism down to the full splendor of the commercial age. And from the modern invention of printing, let us add, and particularly since the growth and development of the modern press, we find (with all the faults of fecundity and fallibility which are peculiar to journalism) a picture of the world's daily life set forth which far surpasses in its vivid and continuous delineation any collection of ancient records. Our modern newspaper may pander for the sake of gain; it may avow no higher aim in affairs than to please a paying constituency; and yet, for better or worse, it wields and will continue to wield an immense power. The reporter may be brazen-faced, inclined to scandalous gossip and ribaldry; the news may be spread forth disjointed, founded on false rumor, requiring correction; editorial comments may be willfully partisan, or thundered from the Olympus height of a safe circulation; but even at its worst, so long as it is duly curbed by the laws of libel so essential for the citizen's protection, what with advertisements, business, news, the discussion of current topics, the description of passing events, and the transient impression made by them, our newspaper holds the mirror up to modern society; while at its best, journalism sits in her chariot, pencil in hand, like that marble muse herself in our national capitol, over the timepiece of the age. The newspaper's truest revelation is that unconscious one of the passions and prejudice of the times, and of that cast of popular thought under which events were born; it preserves imperishable the fashion prevailing, for posterity to look upon with reverence or a smile. But in the present age the journalist should beware how he permits his columns to bear the double weight of universal advertiser and universal purveyor of knowledge, lest he make a chaos of the whole. As in the former centuries records were scanty, so in the century to come they will be found superabundant, unless fire or deluge diminish them. Pregnant facts, such as in the past we search for in vain, lie buried under prevalent methods, in bushel-heaps of worthless assertion. To know the old era, you must search with a lantern; to know the new era, you must winnow.

Research is a fitting word to apply in historical studies; for by this word we import that one is not content to

skim the surface of past events, but prefers to probe, to investigate, to turn the soil for himself. It is original exploration which make such studies attractive and stimulating. We walk the streets of buried cities and roam through the deserted houses once instinct with life, piercing the lava-crust of careless centuries; we place our hearts and minds, richer by accumulated experience, close to the passions and intellects of an earlier age; and we listen to the heart-beat of a race of mankind who reached forward, as our own race is reaching and as all races reach in turn, to catch the omens of a far-off destiny. The grand results and the grand lessons of human life are ours in the retrospect, and in the retrospect alone. And while retracing thus the foot-prints of the past, we shall do well if we deduce the right moral; if we judge of human actions dispassionately and as befits scholars of riper times and a broader revelation; if we keep under due constraint that laudable but dangerous passion for new discovery, so as neither to revive buried calumnies nor to weigh evidence with a preverted bias to novelty. Let our judgment give full force to the presumption that the long-settled opinion is the true one, and let our spirit of research be imbued at all times with the fearless purpose to know and to promulgate the truth.

THE EARLIER YEARS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was born in 1706, and died in 1790. Except for a period of six years at one extremity, and ten years at the other, his life spanned the eighteenth century.

It was a century, too, distinguished for the alertness, the enterprise and the achievements of men. New schools of literature, new theories in science, new awakenings in religion, new departures in government, fresh walks in every field of human activity, marked the century in which Benjamin Franklin bore no inconsiderable part. His name, after a lapse of one hundred years, still shines out only second in brilliancy on the roll of men who made our early history illustrious.

The birthplace of Franklin was Boston. Somebody has said that Massachusetts is a good State to be born in. From the number of eminent men who have hailed from that commonwealth, it would indeed seem so. Franklin was by descent and education a Puritan of the Puritans, and was brought up in all the savor of Calvinism; but his religious views in his later life were much modified. Bancroft says that Franklin became skeptical of tradition as a basis of faith; that he respected reason rather than authority; and that with increasing years he gained "an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God." His educational opportunities were of the poorest. He seems to have attended school but two years, beginning with his eighth year. When but ten years old he was taken into his father's shop, where he was engaged in cutting candle wicks, filling the moulds, running errands, etc. His father was a tallow chandler and soap boiler. In Franklin's later eminence as a writer, a philosopher, a statesman, he stands out as a noble illustration of what man can accomplish by patient industry and constant vigilance, amidst the most untoward surroundings. Let us try to realize for a moment, as well as we can, the early years of Benjamin Franklin. At the time of his birth the war known as Queen Anne's War was going on. Two years before his birth the French Indians from Canada had made a descent upon the hamlet of Deerfield, on the Connecticut River, and committed dreadful havoc; four years later they descended upon the village of Haverhill, on the Merrimac, and repeated the horrors of Deerfield.

The war continued until the year 1713, when it was ended by the treaty of Utrecht. The war rested most heavily upon New England, of all the American colonies, from her proximity to Canada.

The population of the country was but sparse, and confined almost entirely to the neighborhood of the sea coast. In Massachusetts a few small villages existed in the valley of the Connecticut, and in New York in the valley of the Hudson. Boston, New York and Philadelphia were only large towns, not one of them having ten thousand inhabitants. In Pennsylvania there were no villages at any great distance from Philadelphia. In Virginia the population was confined almost exclusively to the tide-water region. As to any other settlements, they were so insignificant as to be unworthy of notice. The domestic life and habits of the people were of the most primitive kind. The houses were generally small, and outside of the larger towns were almost invariably built of logs and roofed with clapboards. In the construction of many of these houses not a nail was used. The clapboards were held in place by slender logs laid lengthwise of the house from end to end. The doors were put together with wooden pins, they swung on wooden hinges and were secured by wooden latches. Wooden bowls and trenches, spoons of wood or horn, were the common articles of the table. Home-grown flax or wool, spun and woven by hand, formed the common clothing of the people. The field, the forest, the stream, furnished their tables. But few were able to command luxuries. The principal means of travel was by walking or on horseback. Carriages of any kind were almost unknown.

The country churches were small, unpainted, unpretentious buildings. There was no stained glass, no carpeted aisles, no cushioned pews, no sonorous organ. When men went to church they carried their flint-locks with them; and while the Psalms of David were being sung within, Jonathan or Amos stood guard at the door with his trusty gun in his hands. The sermons were long and tedious, usually outlasting twice the turning of the glass. Plain old-fashioned Calvinism was dispensed right and left, and every man received his portion of spiritual food in due season. Books were few in number, but they were plain and practical. Boston's Four-Fold State, Alleine's Alarm, Baxter's Saints, Everlasting Rest and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress were among the standard authors of our pious fathers.

The slow-sailing ships of those days came and went, and sweet Priscilla walking by the shore oft cast her eyes over the waste of waters to catch the first gleam of some longed-for sail. The trip across the Atlantic required many weeks; and of those who set out upon that voyage numbers never again placed their feet on

the dry land. The seas, too, were infested with pirates. One of Franklin's earliest literary attempts was a ballad written on the capture of the famous Blackbeard. This man, whose name was Edward Teach, had long been the terror of mariners, and had acquired a reputation for evil little inferior to that of Captain Kidd. Franklin's ballad is forever lost, but the history of this notorious buccaneer has been preserved. One unlucky day for him, in the month of November, 1721, he was cruising in Pamlico Sound, and carrying things with a high hand, when stout old Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, sent out two vessels under Lieutenant Maynard to capture him.* The beginning of the fight seemed to promise victory for the pirate. At the first broadside he killed twenty of the lieutenant's men, and totally disabled one of his ships. This advantage the pirate crew promptly followed up by boarding the remaining vessel, cutlass in hand. The fight was desperate. Blackbeard and the lieutenant engaged in a personal hand to hand contest, in which the advantage was turning decidedly in the pirate's favor, when one of the lieutenant's men, coming to the assistance of his commander, brought the desperado a blow that put a stop to his career. He had received no fewer than twenty cutlass wounds and six pistol shots. His crew were overpowered and taken prisoners. Lieutenant Maynard returned with the ghastly head of Blackbeard nailed to his bowsprit. Thirteen of his erew were hanged at Williamsburg. John Esten Cooke adds to the account that Blackbeard's skull, which is still preserved in Virginia, was afterwards mounted in silver and was long used as a drinking cup. It would be interesting to read the ballad written by the youthful Franklin on this tragic event. He himself describes it as a mere blindman's ditty; but it seems to have been well received by the good people of Boston, and resulted in putting some shillings into the pocket of the juvenile poet.

Governor Joseph Dudley held the gubernatorial reins in Massachusetts during the childhood of Benjamin Franklin. He was the successor in office of Carver, Winslow, Bellingham and Winthrop. Custom changed but slowly in those days, and the habits and views of the people were but little different from those of the early Pilgrim Fathers. The burning of witches had been a very recent practice, and much of the same spirit no doubt remained. Cotton Mather, the firm believer in witchcraft, and the uncompromising advocate of severe measures against it, was still living, and his influence among the people was very great. Sullen, bearded men in steeple hats, and fierce women, like those who stood around the pillory of Hester Prynne, denounced sin with

* See Howard Pyle's "Buccaneers and Marooners," in Harper's Magazine for September, 1887.

all the sternness and energy of the days of Hew-down Agag and Searchings-of-Soul Eli. Religious bigotry and intolerance are always among the last sentiments to give way before the advance of modern and more enlightened opinion.

Across the sea, Queen Anne sat upon the throne of England; and Louis the Fourteenth, called Louis the Great, occupied the throne of France. It was a time of treachery, turmoil and war. Queen Anne was the second daughter of James the Second, who had been forced to abdicate the throne and flee to France for refuge. The story may be read in Macauley better than anywhere else. James died in the year 1701, and it was the attempt of Louis to place upon the throne of England the Pretender, the son of James the Second, in defiance of the treaty of Ryewick, that brought on the long conflict of arms that extended through almost the entire period of Queen Anne's reign.

Dryden was dead. Pope, his great successor in the chair of English poesy was a youth of but sixteen; but he had already given the world some specimens of his powers, and was preparing himself by study and meditation for the more serious efforts of the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Essay on Man. Jonathan Swift, the great satirist, had published his Tale of a Tub, and was now living in Ireland, as the Dean of St. Patrick's. Bentley, the author of the Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, was now Master of Trinity College; and Boyle, his great opponent, was meditating the Orrery, which has given him a better title to fame than his controversy with Bentley. Richard Steele and Joseph Addison were young men about London, who had not yet made themselves famous by the "Tatler" and the "Spectator;" while Henry St. John and Robert Harley were rustling politicians, eagerly pushing their claims at the court of Queen Anne. In America, literature had as yet scarcely made a beginning—two or three books by Cotton Mather, and an occasional sermon that had ambitiously found its way into print, formed the bulk of what the colonists had done in literature. In 1704 the Boston "News-Letter" was established, and for fifteen years it seemed to answer all the demand for a newspaper. In 1719 two other papers were established, one in Boston and the other in Philadelphia; and in 1721 James Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's eldest brother, established the fourth newspaper, called the "New England Courant." It was also published in Boston. Old Josias Franklin, the father of James, advised against it, as he did not think that a fourth newspaper would meet with public support. In 1740 the number had increased to only eleven, and five of these were published in Boston.

When the new paper was started young Benjamin was apprenticed to

his brother James to learn the art and mystery of printing. Before this, as we have seen, he had been introduced into the soap-boiling and candle-making industry by his father; but his dislike for it was extreme. In fact, he announced his determination to run away to sea if he could not be relieved from work so disagreeable. We imagine that soap-boiling to a lad of his disposition would be as little congenial as was wool-combing to the youthful Shakespere. In the printing office, however, he was in his element. He loved literature; and, young as he was, he soon made himself felt in the columns of the "New England Courant." But brotherly relationship does not always ensure brotherly treatment. The elder Franklin imposed upon the younger; so that in a year or two Benjamin slipped quietly out of Boston and left for parts remote. There was, no doubt, consternation in the Franklin household when it was discovered that Benjamin had gone. They were in entire ignorance of his whereabouts or his movements. For a period of seven months he was completely lost from their knowledge. We know from his delightful Autobiography that he sailed from Boston in a sloop, and that in three days he arrived in New York. That city was then scarcely the metropolis. It had a population of only five or six thousand souls. It had not yet grown far away from the New Amsterdam of Peter Stuyvesant. There was a printing office here, but Franklin failed to get employment. He then resolved to go on to Philadelphia. He walked across the country to Burlington, a distance of fifty miles, and there took passage on a boat to the city. One Sunday morning in October, 1723, he landed near the foot of Market street, in Philadelphia. Everybody is familiar with the story of Franklin's first entrance into the city which was thereafter to be his home—how he walked through the streets with the rolls of bread under his arm; how he passed the door where the young girl who was destined to be his future wife was standing, regarding him with a good deal of amusement; how he sauntered into the Quaker meeting-house, where, "after looking around for some time, hearing nothing said," and being very tired, he fell into a sound sleep.

At the time of Franklin's coming to Philadelphia the city had been established about forty years. It had prospered greatly for those times. Israel Acrelins, who wrote a little before the year 1760, says that at the end of the first twenty years the city "was amazed at its own strength and greatness." He says further that in 1753 the number of dwelling-houses was reckoned at 2,300.* If we allow six persons to each house, this would give a population of about fourteen thousand. It would, no doubt, be a liberal allowance to place the popula-

* A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware. By Israel Acrelins. Philadelphia: 1874. p. 142.

tion in 1723 at six thousand. Beyond a very limited distance, there were no settlements back of the city. On the river below the city there were several small settlements that had been made in early Swedish times.

Besides the Quaker meeting-house already mentioned we know there was a Presbyterian church, perhaps an Episcopalian church—at least there was a congregation of that denomination—and a Swedish church at Wicacoe, just outside the city. This building was dedicated in July, 1700. It is still standing. In later years it has become famous in connection with Longfellow's Evangeline :

> "Across the meadows were wafted Sounds of psalms, that were sung by the Swedes in their church at Wicacoe."

When Franklin arrived in the city, the pastor at this church was the Rev. Jonas Lidman. It is of interest to know that at that time the Swedish churches in America were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Svedberg, the father of the celebrated Emanuel Swedenborg.

Franklin almost immediately found employment in the printing office of one Keimer—"a strange animal," says Franklin, "ignorant of the common modes of life, apt to oppose with rudeness generally received opinions, an enthusiast in certain points of religion, disgustingly unclean in person, and a little knavish withal." The governor of Pennsylvania at this time was Sir William Keith, a Scottish baron,—a man of superior intellectual endowments, yet with a certain moral obliquity, or weakness at least, that might perhaps have entitled him to the latter part of poor Keimer's characterization,—"a little knavish withal." Franklin had been in Philadelphia but a few months, when a letter he had written to his brother-in-law Holmes, at Newcastle, was brought to the notice of Governor Keith. Shortly thereafter, what was Franklin's surprise, when one day the Governor and another well dressed gentleman called at the printing office to see him. The other gentleman was introduced as Colonel French, a great friend of the Governor's, and a prominent man in the colony. Acrelins relates a remarkable circumstance on the testimony of this Colonel French. Upon a young black oak tree that stood on the Maryland road, twelve miles from Philadelphia, according to the Colonel, the rain fell for a fortnight in such quantities as to wet the clothing of any one who stood under the tree, although the sky was perfectly clear, and there was no sign of rain anywhere else. To be certain that the rain fell from the sky, and not from the tree, a young man climbed to the top of the tree, and found that the rain descended from the sky. Unfortunately, a thoughtless servant, "in his drink," cut down the tree, and this wonderful rain came to an end.

Upon the Governor's invitation, Franklin accompanied the two gentlemen to a neighboring inn, where

they were going to drink some excellent Madeira. Over the Madeira, the Governor proposed to Franklin to establish a printing office ; as neither of the two establishments was satisfactory,—promising him the government influence and patronage. He wrote a long, courteous letter to old Josias Franklin, urging his views with respect to Benjamin. With this letter Franklin returned to his home in Boston ; but the old gentleman did not approve of the suggestion of the Governor, owing to Franklin's extreme youth. Franklin soon returned to Philadelphia. At New York, on his way back, Governor Burnet was informed by the sea captain with whom Franklin sailed, that he had among his passengers a young man who had a great many books. The governor was the son of the well-known Bishop Burnet, of England. He sent an invitation to Franklin to call upon him. Franklin went to see the Governor, who showed him his library, conversed with him, and treated him very cordially. Franklin was at this time but eighteen years old. There must have been something very remarkable about him, that he should thus early have attracted the attention of two colonial governors. As Franklin's father had refused to assist him in setting up a business for himself, Keith told him to make out a list of the things needful, and he would purchase them himself. Franklin did this ; and when the yearly packet for London sailed, which was towards the end of the year 1724, young Benjamin Franklin bade a temporary adieu to his native land. With him went one of his young companions, James Ralph, a bright, eloquent fellow, but not of very good moral character. At Newcastle, on the Delaware, where the Governor then was, the vessel came to anchor. Franklin called on his Excellency, but was informed that he was extremely busy. Franklin was surprised at this, but returned to the vessel. Shortly afterwards Colonel French came on board, and showed the youth many civilities. He was informed that the letters he was to present from the Governor were in the bag with the other letters ; but the captain promised him that before they landed he would look them all over, and take out those that concerned him. As it turned out afterwards, the Governor had not sent a single letter, or done anything whatever for the youth whom he had thus expatriated. It is difficult to understand this conduct on the part of Governor Keith. Franklin himself sums it up by saying that the Governor wished to please everybody, and "having little to bestow, he was lavish of promises." This seems hardly an adequate explanation.

Franklin at once found employment in London, in a printing house. He did very well ; but he was a long time encumbered by Ralph, who was not self-supporting. A quarrel between them finally relieved him of

that embarrassment. Ralph went down into the country, where he taught school for a while ; he afterwards became a political writer in the newspapers, and also published some poems. He was not without parts ; and he acquired a certain questionable fame. He achieved the immortality which Dr. Johnson told Boswell the latter had missed by being born too late—for Ralph is celebrated by Pope in two lines of the Dunciad. Franklin remained in London about eighteen months. It was a valuable experience to him in many ways. He sailed from London, on his return, in the ship Berkshire, about the middle of July, 1726, and landed at Philadelphia on the 11th of the following October. Shortly after his return, he met Sir William Keith upon the street. Sir William was then no longer governor. Franklin says that he looked ashamed upon seeing him, but passed without speaking to him. We do not wonder that he looked ashamed. However, Franklin adds very ingenuously, " I should have been equally ashamed myself at meeting Miss Read, had not her family, justly despairing of my return after reading my letter, advised her to give me up, and marry a potter of the name of Rogers." But notwithstanding Sir William Keith's strange delinquencies of conduct, he had been a good governor for the people. "Many of our best laws were his work," says Franklin, "and established during his administration." He was also one of the first to embark in the manufacture of iron in our country. As early as 1717, he wrote to the Board of Trade in London " that he had found great plenty of iron ore in Pennsylvania ; " and he had iron works in Newcastle county, Delaware, previous to the year 1730, and probably much earlier than that date.* Sir William was governor of Pennsylvania from 1717 to 1726.

Upon his return to Philadelphia, Franklin was for some months in the service of Mr. Denham, a merchant, who had long been his friend. This gentleman died after a tedious illness, apparently in the early part of the year 1727, when Franklin again entered the service of his former employer, Samuel Keimer. Soon afterwards, however, he formed a partnership with a printer named Meredith, a man who could command some capital, and they set up in the printing business for themselves. Meredith soon tired of the enterprise, and Franklin, with the assistance of some of his friends, purchased his interest. Keimer's business gradually fell away. He sold out, and betook himself to Barbadoes. His sucessor, a foolish young fellow, neglected his business, and soon followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking his printing materials with him. Franklin had now but one competitor in Philadelphia—Bradford,—who, being in easy

*Iron in all Ages. By James M. Swank. Philadelphia, 1884. p. 179.

circumstances, did not much exert himself. At the same time Franklin's skill, industry, and enterprise were recognized and rewarded in a direct ratio with his increasing opportunities. He began to grow rich. In the year 1730 he married. As everthing turned to gold at the touch of Midas, so at the touch of Franklin everything turned into success. He followed Shakespere's advice, and was "stirring as the times." In his newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Courant*, and in occasional pamphlets, he discussed the political and social questions of the day. His shrewd, common sense and his enlightened views pervaded all his writings, and strongly impressed the public mind. He bore various offices of public trust and honor. In everything that related to the welfare of the city or of the colonies, Franklin took a warm interest, and acted a conspicuous part.

About the year 1747, the growing interest in electrical science awakened the enthusiasm of Franklin. He made a series of experiments, which soon rendered his name famous among the natural philosophers, his crowning achievement being his discovery, in 1752, of the identity of galvanic electricity and the lightning of the clouds. The story of this discovery, which was accomplished by means of a kite which Franklin sent up in a thunder-storm is familiar to every school boy. The immediate and direct outcome of this discovery was the invention of the lightning-rod. All this was as great an advance upon the science of his day as has been any achievement of Edison's upon the science of the present. His fame spread throughout America and Europe, and even Kings were loud in their applause of the philosopher. Scarcely less notable were the founding of the University of Pennsylvania, the Franklin Library and the Pennsylvania Hospital, of all of which he was either the originator or one of the prime movers. In 1753, Franklin, who had long been postmaster at Philadelphia, was promoted to be deputy postmaster-general for the British colonies.

T. J. Chapman.

CHARLES PINCKNEY'S DRAFT OF A FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

America's greatest historian, whose lamp of life has so recently gone out, has left a magnificent monument behind him in his wonderfully painstaking and authentic work which will forever perpetuate his memory and his genius.

The remarkable career of Mr. Bancroft—in turn, a tutor in Greek at Harvard, Secretary of the Navy under President Polk,and at different periods United States Minister to Great Britain and to Germany (at that time Prussia)—rarely qualified him for his life's work as a historian, while his distinguished friendships afforded him the assistance in his researches of Guizot, Lamertine and De Tocqueville of France and of Lord John Russell, Sir Henry Ellis and other eminent historical authorities of Great Britain. These advantages, utilized by a mind which was naturally equipped with exceptional literary power and the judicial spirit which characterizes the peculiar genius of the historian, have resulted in a contribution to American historical literature, inferior to none of the master-pieces of other nations—the peer of Gibbon's Rome, Guizot's France and Macaulay's, Hume's and Green's Histories of England.

It is seldom accorded to any man to devote fifty years to the accomplishment of any one object, as did Mr. Bancroft, and yet with even this length of time, to give to diligent research, and aided by a trained and phenomenal memory, it is well nigh impossible for the modern historian to steer wholly clear of error, since the sources of information in this remarkable era of multiplied books, are too many to be perfectly mastered by any single mind. This I conceive to be the explanation of an error of Mr. Bancroft's which I shall endeavor to point out in the "authors last revision" of his history of the United States.*

Volume six of this edition is devoted to the history of the origin of the present Constitution of our republic, and the urgent needs for it. The Federal convention that framed this constitution, as every one knows quite well, met in Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, and continued in session till September 17 following, when thirty-nine of the fifty-five delegates signed the document that is still to-day the charter for our Ship of State. Mr.

*Published by D. Appleton & Company, New York, edition of 1888, copyrighted by the author in 1884.

Bancroft says: "No State except New York sent a delegation insensible to the necessity of a vigorous constitution." In the progress of the history the distinguished author presents in outline or spirit the several plans proposed for a new constitution to take the place of the defective and impracticable Articles of Confederation, and when he has proceeded as far as a description of the "Virginia Plan" presented by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, these words are uttered in volume six of this "last revision," page 215:

"The house referred the propositions of Virginia to a committee of the whole on the State of the Union. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, a young man of twenty-nine, then presented a plan for a constitution, 'grounded on the same principles as the resolutions' of Virginia. It received the same reference, but no part of it was used and no copy of it has been preserved."

If Mr. Bancroft meant to say in what we have quoted from him, that no official minutes of Mr. Charles Pinckney's "plan for a constitution" were kept and preserved, his statement would have been correct. But he seems to have had no knowledge of the fact that a "copy of it has been preserved" in an edition of Yates' notes of the secret proceedings of the Federal Convention, published in Louisville, Kentucky, by Alston Mygatt in 1845. The full and somewhat formidable title of the volume reads thus:

"Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled at Philadelphia in the year 1787, for the Purpose of Forming the Constitution of the United States of America. From notes taken by the late Robert Yates, Esquire, Chief Justice of New York, and copied by John Lansing, Jun., Esquire, late Chancellor of that State, Members of that Convention. Including 'the genuine information,' laid before the Legislature of Maryland by Luther Martin, Esquire, then Attorney-General of that State and Member of the same Convention. Also other Historical Documents, relative to the Federal Compact of the North American Union." *

The expression "Federal Compact" in this verbose title is a very terse presentation of the Southern interpretation of the supreme law of our Union previous to the late war. Patrick Henry's eloquent appeals to his State to vote against the adoption of a constitution that gave to maritime New England unequal advantages over the Southern agricultural people were but variations of the same sentiment, which eventually required the barbarous arbitrament of the sword to settle.

The preamble to Mr. Charles Pinckney's draft of a Federal goverment

*This printed copy of the "Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Federal Convention" was "entered according to act of Congress in the year 1838, by Warner W. Guy in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Virginia."

is exactly similar to that reported by the "Committee of Five," August 6, 1787, and is in the following words:

"We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, do ordain, declare and establish the following constitution for the government of ourselves and posterity."

The supreme difference between this preamble and the one finally adopted by the convention is in the doctrine conveyed by the very first phrase. Mr. Pinckney said, "We, the people of the States," and the constitution says, "We the people of the United States."

Mr. Pinckney's draft provided for "supreme legislative, executive and judicial powers," the first of which triune powers should "be vested in a Congress, to consist of two separate Houses, one to be called the House of Delegates and the other the Senate." It is further specified in this draft that the members of the House of Delegates shall be chosen "by the people of the several States," while the Senators shall be "elected and chosen by the House of Delegates."

There is a specific difference between this draft and the Constitution in regard to the power of the Senate on all bills for raising revenue, and it is this: "All money bills of every kind shall originate in the House of Delegates and shall not be altered by the Senate." The Constitution gives the Senate the power on all revenue bills to "propose or concur with amendments as on other bills."

The form of constitution presented by Mr. Pinckney does not differ materially from our constitution in the qualification and powers of its members. One of the powers granted to the Legislature was "to establish and provide for a national university at the seat of the government of the United States"—a wise provision.

Unlike the complex system of electors of the present Constitution for the election of the President, this careful and wise draft of Mr. Pinckney simply says, "he shall be elected for——years and shall be re-eligible." The Senate, according to Mr. Pinckney, "shall have the sole and exclusive power to declare war, and to make treaties, and to appoint ambassadors and other ministers to foreign nations, and judges of the Supreme Court." Our constitution provides that the President shall have this power, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." What is now embodied in the first amendment to our Constitution, Mr. Pinckney classed in the powers forbidden to the Legislature, and his words are: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion; nor touching or abridging the liberty of the press."

The courts and their powers and jurisdictions were to be established

much the same as provided in our present Constitution.

After enumerating in article eleven those matters a State may not do, this article concludes: "And to render these prohibitions effectual, the Legislature of the United States shall have the power to revise the laws of the several States, that may be supposed to infringe the powers exclusively delegated by this constitution to Congress, and to negative and annul such as do."

There are sixteen articles in Mr. Pinckney's draft of a constitution, and no sections or minor divisions. And when the whole of it is summed up in a word, it is almost a master-piece of its kind, considering the age of the author and the circumstances under which it was produced. The critical abilities of a James Wilson, who could weigh to a hair's breadth the import of a proposition, and the broad, temporizing intellect of a Franklin were perhaps necessary to bring forth a living creation out of the chaos of that convention; but it required the creative genius of the Pinckneys to collate and formulate the underlying elements of law for a great nation—to form the *Magna Charta* of a wonderful people.

FRANK A. MYERS.

FRENCH EXPLORERS IN THE NORTHWEST.

The French were among the first to turn their attention to the new world after the discovery of America by Columbus. The French naturally are a race of explorers and discoverers, in whom discovery speedily develops into a passion, and in many instances carried them far into the interior of the continent as traders, soldiers and missionaries. They passed westward by the natural chain of communication, consisting of rivers and the line of Great Lakes until they pierced the very centre of the continent itself, and established wherever they went trading posts and mission stations. These afterwards developed into the numerous towns and cities which still bear the names given them by the early French explorers.

As early as 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, and in 1612 had informed himself quite thoroughly about Lake Ontario, and three years later brought some Franciscan missionaries to Quebec, one of whom made his way as far west as Lake Huron. In 1626 came the Jesuit Fathers, who brought with them the zeal of their order in the evangelization of the Indians. At the time of Champlain's death in 1635, he was known and honored as the greatest among all the explorers of his time.

Tradition states that a French trader, Jean Nicollet, had made his way in 1634, as far west as Green Bay on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Considerable confusion about the date of his exploration has arisen, but it is well settled that he was the first white man to set foot in what is now the state of Wisconsin. When Nicollet got back to Quebec, he told the missionaries there that he had been on a river which would have taken him to the sea had he kept on as he was going but three days longer. Nothing further in the way of these fragmental and isolated discoveries took place until 1660, when some Lake Superior Indians arrived at Quebec. When they were ready to go back they offered to take a missionary along with them. The one sent with them having died, Father Allouez set out in the summer of 1665 with some returning savages. Nothing was heard of him for nearly two years, and when he was given up for lost he appeared at Quebec, bearing strange tidings of discovery and adventure in the far distant northwest. He had set up a mission on the southern shore of Lake Superior

in the untamed forests among savage hordes. He had been much among the neighboring tribes and had talked with the bloody and dreaded Sioux, who boastfully told him their country extended to the end of the world. They also told him of a mighty river, and the name written down by the explorer as pronounced by the Sioux was "Messippi." Following in the footsteps of Allouez, Dablon and Marquette established missions at points on the southern shore of Lake Superior. Thus in a few years the Jesuits had planted missions at La Pointe, on Lake Superior, at Sault Ste. Marie, its outlet, at the straits of Michilimackinac and Green Bay. These were first fishing places, next missions, and then outposts of civilization in the western world.

The territory of the northwest was formally taken possession of for the King of France by Sieur Saint Lusson. On the morning of the 14th of June, 1671, he led his followers to a spot on the shore of Green Bay where a large cross had been erected, after a solemn blessing had been pronounced upon it by the Jesuit priest, Dablon. A cedar post was also reared beside it, to which was attached a metal plate, engraved with the royal arms. In the presence of the naked representatives of a dozen forest tribes, the Jesuits Dablon, Allouez, Andre and Dreuilletes, Louis Joliet and a number of other *coureurs de bois* St. Lusson advanced, holding his sword in one hand, and raising with the other a sod of earth, proclaimed in a loud voice: "In the name of the Most High, Mighty and Redoubted Monarch, Louis XIV., Most Christian King of France and Navarre, I take possession of this place, Sainte Marie du Sault, and also of Lakes Huron, Superior, the Island of Manatoulin, and all the countries, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous and adjacent thereunto." Thus peacefully did all the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, come under the dominion of France. Thus was laid the foundation of the empire of New France, which zealous and loyal Frenchmen fondly hoped some day would rival, if not eclipse, the old. But how little is left to-day to that ancient power as a witness and a token of the grand and pompous proclamation of that day.

The Frenchman to whom the actual discovery of the Mississippi belongs was Louis Joliet. He was the son of a wagon-maker; born in Quebec in 1645, and educated by the Jesuits, he, when still young, decided to be a priest. At the age of seventeen he received the tonsure and the minor orders. About four years afterward, however, he renounced his clerical vocation and became a fur-trader. Joliet was sent by the governor of Canada to explore the copper mines of Lake Superior, and it was on his return from this expedition that he met La Salle and the Sulpitians near the head of Lake Ontario.

Joliet's character, from what we

can learn of it through the meagre materials at command, does not reveal any distinctive trait or salient feature, nor any especial breadth of view or boldness of execution. He appears to us as a merchant; intelligent, well-educated, courageous, hardy and enterprising. Although he had renounced the priesthood he retained his partiality for the Jesuits. Their influence was probably felt in choosing him as a suitable agent for the discovery of the Mississippi, and one of their number, Jacques Marquette, was chosen to accompany him. He passed up the lakes to Michillimackinac and found his appointed companion at Point St. Ignace on the north side of the strait. His companion in exploration and discovery, Marquette, was born in 1637, of an ancient and honorable family at Laon, in the north of France, and was, at the time of which we are writing, thirty-five years of age. He early joined himself to the Jesuits, evidently from purely religious motives, and in 1666 he was sent to the missions of Canada. His final destination and station was the Upper Lakes where he was sent in 1668. His talents as a linguist were remarkable, for within a few years he learned to speak with ease six Indian languages. His traits of character were marked and unmistakable, being a true counterpart of the early Canadian missionaries. He was a devout votary of the Virgin, and for her he was ready to dare and to suffer, in order to discover new lands and conquer new realms to her sway.

The outfit of the travellers was very simple. They provided themselves with two birch canoes and a supply of smoked meat and Indian corn ; embarked with five men, and began their voyage from St. Ignace on the 17th of May, 1673. Their course was westward, and they soon passed the Straits of Michillimackinac and thence coasted the northern shore of Lake Michigan. Passing onward they reached the river Menomonie and ascended it to the village of the Menomonies or Wild-rice Indians. When the *voyageurs* told them the object of their voyage they were filled with astonishment and used the greatest ingenuity to dissuade them. The banks of the Mississippi, they said, were inhabited by ferocious savages who put to death every stranger, tomahawking all new comers without cause or provocation. Marquette disregarded their counsels and fears, gave them a few words of instruction in the Faith ; taught them a prayer and bade them farewell.

The explorers soon reached the mission at the head of Green Bay ; entered the Fox river ; with difficulty and much labor dragged their canoes up the long and tumultuous rapids ; crossed Lake Winnebago, and followed the quiet winding of the river beyond, where they glided through an endless growth of wild-rice and frightened the countless thousands of birds that fed upon it. On the 7th

of June they reached the Mascoutius and Miamis who had been recently joined by the Kickapoos. The travellers had no sooner reached the town than they called the chiefs and elders to a council. Joliet told them that the governor of Canada had sent them to discover new countries, and that God had sent his companion to teach the true faith to the inhabitants, and he prayed for guides to show them the way to the waters of the Wisconsin. The council readily consented, and on the 10th of June, the Frenchmen embarked again with two Indians to conduct them. The entire Indian village came down to the shore to witness their departure. The savages marvelled much that men could be found to undertake an enterprise attended with so much hazard and danger. After many and devious windings their guides at last brought them to the portage, where, after carrying their canoes a mile and a half over the prairie and through the marsh, they launched them on the Wisconsin, bade farewell to the waters that flowed to the St. Lawrence and committed themselves to the current that was to bear them they knew not whither. On the 17th of June, they saw on their right hand the broad meadows bounded in the distance by rugged hills, where now stands the city of Prairie du Chien. Before them a wide and rapid current coursed athwart their way by the foot of lofty heights covered with thick forests. They had found what they sought, and "with a joy," writes Marquette, "which I cannot express," they steered forth their canoes on the eddies of the broad Mississippi.

Turning southward, they paddled down the stream through a vast solitude, unrelieved by the faintest trace of man. Farther south, buffalo began to appear on the great prairies which bordered the river. They advanced with extreme caution, and on the 25th of June, they discovered some traces of human beings. Following the footprints they discovered an Indian village, where the two travellers were hospitably entertained and dismissed with a calumet. Again they were on their way drifting down the great river. They passed the mouth of the Illinois and glided by the line of rocks on the eastern side, cut into many fantastic shapes by the elements, and marked as "The Ruined Castles" on some of the early French maps. It was not long before the travellers were alarmed by the torrent of yellow mud that rushed furiously athwart the calm blue current of the Mississippi, boiling and surging, and sweeping in its course logs, branches, and uprooted trees. They had reached the mouth of the Missouri, where that savage river, descending from its mad career through a vast unknown of barbarism, poured its turbid and turbulent floods into the bosom of the Father of Waters. They passed the lonely forest that covered the site of the destined city of St. Louis, and a few day later saw

on their left the mouth of the stream to which the Iroquois had given the well-merited name of Ohio, or the Beautiful River. They ventured as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas, where they were intercepted by the Arkansas Indians. Here they took counsel as to the best plan to be pursued. They had gone far enough, as they thought, to establish one important point,—that the Mississippi discharged its waters, not into the Atlantic or Sea of Virginia, nor into the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico. They supposed themselves much nearer to its mouth than they actually were, the distance being still seven hundred miles. Fearing that if they went farther they might be killed by the Indians or captured by the Spaniards, thereby losing the results of their discovery, they resolved to return to Canada and report what they had seen. They accordingly left the Arkansas village and began their homeward voyage on the 17th of July. It was no easy task to urge their way northward against the dark and gloomy stream, and at length after many privations they reached the Illinois river, and entering its mouth followed its course to the Indian village of Kaskaskia, from which point they were conducted by friendly Indians to Lake Michigan. They reached Green Bay at the end of September, after an absence of four months, during which time they had paddled their canoes more than 2500 miles. On his return Joliet lost his box of papers at the foot of the La Chien rapids, within sight of the Montreal settlement. It was left to Marquette to publish to the world a report of this remarkable expedition, and to reap for his order the lion's share of the fame.

It is tolerably certain that in 1673, Sieur Raudin, the engineer who planned La Salle's fort at Frontenac, now Kingston, Lake Ontario, went to the western extremity of Lake Superior with presents from La Salle to the Chippewas and Sioux. And in the summer of 1679, Daniel Grayson Du Lhut, by Count Frontenac's permission, was trading among these same Sioux in the Mills Lac region of Minnesota. Ascending the St. Louis river, now the dividing line between Wisconsin and Minnesota, it is thought that he made the easy portage to Sandy Lake of the Upper Mississippi, and was the first white trader upon the head waters of that great stream, so soon to be the scene of active operations on the part of his contemporaries.

The Mississippi had now been touched at two points. Its course had been explored for 600 miles, and some idea of its greatness had been gained and somewhat of its mysteries had been solved. A man of greater mark now put his hand to the completion of what Marquette and Joliet had left unfinished. Robert Cavalier de La Salle was no simple explorer, having some little education, like Joliet, or pious missionary, whose sole

object was to make proselytes, like Marquette.

La Salle was a man of far different stamp. In him the man of brains, of ideas, of resources, of unbending will, were all joined in one. He was a man of heroic patience, whose highest qualities shone forth in the moments of supreme trial. He was the master-spirit of his own enterprises —the originator and executor of them —not the simple agent of other men's schemes. He was naturally reserved, and what those who associated with him took for austerity of manner was the absorption of the man in himself. With minds like Louis XIV., Calbert or Frontenac, La Salle impressed as no ordinary man could. So when the possibility of getting control of our continent by stretching a line of French posts from Quebec eastward to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and westward to the head of the Great Lakes, and southward to the mouth of the Mississippi, the King at once saw in La Salle the fittest man for the work and La Salle knew no such word as fail.

We have seen the missions already firmly established on the Great Lakes. Joliet and Marquette had reached the Mississippi by one route and returned by another and different one, leading them through the great Illinois nation. It was decided that the Gulf of Mexico was to be reached, and a French port or colony established there into which the trade of the river should flow. Thus the Mississippi in French hands was to be a dividing wedge, separating the Spaniards in Florida from the Spaniards in new Mexico. Possessed of the two great water-ways of the continent—the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi—France was to take the first place in America. To this end La Salle set about his preparations. He made arrangements for transporting men and supplies from Niagara to Green Bay. In August, 1679, he set sail from Niagara, Lake Erie, and in due season reached Michillimackinac. Thence he sailed for Green Bay where his men and supplies were landed. From this point La Salle with fourteen men in canoes started on his journey to the Mississippi. After various adventures the party reached the mouth of the St. Joseph on the shore of Lake Michigan. Here a fort was erected while he awaited reinforcements of men and supplies, and when these arrived the united party paddled up the St. Joseph, crossed over the portage to the Kankankee, descended it to the Illinois. On account of lack of supplies he was obliged to winter with this tribe of Indians, and at this point constructed a fort, which La Salle significantly named Crevecoeur. He resolved to set out himself and learn what had become of his supplies and what had happened to his supply-ship, the Griffin. Accordingly, he left his lieutenant, Tonty, in command of the fort. In August, 1680, he again left Montreal, having the Mississippi as

the object of his search. He found Fort Crevecoeur in ruins, and searched the Illinois in vain to its mouth, thus reaching the Mississippi in his fruitless search for his lieutenant. Still undaunted, for the third time La Salle set out in the autumn of 1681. This time the expedition passed through the Chicago river to the Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi, which was reached on the 6th of February. Few incidents mark the passage of the explorers through the country of the Arkansas, Tenas, and Natchez nations, till the Frenchmen reached the neighborhood of the Quinipissas, where they were shot at from the cane brakes along the banks. On the 6th of April, the explorers found the river branching out before them in three streams. Separating into three parties they explored each branch. Presently one of the company discovered that the water was brackish to the taste, and from this La Salle knew he was nearing his goal. At last the canoes glided past the outermost point of low, reedy land, out upon the broad bosom of the gulf. Landing not far above the mouth of the river, La Salle caused the arms of France to be set up, and on the 9th day of April, 1682, he took formal possession of the country drained by the Mississippi. It was in the name of Louis XIV., that he did so, in whose honor La Salle declared the name of this vast acquisition to be Louisiana.

During La Salle's first attempt to reach the Mississippi, when he was obliged to winter among the Illinois, he dispatched Father Louis Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi. Besides Hennepin the party consisted of two *coureurs de bois*, Michel Accau and Antoine Anguel. Accau was the leader of the party, but Hennepin being its historian gets the credit for its explorations. The party set out from Fort Crevecoeur on the last day in February, 1680. Hennepin seems to have been that singular anomaly seldom met with in real life, a brave braggart, whose self-conceit and arrogant self-assertion stand forth in strong contrast with the modesty and patience always shown by La Salle when he is speaking of his own achievements. For six weeks the explorers plied their paddles against the current of the Mississippi unmolested. One day when the Frenchmen had drawn their canoe on shore to mend it, they were suddenly surrounded by a war-party of Sioux. In a moment the whites were made prisoners. Hennepin offered the peace pipe. It was snatched away from his hand. When he began to mutter some prayers to the Virgin the Indians angrily signed him to be silent, thinking he was preparing some charm with which to overpower them. The Sioux began their homeward journey and gave the captives to understand that any future discoveries must be made by them as captives. In nineteen days the party landed near the site of the present

city of Minneapolis. From here the trail was struck leading to the Sioux villages, which were reached after five days hard marching. They passed the winter with the Indians, and in the following spring accompanied them on their annual buffalo hunt. At this time they took the opportunity of regaining their liberty by telling them that their friends were coming loaded with gifts. The greedy Sioux were easily induced to let Hennepin and one other go down the river to meet them alone and unguarded. The two whites began the descent of the river, carrying their canoes around the Falls of St. Anthony, to which Father Hennepin gave this name. After many adventures Lake Pepin was at length reached. Not receiving the promised presents from the whites, Hennepin and his companion were compelled to go back again as they came. After some longer stay with the Sioux, the captives were at length found by some French traders, who had made their way through the Sioux country, from Lake Superior to the Mississippi. Hearing of three white men on their way they continued their search until they found Hennepin and his companions and rescued them from the savages. At the head of the exploring party was Du Lhut, for whom the city of Duluth is named, as Lake Pepin is also said to be named from another of this party. Thus, in St. Anthony Falls, Duluth, and Lake Pepin, we have a group of names commemorating the names of the men who carried La Salle's explorations into the extreme northwest.

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

ONE WORD MORE ABOUT THE DUTCH ON MANHATTAN ISLAND IN 1598.

In the November number of this Magazine in which we put the query whether the Dutch were on Manhattan Island as early as the year 1598, there appeared also a part of the first chapter of the "Memorial History of the City of New York." Treating of the explorations of the North American coast previous to Hudson's arrival in the Half Moon in 1609, it was inevitable that the author should discuss also the above mentioned query. We observe that his view is diametrically opposed to our own. He seems to think that it scarcely admits of a doubt that the statement of the committee of the West India Company is correct. And a curious incident connected with this controversy is that the author, Dr. B. F. De Costa, who awards them the honor of previous discovery, has no particular prejudices in favor of the Dutch; while the writer of this paper with every desire to add laurels to the brows of Holland, can not find it in his heart to honestly concede them the honor in question. It certainly bespeaks for the conduct of the investigation on either side, unbiased judgment in the weighing of evidence.

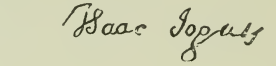
It must be and is cheerfully acknowledged, that Dr. De Costa makes out a strong plea in favor of his theory. Such an undoubted authority on North American exploration and the cartography of our coast, could not but succeed in presenting his side in the most forcible light.

We begin by quoting his statement, including the citation from the West India Company document, whence arose the question of the Dutch being here before Hudson. "In 1598 and thereabout, we find it asserted that the Dutch were upon the ground, for in the year 1644, the committee of the Dutch West India Company, known as the General Board of Accounts, to whom numerous documents and papers had been intrusted, made a lengthy report which they begin as follows: 'New Netherland situated in America, between English Virginia and New England, extending from the South (Delaware) River lying in 34½ degrees to Cape Malabar, in the latitude of 41½ degrees, was first frequented by the inhabitants of this country (Holland), in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements only as a shelter in winter. For which they built on the

North (Hudson) and South (Delaware) Rivers, there two little forts against the attacks of the Indians.'"

Dr. De Costa takes note of the fact that in spite of the positiveness of this documentary testimony, unearthed by Mr. Brodhead himself, the latter nevertheless refuses to give credit to it and brings it forward with the remark that it "needs confirmation." This confirmation our author is prepared to furnish and he addresses himself to the task with characteristic alacrity. He skillfully makes an Englishman support a rival nation's claim to priority of discovery, and it would certainly appear as if the fact of the Dutch being on Manhattan Island before 1600 must be true, if an Englishman writing a private letter to another Englishman unqualifiedly asserts it. Thus however, does Gov. William Bradford, in addressing his principal Sir Fernando Gorges. "Bradford says" (we quote Dr. De Costa) "under date of June 15, 1627, that the Dutch on the Hudson 'have used trading there this six-or-seven-and-twenty years,' but have begun to plant of later time, and now have reduced their trade to some order.'" Naturally enough if Dr. De Costa has read Bradford's letter aright, the conclusion must follow: "thus about seventeen years before the Committee of 1644 reported, Governor Bradford, an unwilling but every way competent and candid witness, carried back the Dutch occupancy under the Greenland Company to the year 1600."

Another witness who is impressively utilized by Dr. De Costa is the Jesuit Missionary, Father Isaac Jogues. Much to the honor and



credit of that otherwise not very creditable official, Director William Kieft, this worthy man was hospitably entertained at Fort Amsterdam after his rescue from his Indian persecutors, in the year 1646. "In a letter written on August 3d of that year" remarks Dr. De Costa, "he says that the Dutch were here 'about fifty years' before, while they began to settle permanently only about 'twenty years' since. The latter statement is sufficiently correct, as 1623 was the year when a permanent colony was established by the Dutch. The former statement," our author triumphantly remarks, "carries us back to the date of the 'Greenland Company.'" In fact we have two years to spare, for fifty years before 1646 would bring us to 1596.

A third piece of confirmation is drawn by the learned doctor from the "Remonstrance," or "Vertoogh," prepared by Vander Donck and other citizens of New Amsterdam as a bill of grievances against the administration of Peter Stuyvesant, and laid before the States-General at The Hague. Dr. De Costa quotes it as follows: "East of the North River, beginning at Cape Cod, named in

1600 by our own people New Holland (whereof also possession was taken, if we are correctly informed by the erection of their High Mightiness' arms) down to within six leagues of the North River." This Dr. De Costa takes to be "describing the occupation of the country [i. e. New Netherland) by the Dutch" and if it be such he may well congratulate himself that "this again recognizes the Dutch as here in the year given by Bradford."

BESCHRYVINGE
Van
NIEUVV-NEDERLANT
(Ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in Staet is)
Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en vruchtbaerheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de proffijtelijcke ende gewenste toevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen, (soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht) gevonden worden.
ALS MEDE
De maniere en onghemeyne eygenschappen vande Wilden ofte Naturellen vanden Lande.
Ende
Een bysonder verhael vanden wonderlijcken Aert ende het Weesen der BEVERS,
DAER NOCH BY GEVOEGHT IS
Een Discours over de gelegentheyt van Nieuw Nederlandt, tusschen een Nederlandts Patriot, ende een Nieuw Nederlander.
Beschreven door
ADRIAEN vander DONCK,
Beyder Rechten Doctoor, die teghenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederlant is.

t'AEMSTELDAM,
By Evert Nieuwenhof, Boeck-verkooper / woonende op 't Rusland in 't Schrijf-boeck / Anno 1655.

TITLE PAGE OF THE "VERTOOGH."

The "Vertoogh" was afterwards expanded into a volume, of which the above is a facsimile of the title page. The translation is as follows: "Description of New Netherland (as it is to-day) comprising the nature, character, situation and fertility of the said country; together with the advantageous and desirable circumstances (both of their own production and as brought about by external causes) for the support of people which prevail there; as also the manners and peculiar qualities of the Wild Men or Natives of the Land. And a separate account of the wonderful character and habits of the Beavers; to which is added a Conversation on the condition of New Netherland between a Netherland patriot and a New Netherlander, described by Adriaen Van der Donck, Doctor in Both Laws, who is at present still in New Netherland. In Amsterdam, at Evert Nieuwenhof's, Bookseller, dwelling on the Rusland [street] in the Writing-book, Anno. 1655."

Indeed our esteemed author has now so fully established his case to his own satisfaction that he deems it superfluous to adduce any further proofs. "So far as present evidence goes," he observes, "it is perhaps unnecessary to say anything more in vindication of the statement of the Dutch Committee of 1644, claiming that representatives of the Greenland Company wintered here in 1598." Yet, "as a matter of interest," he brings to notice as a last witness in his favor the eminent Dutch traveler and cosmographer, Van Linschoten. On one of Linschoten's maps there is "a dotted trail" from the latitude of the Hudson to the St. Lawrence, showing that at the time this map was published, or 1598, the region of the Hudson was known. "Linschoten was one of the best informed of Dutch writers," remarks Dr. De Costa, "and probably understood the significance of the representation upon his map." Then a page or two further on he quotes from Linschoten's "Discourse of Voyages" in its English form, published in London in 1598, giving measurements of distances between various points on our coast, among which is this item "and again to the river of Saint Anthony, one hundred miles." Dr. De Costa says therefore, of these measurements, that they "fix beyond question that the Hudson was perfectly well known."

Having now fully and fairly presented or rehearsed Dr. De Costa's view of this question, we take the liberty of also restating our own side and of weighing the value of our esteemed opponent's testimony. Our case is not that of Hudibras' somewhat paradoxical character,

> "The man convinced against his will,
> Is of the same opinion still."

Nor do we believe that as we proceed we shall be thought to merit the application of Pope's homely but truthful simile:

> "Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
> Go just alike, but each believes his own."

Such states of mind are entirely at variance with true scholarship. Like Gradgrind in Dickens' "Hard Times," we want "facts, gentlemen, nothing but facts." As we said at the beginning nothing would gratify us more than to be able to believe conscientiously that the Dutch were on Manhattan Island in 1598 or in 1498, or 1492, for that matter either. But to our minds, to quote Lowell, "the facts air agin us."

We claim the privilege first of all, of reiterating briefly the general objections which formed the subject of our article in the November number of this magazine. We supposed we made it plain that there was no Dutch Greenland Company in existence in 1598, nor before 1614. Dr. De Costa has recognized that difficulty. He says: "On the general subject it may be said that the record of the 'Greenland Company' is not satisfactory, yet the word 'Greenland' at that time had a very general use, and all that

the Committee of Accounts may have meant by the phrase was that a company or association engaged in the fur or fish trade, which for centuries even had been prosecuted at the north, had sent some ships to this region in 1598." But when in the year 1644 the committee speaks of *the* Greenland Company and not of *a* Greenland Company, we can not escape the conclusion that a very definite body or association was meant; namely, the Northern, (sometimes called *Greenland*) Company, organized in 1614, and again on a national basis in 1622; "before which [the charter of 1614 says] no such company had ever existed before."

A second difficulty to our mind lay in the fact that the Indians who met Hudson in 1609 could have so completely forgotten the Dutch who spent a winter on Manhattan Island only eleven years before. Dr. De Costa could no doubt enlighten our minds on that point; but unfortunately he has not done so, and hence our darkness remains unrelieved and the force of our objection on this score is not lessened.

In treating of the Committee's report itself, we had no hesitation in suggesting that they found it expedient to utilize a loose rumor and to suppress all allusion to Hudson's exploit. Dr. De Costa "prefers to believe that the committee was both honest and well-informed." Well, that is indeed a much more charitable frame of mind, and very becoming to a christian clergyman. But the West India Company people were shrewd business men, and we showed what reason they had for fearing that advantage might be taken of their statements. And while we were far from impeaching their honesty or their veracity, we adduced testimony out of their own papers, composed twelve years later, that they could follow a policy of shrewdness a little aside from the direct truth in case of necessity. Such do they indicate in their admonition to Stuyvesant: "what is written is too long preserved and may be produced when not desired, whereas words not recorded are in the lapse of time forgotten or may be explained away."

We are now prepared to cross-examine Dr. De Costa's four witnesses; and we begin with the last, Van Linschoten, whom he introduces in a sort of "supernumerary" way, as the thirteenth unit in a "baker's dozen," not really necessary for his purposes but generously "thrown in." We took the trouble to examine that map of 1598, with the mysterious marking which Dr. De Costa calls a "dotted trail." It looks something like that; but it might also mean a mountain range. As Dr. De Costa himself naively remarks, "Linschoten probably understood the significance of the representation upon his map." It is quite gratuitous however, to make out of it a trading-route between the Hudson and St. Lawrence; for there is not a suspicion of such a river as

the Hudson indicated on the map. Again as to Linschoten's measurements, including his mention of the Saint Anthony River. These prove nothing as to the presence of his countrymen on Manhattan Island in 1598. Such careful geographical enumerations and the mention of the "Rio de Sanct Antonio," had all occurred in Oviedo's review of the map of Chaves of 1537, and had been re-

LINSCHOTEN.

peated by Gomara in a book published in Spanish at Antwerp (next door to Holland) in 1553 or 1554. Linschoten, while he had been a great traveler, had spent his years of travel in Spain, Italy, on the African coasts and the islands west of it, and in the East Indies; but he was never in America.

Next let us see whether Dr. De Costa has correctly read that telling letter of Governor Bradford to Sir Fernando Gorges. Was that statement regarding "these six-or-seven-and-twenty years" entirely his own and an acknowledgement of a fact he knew or recognized? If we look at all the historical circumstances we shall find that the mention of these years is merely by way of quotation; a bringing to the notice of his correspondent a claim made by the Dutch themselves. In March of that same year Director Peter Minuit of New Netherland had sent letters to Gov. Bradford, bespeaking a friendly intercourse. No answer being received, Minuit sent another letter by the captain of a ship just arrived from Holland. In reply to this Bradford writes on August 14, 1627, "for howsoever you allege in your former letter that you have navigated and traded in these parts above this twenty-six years." It is this allegation which Bradford conveys to Gorges, the letter to whom he commences: "We have of late received letters from the Dutch plantation." And as to Minuit's arithmetic—he evidently made a mistake in stating that the Dutch had been in the habit of trading on Manhattan Island for six or seven and twenty years. In 1627 it was exactly sixteen or seventeen years since the first ship was sent out (1610) to the river which Hudson had explored. The letters to Bradford were composed in Dutch and French and had to be reproduced into a

third language, and hence an error might easily have slipped in. Or if figures were used, in the script of those days the matter would almost inevitably be involved in uncertainty.

Father Jogues, another of Dr. De Costa's witnesses, wrote a letter to his superior in France on August 3, 1646. This was two years after the paper prepared by the Committee of the West India Company. In it he says that the Dutch had first come to these regions fifty years before. As already noticed this would have carried the discovery of the Hudson on their part back to 1596. But in the absence of such numerous authorities as we may now consult, Father Jogues may be pardoned for not calculating the exact distance in years between 1609 and 1646; even if the account of the committee, making the date in question 1598, had not come to the knowledge of Director Kieft and been communicated by him casually or deliberately to his guest.

And lastly we are referred to Vander Donck's "Remonstrance" or "Vertoogh." In this instance we notice in the first place that Dr. De Costa has confounded two entirely different things. He evidently thinks himself, and wishes us to understand that New Holland is but another name for New Netherland. If the citation be carefully read it will disprove this assumption at once. Cape Cod is the region "named by our own people, New Holland." And turning to De Laet, this view is emphasized more clearly still; in his account of Hudson's voyage he says: "They discovered land * * * which they supposed to be an island and gave it the name of New Holland, but found afterwards that this was Cape Cod." But this discovery, or supposed discovery by Hudson, took place, of course, in 1609. How then does the "Vertoogh" come to say 1600? It must have been a *lapsis plumae* of Vander Donck's himself or of Mr. Brodhead's copyist at The Hague; or a misprint in the Dutch edition of 1650, or in Dr. O'Callaghan's translation published at Albany. For on the very first page of this same document ("Documents relating to Colonial History of the State of New York," Vol. I. p 275) it is distinctly announced to the reader that "in the year of Christ 1609, was the country * * * of which we now propose to speak, first found and discovered at the expense of the General East India Company, by the ship Halve Maan, whereof Henry Hudson was master and factor." Here is history for us, which though somewhat old-fashioned and monotonously in accord with "received opinion," seems to rest on more substantial ground than the statement of the Board of Accounts that the Dutch were in the habit of frequenting Manhattan Island in 1598!

DANIEL VAN PELT.

EMINENT AMERICAN LAWYERS.

JUDGE JOHN F. DILLON.

THE election of president of the American Bar Association, which occured a short time ago, resulted in placing in that position of honor a man who has attained to an unusual degree of eminence in each of the special lines of his profession. We refer to Judge John F. Dillon, who has gained a many-fold reputation as an advocate, counselor, jurist, author and undisputed authority on certain special subjects in law, and has attained to national recognition in each of these capacities, and has won a world-wide reputation in at least one of them.

Judge Dillon is known to the world as the author of the famous "Municipal Corporations," a work which so careful a critic as Mr. Irving Browne, editor of the "Albany Law Journal," has characterized as "a legal classic, a work that will live alongside of Kent and Story and Washburn and Parsons and Greenleaf, when nearly all the other books of the past decade are quite forgotten." But the Judge's achievements in the other lines mentioned are quite as remarkable as his success in this particular, and it is designed to give such a rounded account of this instructive career as is possible in a short sketch.

John Forrest Dillon was born in Northampton, Montgomery County, New York, December 25, 1831. His parents removed to Iowa when he was but seven years of age and at a time when the then Territory was but sparsely settled. The boy grew up upon the prairies, becoming accustomed perforce to hard work, but never enjoying any very great familiarity with good schools. At the age of seventeen, however, having contrived to acquire a good, sound basis of the rudiments of education, he entered the medical department of the Iowa University, graduating three years later. He practiced medicine for a few months, but early concluded that he had made a mistake in the choice of a profession, and with characteristic decision he immediately set about rectifying the misstep by beginning the study of law.

But a serious obstacle confronted him. He had not the means for a course at a law school, while his widowed mother was dependent upon him for her support. The temptation was great to fling aside his ambitions and resign himself to the practice of the profession for which

he had already prepared, and at which he could make a good living. Most men, in like circumstances, would have settled down supinely, if discontentedly, to the avocation of a physician, and cursed fate for what they would have regarded as an irremediable necessity. Not so however, with Mr. Dillon. He utilized his medical training by entering business as a druggist, while at the same time devoting every spare moment to reading law. He continued this double work until he deemed himself competent to practice as a lawyer, and in 1852 he was admitted to the bar of Scott County, Iowa. In this same year, and after he had been practicing law but a few months, he was elected prosecuting attorney of the county. He would have been nominated for a second term, but declined the honor, having formed a partnership in a firm, which soon became one of the best known in the State of Iowa.

In 1858, he was elected Judge of the Seventh Judicial District of Iowa, comprising four counties, and was re-elected to a second term at the earnest solicitation of the bar of the district, which "without distinction of party" requested his continuance in office. During this period he prepared his first legal work, a digest of Iowa Reports, the results of his careful study of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State. At the close of his term as District Judge, he was elected by the Republican party a Judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa, for a term of six years, to begin January 1, 1863.

In 1869 he was elected to serve a second term in this capacity, but before he could qualify for office, he received an appointment from President Grant, confirmed by the Senate of the United States, as Circuit Judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, comprising the States of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, and eventually Colorado. While a Judge of the Iowa Supreme Court, Mr. Dillon had collected the materials for his renowned "Municipal Corporations," and at the time of his appointment by the Federal Government, was under contract to his publishers to finish this work. Notwithstanding the arduous duties of his new position, he found time in the next two years to prepare this volume, assisted only by his wife, a daughter of Hon. Hiram Price of Davenport, Iowa, whom he had married in 1858.

For ten years, from 1869 to 1879, he continued to serve the Government in the laborious and trying position as Circuit Judge. During this time he held thirteen terms of court annually, traveling more than 10,000 miles in seven different judicial districts and six different States. In addition to this, during the same period, he founded, and for a year himself edited, the "Central Law Journal," and prepared the following legal works; "United States Circuit Court Reports" (5 volumes, 1871-'80—more

than half of which are reports of his own decisions); "Municipal Corporations" (Chicago, 1872); "Removal of Causes from State to Federal Courts" (1875); and "Municipal Bonds" (1876.) Moreover, for a considerable time, he delivered each winter a course of lectures on medical jurisprudence before the students of the Iowa State University.

Such a record of work is most remarkable, and only a strong natural constitution and indomitable energy enabled Judge Dillon to accomplish it. Nor was the renumeration commensurate with the work, and when in 1879, he received an invitation to become Professor of Real Estate and Equity Jurisprudence in the Columbia Law School of New York, coupled with the offer of the position of general counsel to the Union Pacific Railway Company in the same city, he felt it his duty to accept this double opportunity. In tendering his resignation to President Hayes, he gives as his reasons for so doing, that with his contemplated change, "the labors are lighter, the compensation greater, and in the leisure which it affords, as well as in the duties which it requires, it offers opportunities for the study and advancement of the law that may well satisfy the highest professional ambition."

In September, 1879, he moved with his family (including two sons and two daughters) to N. Y. City. But before his departure he was made the recipient of some very gratifying honors. Meetings were held, at which resolutions were adopted and addresses made out of respect to the retiring Judge, at Des Moines, Iowa; Leavenworth, Kansas; St. Louis, Missouri; Little Rock, Arkansas; Omaha, Nebraska, St. Paul and Minneapolis, while in many of these cities special banquets were prepared. The address of the Bar of St. Louis to Judge Dillon, contained these sentences: "To you as an author, the profession recognizes its indebtedness for a work which is a permanent contribution to legal literature, and is accepted as a standard and authority wherever the English language is spoken. To you, as a Judge, in high station for nearly twenty-one continuous years, we bear testimony to a career distinguished by uniform dignity and courtesy, by marked ability, great industry and perfect integrity."

In 1880 Judge Dillon edited new editions of his works on "Municipal Corporations" and "The Removal of Causes from State to Federal Courts" (the former has now passed through four editions), and in 1881 he formed a law partnership with General Wager Swayne, which still endures under the firm name of Dillon & Swayne. His growing practice and increasing duties as General Counsel of the Union Pacific and Southwestern Railway systems, forced him to resign his professorship in Columbia College in 1882.

In 1883 he made a second visit to Europe—the first having been made

on account of his health in the summer and fall of 1875, during which time he attended the third annual conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, of which he had been previously elected a member. In 1884 he was made a member of the "Institute de Droit International," and he is one of the two Americans who are numbered among the illustrious forty of that society. Besides his relations as counsel with the Union Pacific and Missouri Pacific Railway systems, he occupies the same position in connection with the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Manhattan Railway Company. He has appeared in many cases in the Court of Appeals of New York, and was counsel for the property-holders in the famous New Parks and Arcade Railway cases.

The "American Law Review" recently said of him: "During the last ten years he has argued some of the most important cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is thought that he argues more cases in that tribunal than any other lawyer in the country not resident in Washington." He argued in that court the Express cases, the Quo Warranto case of the State of Kansas against the Kansas Pacific and Union Pacific Railway Companies, cases involving the title to the Missouri Pacific Railway and, very recently, the Boyd-Thayer contest for the governorship of Nebraska.

Judge Dillon is still in the prime of life, and while he has already won a national reputation as an advocate, counselor and jurist, and international recognition as an author and standard legal authority, the prospect of future achievements, equally brilliant, lies before him in long years of continued usefulness. All that he has attained has been the fruit of self-culture and self development and his remarkable capacity for hard work. A more fitting career for the emulation of young aspirants for legal honors, the annals of the American bench or bar do not furnish.

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

WILLIAM SOLON MELLEN.

WILLIAM Solon Mellen was born February 26, 1846, at Crete, Will County, Illinois, while his parents, substantial New England people were en route from Massachusetts to make their future home in Chicago, then in its infancy, with its magnificent future not even considered a possibility.

His education was confined to the public schools of Chicago, where he graduated with high honors; and owing to his keen perceptive faculties and early formed habits of close critical observation was, in practical knowledge of the world, far in advance of the other members of his class. Ambitious to fit himself for future responsibilities in life he improved every opportunity for advancement. The school vacation which so many boys spent in idle amusement, he improved by seeking employment.

At the earliest possible moment after graduation he secured regular employment. His first engagement was in 1864, as receiving clerk for the Western Union Telegraph Company, then located at the corner of Lake and Clark streets.

The natural bent of his mind was toward the line of work in which he has since become such a prominent and successful figure, and in December 1865, he secured a position with the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company at Milton Junction, Wis., where he became ticket seller, with the privilege of using the telegraph office, to acquire a knowledge of telegraphy. This was the only compensation attached to the position. Soon however, he was removed to Barrington Ill. in the employ of the same company, and with persistent energy and application, continued his telegraphic studies. He made rapid progress, and in a short time mastered the mysteries of the art, and was able to send and receive messages with such facility, that on June 5, 1866, he was transferred to Kensoha, Wis., and placed in charge of the night office. His employers, recognizing his fidelity in the discharge of his duties, and his promising ability, promoted him on March 1, 1867, to the position of agent and operator at Racine, Wis., and September 1, 1871, again advanced him to the much more responsible position of agent at Fort Howard, Wis.

As was his custom, he devoted him-

W. S. Mellen

self assidously to his work. Other eyes were upon this vigorous character so full of promise. He met all responsibilities with such exacting fidelity and efficiency that, on June 1, 1873, he was tendered the appointment of Gen. Freight and Passenger Agent of the Green Bay & Lake Pepin Railway Company. In recognition of the fact that these new duties would give him greater facilities for obtaining a more general knowledge of his business, he accepted the position offered, which he filled until the Green Bay & Lake Pepin Railroad was completed through to connection with the Chicago and Northwestern Railway at Winona, Minn. He had prosecuted his work with such persistent energy, that the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company, keenly feeling the competition he had created, again sought his services.

On November 1, 1874, he accepted with the latter Company, the position of General Agent, with headquarters at Winona, and was given special charge of its commercial interests in Minnesota and Dakota. On November 1, 1875, he was promoted to the Assistant General Freight Agency at Chicago, in full charge of the business of the Company in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Northern Illinois and Michigan. In the progress of his work, he had been so diligent in in the pursuit of knowledge pertaining to the business, spending every available moment in reading the best authorities, and closely observing the methods of the ablest and most progressive men in his profession, that he had become practical in the operation of a railroad as well as in its commercial and traffic business, a rare experience with men in that department of railroad organization.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company were in need of an Assistant General Superintendent, and naturally their attention was drawn toward this bright young man, so decidedly making his impress upon railway circles. This position was tendered him, and perceiving it would give him increased facilities for becoming more expert in the operation of a large railroad, he accepted December 1, 1881. Notwithstanding his brief connection with this Company, his services proved of the greatest value. He had no sooner established himself at Topeka, (the headquarters of the Company) than his friends in the northwest, where he was so deservedly popular, sought his return to Chicago. The Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company made mindful in many ways of the mistake in permitting him to leave their service, opened up negotiations, to secure his return. As a result of these negotiations, and the earnest appeals of his friends at Chicago and through the northwest, he accepted on November 1, 1882, the General Freight Agency of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Com-

pany, in charge of its entire system, and again made his home in Chicago, where he was cordially welcomed.

Having practically attained the summit of position and experience in traffic matters he was, with his own consent transferred to the operating department of the same road, and became Assistant General Superintendent March 2, 1885. He was not destined to remain long in this position. The Wisconsin Central Lines were in need of an able, clean, prudent and aggressive General Manager and the officials of that Company never made a wiser decision than when they selected the subject of this sketch for General Manager, and they were indeed fortunate in securing his final acceptance of the position, the duties of which he entered upon in October 1886, with headquarters at Milwaukee. He remained in charge of this property until July 1, 1889, and made a record of which any man might justly be proud.

That such men as Mr. Mellen are always in demand, is a fact beyond question. When he retired from the Wisconsin Central Lines it was to accept the more imortant position of General Manager of the Northern Pacific Railway, one of the most important railway systems in America. To this new position he brought the same comprehensive intelligence, skilled knowledge, aggressive energy, absolute integrity, and great courage that had made him such a power elsewhere. No taint of corruption ever attached to him. From the beginning of his official career in the railway business to the present time, he has always been fearless in fighting wrong and disloyalty to the property's interests placed under his charge. Everybody knows he will be unrelenting in the pursuit of any employe proving disloyal to his trust or heedlessly neglecting his duties. While rigidly exacting in his demands upon the best efforts and fidelity of all employees, he is appreciative of faithfulness and efficiency, and never fails to recognize it.

He has always been an ardent advocate and vigorous supporter of civil service among railway employees, fully believing that merit and faithful service demand recognition. While a strict disciplinarian in all his official relations, his men are devoted to him, and such is his recognized fairness in dealing with labor problems that his decisions on these questions are universally accepted in the best spirit and with greatest satisfaction. It is well known that he has made a careful and critical study of the relations of capital to labor, and the employer to the employe. Subordinate officers and employees have learned by experience that before he has reached a conclusion he has carefully weighed all interests, and in considering the rights of the company he never forgets the rights of the company's servants.

Like all strong men born to com-

mand, Mr. Mellen's greatest strength is shown in an emergency where he always rises equal to the occasion. While dignified and commanding in bearing, the humblest employe may approach him with full assurance of receiving courteous attention, and having his complaints listened to with patience. If a wrong is shown to exist it will be promptly remedied. His habits are above reproach and he is a strong enemy of intoxicants. No employe connected with the property he controls will be permitted to use liquor on duty, and if he gets intoxicated he knows that his doom is sealed, for his General Manager will not trust the lives of the patrons of his road to the care of a befogged brain.

Mr. Mellen's management of the Northern Pacific property has been a success and is so regarded by those familiar with his history. By all who know him well a still more brilliant future is predicted in connection with this or other large railway properties where superb executive ability, sterling integrity and great courage are demanded. He is a forcible speaker, thoroughly familiar with his subject, and able to intelligently present all questions connected with his line of business. It is a recognized fact that his statements are candidly and honestly made, and always founded on pertinent, and to him conclusive facts.

In politics he is a republican, with the courage of his convictions, but still so courteous in the consideration of the opinions of others, that some of his warmest friends are among men of opposite political faith. With decided and clearly formed opinions, he is so broad-guaged and tolerant, that he never deals arbitrarily, except with dishonesty and wrong.

In his friendships he is loyal and generous, but critical in his selection of intimates. Any man is indeed fortunate who has secured him for his friend. He has the happy faculty of winning the confidence of all with whom he comes in contact, and consequently is a great favorite in both social and business circles. So extremely careful has he ever been that his judgment might always be unprejudiced, and the rights of the property under his charge be protected, that he has never permitted himself to make one farthing out of opportunities connected with the manipulations of the large enterprises with which he has been asssociated. He is, however, a sagacious business man, on the alert to legitimately promote his business interests; by wise investments and the prudent conduct of his personal affairs he has accumulated a competence which places him in an independent financial position, able to use his best energies and best faculties in discharging the duties of his trust.

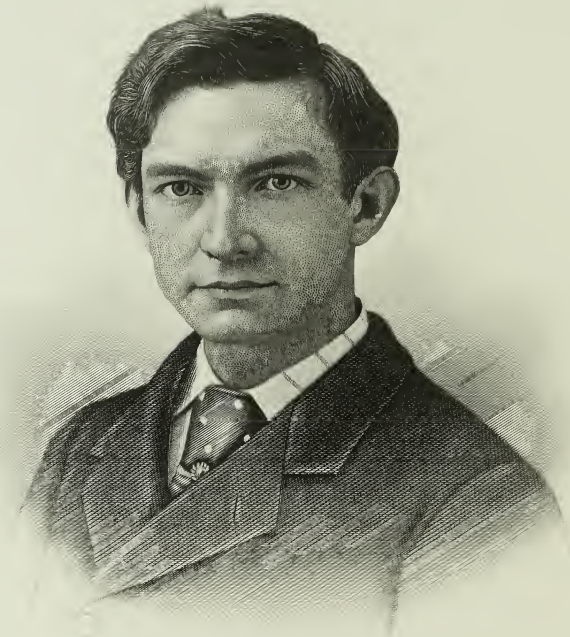
Because of his strict integrity, conservative judgment and wise discriminations, he has been often sought as a director in financial institutions,

among which are the American Exchange National Bank of Chicago, and the German National Bank of St. Paul, both of which he has served; he also has a large interest in the well-known, highly regarded and prosperous banking firm of W. T. Rickards & Company of Chicago, to which he is required to give no personal attention.

He is a public-spirited citizen, in harmony with advanced ideas, intelligent progress and the best methods of promoting education, improvements and the good of his country generally.

He is no stranger to the world of literature and art, having all his life been a close reader of the best authors and a diligent student of the beautiful.

After all, the highest test of a man's qualities is found in his home life, where his true character and real disposition are revealed. Here we find him a prince among his fellows, whose unselfish devotion, appreciative nature, generous kindness and supreme loyalty make him an idol in his household, over which his charming wife presides with exquisite grace and dignity, assuring to her husband a life of happiness and to all friends a hospitable welcome.



A. J. Mount. M.D.

THE KOCH HOSPITAL SANITARIUM AT DENVER.

DR. A. JOSEF MEUER.

Though born in Russia, Dr. Meuer, the subject of this sketch, is, in his inclinations and tastes, in his energy and enterprise, in his indomitable spirit, distinctively an American.

Coming to America at a very early age, he began at once to lay the foundations for a thorough education and a career of usefulness, and at the age of fourteen he entered the College of the City of New York, where he took the "ancient course," comprising Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and kindred subjects of study, and after an extended course in these branches he entered the University of the State of New York.

Having developed not only a decided taste, but also a marked talent for the medical profession, the young student passed easily and rapidly into the medical department of the State University, from which he graduated with high honors in 1883, taking the degree of M. D. He had taken the Mott silver medal in 1882, and in 1883, at the date of his graduation, he took the Mott gold medal.

In the beginning of that year, Dr. Meuer, who had already won so many triumphs in the prosecution of his studies, left for London, where he entered St. George's Hospital, opposite Hyde Park Corner. There he took an extended course in Surgery only, under such able and famous instructors as Mr. Pickering Pick, the present editor of "Gray's Anatomy," and Mr. Timothy Holmes, the author of "Holmes System of Surgery;" also under Mr. Bennett and Mr. Rouse. Afterwards he became connected with Mr. Thomas Cooke, senior surgeon to Westminster Hospital, under whose tuition he remained more than two years, during which time he passed several examinations in modern surgery.

He then studied Histology and Pathology, under Dr. Henry Klein, the eminent histologist to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as well as under Mr. William Wingrave, the present pathologist to Mr. Lennox Browne. He also received instruction from many other less prominent yet highly proficient tutors, and with a quickness of perception that was remarkable, he grasped every important subject that was presented to him, and became the possessor of a comprehensive, scientific education that fitted him for assuming a prominent place in the foremost ranks of the physicians and

surgeons of the times. Not the least of his qualifications was the varied experience he gained in an extensive course of post mortem examinations.

Backed by so thorough a course of study, Dr. Meuer's keen insight into the origin and nature of diseases made him one of the first to recognize the merits of Koch's Lymph as a curative agency in cases of tuberculosis. Upon his return from London in 1887 he practiced his profession in New York City until 1889, when he accepted a flattering offer to come to Denver.

Dr. Meuer, upon his arrival in the Colorado capital, was at once accorded a prominent position among the physicians and surgeons of the West, and was soon in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice. But scarcely had the telegraph announced the wonderful discovery of Professor Koch before Dr. Meuer was on his way to Berlin to personally investigate the method of treating tuberculosis and note the results in different classes of cases. It was while abroad on this important mission that Dr. Meuer perfected the plans for the establishment of his now justly celebrated and successful Koch Hospital Sanitarium, which, aided by the admirable climate of Colorado, has restored so many hopeless consumptives to health.

Every newspaper in the land has told of the wonderful results accomplished by Dr. Meuer in his method of administering the lymph at his Denver Sanitarium—not in a few isolated instances, but in a very large proportion of all the cases accepted at this hospital for treatment. Dr. Meuer has materially improved upon the method of treatment, as originally practiced by Professor Koch, and the results have abundantly justified the wisdom of the changes he has made. In one essential feature, that of administering the lymph in smaller quantities, the element of danger has been almost entirely removed, while the chances of recovery in each case have been correspondingly increased.

To the natural talent and ability, to the liberal and comprehensive education, to the untiring energy and keen foresight of Dr. Meuer is to be attributed the remarkable and gratifying success which has attended his generous efforts in behalf of consumptives everywhere, while his Sanitarium at Denver has a world-wide reputation.

NOTES ON RECENT WORK IN SOUTHERN HISTORY.*

JUST two years ago I had the honor of reading before the American Historical Association at Washington, a paper similar in character to the one I am about to present. In that paper I endeavored to give a fair statement of what was then being done for the cause of Southern history, and the description I gave of the conditions under which our historical scholars had to work could hardly have been considered cheerful. I ventured to predict however, that it would not be long before the South would awake to the necessity of encouraging the study of her own history, and it is because I believe there are signs of this awakening already visible around us, that I have ventured to put together these brief and incomplete "notes."

To one who is at all acquainted with the history of the South, the present comparative indifference of her people to strictly historical subjects is no matter of surprise. The paucity and thinness of the South's contributions to early American literature have been acknowledged by all competent investigators; and the chief reasons therefor have been correctly assigned. The same reasons that told so heavily against the creation of literature proper, told also against the inception and completion of much sound and extensive historical work. Here and there a gentleman of special qualifications or of leisure and ability would produce a valuable biography or a conscientious State history. Witness for example Marshall's "Life of Washington" and Ramsey's "History of South Carolina." Sometimes a wider, sometimes a narrower field than a single state would be attempted; more rarely a well trained scholar like Judge Gayaue would give up the best part of his life to gathering materials for an exhaustive work. But when all is said, it has to be confessed that the number of real historical students in the old south was very small. The smallness of their numbers as well as foreign example, naturally suggested the advisability of co-operation, and so the various State Historical Societies arose, our own being the first.† None of these societies however, did any very serious work

*A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society, December 21, 1891.

†The Virginia Society was founded in 1831 (chartered 1834), that of Georgia in 1839, that of North Carolina in 1840 (chartered 1875), that of Tennessee in 1847 (chartered 1877), that of Alabama in 1851, that of South Carolina in 1855. The Louisiana Historical Society was incorporated in 1860.

before the war, and none has ever approximated a full measure of usefulness. The Georgia Society did induce Bishop Stevens to write his history of that State, and the South Carolina Society early turned its attention to the colonial documents deposited in the State-paper-office in London; but it must be owned that upon the whole the Southern societies have collected no very valuable libraries; that they have not rendered such collections as they do possess thoroughly accessible, that with the exception of our own society of late years, they have been very irregular in their publications. It would not be hard to name more than one Northern society that has done more for historical science in a decade than all the Southern societies have done since their inception.

The reasons for this condition of things are, as I have said, not far to seek. The immaturity of the country, the scattered nature of its population, the absorption of the leading intellects in politics, the free and easy going life led by the upper classes, finally the depressing effects of the presence of an institution which had survived its uses—all these causes operated in the ante-bellum South to depress literary and scientific work. But historical work was subjected to further drawbacks. It was possible for a gentleman of means to collect a sufficient library for ordinary purposes—sufficient even for the purposes of the classical scholar or the *litterateur*—but it was not possible for him to collect a library large enough to serve the purposes of the historian, certainly not the historian of recent times. This difficulty might have been overcome in part had the South possessed cities with large public libraries, or had the separate states done their duty with respect to the publication of their own archives. But throughout the south public libraries were—and are now—practically non-existent, the public archives were in a state of "confusion worse confounded." What wonder then that the historical work done by our ancestors was limited in quantity and old-fashioned in quality? We ought rather to consider it a matter for congratulation and praise that they did any historical work at all, especially when we remember that the scientific study of history is not many years old, even in England itself.

I am of course, far from denying that they read and studied history—few Americans know more about history, at least about that of their own country than Southern men, but I am afraid that they regarded it chiefly as a study ancillary to their favorite pursuit of politics. That they sometimes made queer use of their historical acquisitions is abundantly evident from Calhoun's praise of the constitution of Poland. But when all is said, we still owe a debt of gratitude to the early Southern historians. From the days of Stith to the present

hour, they have been a much-enduring class of men. They have had little encouragement and they have always got their full share of criticism. No one ever forgets to say that their works are, as a rule, decorously dull; but a good many people forget to give them credit for their single-hearted zeal.

The evil effects of the late war upon southern historical studies cannot be easily exaggerated. Long before hostilities were actually begun, these effects were very visible to all that had the eyes to see. One evil effect has been noted already. The prevalent desire to sustain certain positions held by the South in political matters, led her ablest men to look on history chiefly as a study helpful to politics. The steps are few and easy from this natural but degrading view of history to the still more degrading view held by the pronouncedly partisan historian. This last evil consequence of the civil strife of the generation just passed is yet visible in the historical writings of both sections, and will only slowly disappear. It will disappear at last, but long after the effects that the poverty and unsettled condition of the South have had upon her historical literature. These effects have naturally been considerable. Few men have had leisure to read and study in the South since the war, and fewer still to write. Few men have had time or opportunity to acquire the training which is now so requisite in all intellectual pursuits. Few have had the money to endow chairs of history in our colleges, to found libraries or even to encourage by an annual subscription the various historical societies. Our State Governments have been in no condition to vie with Northern States or with foreign countries in making their archives accessible. That they might have done more than they have done, that the little money they have appropriated for the purpose might have been better spent, it would be vain to deny; but they can at least plead more in their defense than our late billion dollar Congress can for its dereliction in this regard. In short, if the old South's lack of zeal for historical studies is not surprising, that of the new South is still less so.

But is is time I was bringing this introduction to a close and saying something about the recent work which gives this paper its title. This work is not very considerable in amount but it plainly represents an advance over the state of things described in my paper of 1889.* At that time I could do little more than point out the encouraging features connected with the establishment of the Louisiana Historical Association at New Orleans and of the Filson Club at Louisville. I could also give a hint of Mr. Hugh R. Garden's patriotic intention of presenting the Southern Society of New York with the nucleus

*Papers of the American Historical Association." Vol. IV., Part 4, pages 383-391.

of a collection of books relating to the South—a collection which is now an accomplished as well as a catalogued fact, and which is destined to grow. By a queer piece of forgetfulness I omitted all reference to what was by far the most encouraging fact I could have alluded to, the fact that North Carolina had put herself in line with New York by editing and publishing all the documents relating to her colonial history. But if I could not say much that was favorable, I was not at a loss for subjects that required unfavorable comment. I could quote Dr. Brock, for example, as writing that so many members failed to answer his appeals that he could not say how many live members the Virginia Historical Society had. I could quote the President of the Alabama Society as writing that Alabama history could be better studied at Boston or at Washington than within the State. I could also point out that the valuable archives kept in this very building* in which we are now holding our session, might any day be destroyed by fire. I could show too, that I was no new Cassandra, for I quoted Charles Campbell as referring to this danger in 1859. I am not aware that we have yet saved our Troy, and if our archives may be fitly called our Palladium, I am not so sure that some wily Ulysses, like my friend Professor Jameson, will not erelong leave us in the lurch by carrying off the best part of their contents in his note book. But if I indulged in pessimistic reflections in the body of my paper, I allowed myself nevertheless, to become a genial optimist in the conclusion; for I insisted upon the fact that the South would soon have a class of men having antiquarian tastes and having the leisure and the wealth requisite to their pursuit. I showed also that Southern history offered a fascinating field of research to historical students of other sections; and I have reason to know that several northern students of history have been turning their eyes of late toward the South. For example, a graduate student at Cornell, is writing his doctor's thesis on the Ku-Klux movement. But our own recent work is growing cold.

*The Capitol at Richmond.

Beginning with Maryland, which was not considered in my first paper, I desire to call attention to the proposition of the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore, to found a library of the works of all authors who have lived or written in Maryland. This movement deserves to be noted for two reasons—first, because it indicates a proper appreciation of the value of local history; secondly, because it shows that women are able to sympathize with the scientific as well as with the sentimental side of historical work. There is obviously no reason why women should not aid historians with their sympathy and enthusiasm; there is equally no reason why women should not become historians themselves. The working force of the

generations to come is likely to be doubled through the recognition of woman's capacity to use her brains about other than strictly household matters, and I cannot help hoping that the cause of Southern history will derive great future advantage from two "emancipations" instead of from one.

But Maryland has a still greater claim to our attention, from the fact that the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore is the centre of historical investigation in this country. It is no exaggeration to say that the work Prof. Herbert B. Adams is doing with his graduate classes is likely to be *the* most important factor in the future development of historical studies in the South. Every year Dr. Adams sends out one or more young Southerners trained for historical pursuits, ready to teach history in our colleges, and eager to prosecute original researches in the history of their respective States. I know of three such students sent to Southern colleges within the past year. Besides, the John Hopkins is itself forming a valuable library of materials for Southern history. The Scharf collection recently secured, is, I am informed, full of good things, and I can testify from personal examination to the value of the Birney collection in all matters relating to slavery. Nor should the essays and treatises on topics of Southern history, written at the Johns Hopkins, under Dr. Adam's own eye, be omitted from this count, especially the educational monographs which he has edited. Attention should also be called to the publications of the Maryland Historical Society under the editorship of another Hopkins official, Dr. William Hand Browne.

Passing to Virginia, we find in this gathering an evidence of the fact that our venerable society seems to be taking a new lease of life. We find also that our Virginia women with their "Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities," are not a whit behind those of Maryland in their appreciation of the necessity for stimulating interest in local history.* We note furthermore that two members of this society have recently published works which will take their places in the permanent historical literature of the country. I refer, of course, to Mr. Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States" and to Mr. William Wirt Henry's biography of Patrick Henry. Nor do these names at all exhaust the list of the Virginians who are active in historical investigation. The work of Dr. Brock, President Tyler, Dr. Page, Mr. Moncure Conway and many others is familiar to us all. We must also remember that when our wretched debt question becomes settled, the State authorities will be deprived of their

*The Virginia Branch of the Daughters of the Revolution (Mrs. William Wirt Henry, Regent) are making efforts to raise an endowment for the Virginia Historical Society —a most noteworthy object.

perennial excuse for their backwardness in publishing our archives. It will not be long before they will have to erect a fire-proof building for such documents as the tooth of time and of mice have left us; and in the meantime we can all hope that they will appropriate enough money to have the Northampton and other county records copied.

The recent activity of North Carolina with regard to her archives has been commended already, but a word of praise should be given here to the editor of the "Colonial Records," Hon. W. L. Saunders; to Dr. Kemp P. Battle who has been a lifelong laborer in local history, and to some younger students like Drs. Smith and Weeks for their valuable monographs. South Carolina up to last summer appeared to be sleeping soundly, but the activity of her northern neighbor seems to have awakened her. A committee of the State Historical Society began in June to collect information as to the cost of procuring copies of all documents in the Public Record Office at London, not hitherto copied, relating to the history of the province and the colony. The chairman of this committee was Hon. William A. Courtenay, who, during the time that he was mayor of Charleston, did much to encourage historical studies by the publication of the Charleston "Year Books," and was largely instrumental in having copies made of the so-called "Shaftsbury Papers," which another committee of the society is soon to edit. Mr. Courtenay and his colleagues having got their information into shape, began an effective propaganda among the counties and parishes, in order to force the legislature by popular pressure to appropriate the small sum necessary for the accomplishment of their purpose. A good deal of interest having been aroused, a public meeting in behalf of the project was held at Columbia on December 1st. At the time of this writing a bill drawn up by friends of the movement has passed the lower House in a modified form, and it is unlikely that the Senate will withhold its assent. Thus South Carolina has probably secured copies of her colonial records, but she has also had her people of all classes aroused to the necessity of local historical work. If the members of her society will bestir themselves to keep the public interest from flagging, they will find that their future work will be greatly stimulated.

Passing to Georgia, we see that her historical work is still chiefly connected with one name, that of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., who has recently found time to publish a volume of biographical sketches. Georgia has, also, what is perhaps the most valuable archæological collection in the Southern States, that of Dr. Roland Steiner of Waynesboro. It is further to be noted that a separate chair of history has recently been

established in the State University, which is a decided step in advance. But it is the splendid example of constancy and high endeavor set by a citizen of Alabama that gives me most hope with regard to the future of Southern historical work. I refer to the labors of Mr. Hannis Taylor of Mobile, upon English constitutional history. When a lawyer in full practice can become so enamoured of scholarly work as to devote both time and money to pursuing researches similar to those which Mr. Taylor has undertaken, certainly no one need despair of the future of historical scholarship in the South.

In my paper of two years ago, the space devoted to the States of Mississippi, Florida and Arkansas, was almost as short as the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. There was practically no historical work to record, not even a semi-defunct historical society to attend to. Recently movements for the establishment of State societies have taken place in all three of these States, and, although it is too soon to prophesy any specific results, it is safe to infer that good will be accomplished by the agitation of so important a matter. I have mentioned already the work doing by the new Louisiana Historical Association. From a newspaper report of the contributions lately received by this association I judge that it has succeeded in arousing some popular interest. When people come forward voluntarily and deposit their antiquarian treasures in a public museum instead of keeping them selfishly at home, a great step forward has been made.

Lack of space prevents me from doing justice to the work of the Filson Club of Louisville, nor can I pay more than a passing tribute to the activity of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, which, if it has not yet done great things, is evidently working along modern lines. I must mention, however, a society which, although just organized, will, I hope, do good work and set a good example. I refer to the Sewanee Historical Society recently founded by officers, students and friends of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. As I happen to be president of this society and somewhat responsible for its existence, I should prefer to keep silent about it, but for the fact that it seems to me to stand for one or two ideas which may be fruitful of good to the cause which I have most at heart—the cause of Southern history. Whether the Sewanee Society will succeed in accomplishing the objects it proposes to itself cannot be now determined, but the ideas it stands for can be weighed in the balance now, and if approved can be acted upon at once by others.

The first idea is to enlist in the service of historical research all the forces that go to make up a University. Every student, alumnus, and friend of Sewanee is to be appealed

to for contributions ranging from an Indian arrow head to a life member's fee. Corresponding members have been selected from among the alumni —especially the clergy—to spread the historical propaganda in every city and parish in the South. Some have already responded in a loyal way, for it is a great thing to touch into activity two such strong emotions, as love for one's *alma mater*, and love for one's country. The law is said not to care for trifles, but the Sewanee Society does, for it believes that the best way to found an historical library and museum is to appeal for small gifts; for what most people would regard as trifles; old letters, old newspapers, odd numbers of magazines, any book printed in the South, be it only a school arithmetic. Not a student is allowed to leave the University without having it impressed upon him that he will confer a personal favor upon the officers of the society if he will keep a sharp lookout for such things. Now this idea of utilizing students and alumni is not new, but I am not aware that it has yet been applied by many of our Southern colleges in behalf of local history. I pass over the obvious advantages which the calm seclusion of a University offers for the study of history, in order to say a few words about another idea which this society represents.

The society is managed by an executive council which is organized like a German seminary. It meets frequently, hears papers read, and is responsible for the proper use of the materials gathered by the society. Each member is assigned special work—generally by the president—and it has been resolved that for several years to come this work must be local in character. In other words, the council is pledged to prepare a careful history of the University of the South, and if it does no more than this, it will at least do more than some older and more important American universities have yet done for themselves. The society, therefore, stands for the idea that minute work on local history must be prosecuted before any lasting work can be done in the more ambitious field of general Southern history.

Now, why cannot every college and university in the South have a local historical society working in true seminary style? I believe that Richmond college already has one. And why should not every town, village and city have one as well? Such societies need not interfere in the slightest degree with the State societies—they should rather be auxiliary to them. They can be organized by a dozen earnest persons, and certainly every college that has a professor of history ought to be able to furnish a competent director for the work. It would seem, by the way, that this historical work could be easily fitted in with the schemes for university extension, which are being so vigorously discusssed. I know of no more

fruitful way of preparing a community to receive the benefits of university extension—and if I mistake not our Southern universities are too much cut off from the great public that lives and moves around them —than by instituting preliminary courses in local history to be conducted by the professor of history in the nearest college or other institution of learning.

But my time is exhausted and I must bring these "notes" to a conclusion. I trust that this paper has shown that the Southern people are beginning to see the necessity for encouraging their historical students, and that the work these students are doing is being done on right lines. I believe that year by year more materials for Southern history will be gathered and more scholarly work done on them. I believe that the time will soon come when the self-sacrifice and patient endurance of the Southern historians of the past and present will be generally recognized and praised. At any rate I am certain that we are even now far removed from the time when the following incident could occur in a Southern State and among educated men.

A certain Georgia citizen, whose name is not given, wrote an account of some stirring scenes in his State's early history. He died before he could have his monograph published. Two gentlemen of high standing, probably lawyers, were appointed his executors. They undertook the delicate task of apportioning the estate among the several heirs, and things went on swimmingly for a time until the testator's manuscript was reached. Here a difficulty arose. It could not be divided. To publish it would be an unheard-of extravagance. It could not be left to become a bone of contention to the heirs. What, then, did these exemplary gentlemen —men who could doubtless have defended with great zeal and eloquence the genial practices of lynching and dueling—do with this manuscript? They burned it.*

W. P. TRENT.

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* From a pamphlet by Gov. George R. Gilmer of Georgia, quoted in "The Southern Quarterly Review" for April, 1832 (vol. XXI. p. 514,) I am sorry to record a fact which has come to my notice since the above was written, and which seems to indicate that we have still a good deal to do in the matter of educating the Southern people up to a proper appreciation of the value of historical materials. I recently advised a South Carolina friend to gather materials for a sketch of the late Hugh S. Legare. He set to work to ascertain what sources of information had escaped the ravages of war and time, and found that at least three trunks, full of letters and papers, had survived until within the last two or three years when they fell into worse hands than those of the two grim Vandals named above; into the hands of an estimable lady who conceived it to be her pious duty to burn everything of a personal character, including, I am told, her distinguished relative's memorials of his own life.

NOTES ON GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN.

An article in the September number of the "Magazine of Western History," entitled "George Rogers Clark, a Soldier of the early West," contains some statements that are calculated to mislead the student of history, and while they may perhaps be considered of minor importance, yet a proper regard for the truth of history and of historical facts and incidents, prompts me to call attention to them.

I will pass over the assertion of the author that Gen. Clark was a consummate master of the art of intrigue," that "by nature he was a schemer and a wire-puller," and his further assertion that "it is darkly suggestive of Cæsar saying he would rather be first man in a certain dirty village than second in Rome, to see Major Clark leaving Virginia when the Revolution was fairly begun to become a delegate for the scattered hunters of Kentucky," and leave it for those who have or may study his life, to determine for themselves the motives that prompted to action the man, who by his indomitable will, and in the face of dangers, hardships and privations that few others would have dared to encounter, and who with but a handful of men, in a few short months completely broke the power of the English in the great northwest, conciliated the different Indian tribes in that quarter, changed enemies into friends and extended Virginia's jurisdiction to the Mississippi, thereby winning for himself the title of "The Hannibal of the West."

Had not this Illinois campaign been undertaken and successfully carried out, there can be but little doubt that Governor Hamilton and his southern, western and northern Indian allies, would have swept over our western frontier from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and most probably thereby have changed the whole current of our history.

In 1777, after Major Clark had repelled the Indian attacks upon Harrodsburg, and after the return of the spies he had sent to the Illinois country, he hastened to Williamsburg to lay before the governor and council of Virginia his plan for the conquest of that country and the repression of the murderous Indian forays from that quarter. His plan, viz.: a secret expedition to the Illinois, was not presented to the General Assembly as a body, but, upon the contrary,

was confided only to a few master-spirits, among whom were George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, who were enthusiastic for the execution of his scheme and warmly seconded him in the move. The governor seems to have made the plan his own, and at his instance the members of the General Assembly were, in October, 1777, induced to pass an act, of which as Bancroft declares, "few knew the intent." The full text of the act was as follows:

"AN ACT FOR BETTER SECURING THE COMMONWEALTH, AND FOR THE FARTHER PROTECTION AND DEFENCE THEREOF.

"For more effectually securing the commonwealth against the designs and attempts of certain evil-minded persons, now or lately in the counties hereinafter mentioned, who, lost to all sentiments of virtue, honour or regard for their country, have been induced to aid the enemy:

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly*, That Samuel Washington, Gabriel Jones, and Joseph Reed esquires, commissioners appointed by the United States of America in Congress assembled to repair to Fort Pitt in order to investigate the rise, progress, and extent of the disaffection in that quarter, or such other persons as shall be appointed in their room, and shall undertake to execute the office, be authorized and empowered, and they are hereby authorized and empowered, within any time within six months after the passing of this act, to apprehend such inhabitants of the counties of Ohio, Monongalia and Yohogania, as shall appear to the said commissioners to have been concerned in any conspiracy or plot against the said states, or any or either of them, and to deliver the offenders over to the proper civil officer to be prosecuted according to law.

"And to provide for the further protection and defence of the frontiers, *Be it further enacted*, That the governor, with the advice of the privy council, may order such part of the militia as may be most convenient, and as they shall judge necessary, consistently with the safety of the commonwealth, to act in conjunction with any troops on any expedition which may be undertaken by desire of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, against any of our western enemies; and also, that the governor, with advice of the privy council, at any time within nine months after the passing of this act, may empower a number of volunteers, not exceeding six hundred, to march against and attack any of our said enemies, and may appoint the proper officers and give the necessary orders for the expedition."—Hening's Statutes at Large, vol. ix, p. 375–6.

It was under and by virtue of the latter clause of this act that Governor Henry, on Jan. 2, 1778, appointed Clark a lieutenant colonel, with au-

thority to enlist seven companies of men, and delivered to him two sets of instructions; one public, directing him to proceed to Kentucky for its defence, and the other secret, ordering an attack upon the British dominions on the Illinois and Wabash; the council at the same time supplying him with a sum of money for equipping the expedition, viz.: twelve hundred pounds in the depreciated currency of Virginia.

Clark, together with Jones, who had in the meantime joined him, proceeded to Fort Pitt, while Major William Smith was dispatched to the settlement on the Holstien river to enlist men, while Captains Leonard Helm, of Fauquier; Joseph Bowman, of Frederick; William Harrod, and several others proceeded to different sections west of the Blue Ridge for the same purpose.

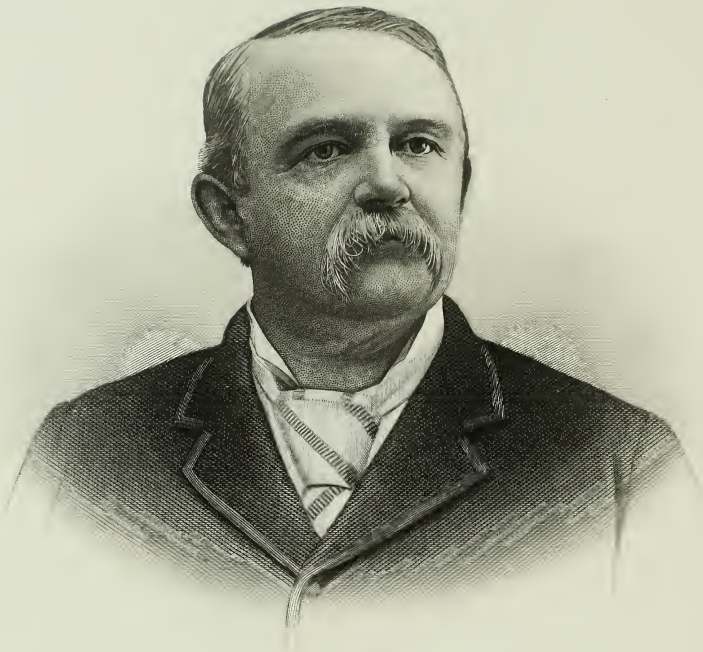
At Fort Redstone, on the Monongahela, Col. Clark collected boats, light artillery, ammunition and provisions, and it was at this place that he embarked with Captains Harrod's, Helm's and Bowman's companies, or rather the volunteers under their command, for neither had more than half a company, and proceeded down the Monongahela and Ohio rivers to the Falls, and not down the "Kanawha" as stated by Mr. Mattingly in the article in question. Bancroft says that at Fort "Kanawha" (meaning most probably Fort Randolph, which was at the mouth of the "Kanawha,") he was reinforced by Capt. O'Hara and his company.

When Clark's command reached the mouth of the "Kanawha," Capt. William Arbuckle, commandant at Fort Randolph, leaving Lieut. McKee in command, joined the expedition.

Mr. Mattingly, in accounting for the small number of men recruited in Virginia for the expedition says: "Some of the county lieutenants in Virginia opposed Clark, other individuals induced many volunteers to desert."

The causes which retarded or rather prevented the enlistment of the number of men designed for the expedition, was not so much attributable to the opposition of the county lieutenants as it was to the quarrels between Virginia and Pennsylvania, regarding the territory over which both states at that time claimed jurisdiction, and the wide-spread opposition of the frontiersmen living on the waters of the upper Ohio to the policy of sending soldiers, who were needed there for the protection of their own homes, to defend Kentucky. General Washington experienced trouble from the same cause in recruiting troops in the vicinity of Pittsburgh for the Eastern service.

D. S. Van Matre.



H H Belding

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

HIRAM H. BELDING.

To write the history of the Middle Western States is to write mainly the history of a gigantic industrial development. The vast region which constitutes the garden spot of the United States, which pours its wealth of cereals into the granaries of the world and sends its manufactured products into all markets, has never been the scene of revolutionary uprisings nor of such social or political upheavals as go to make up so large a portion of the history of the Eastern States. These Western States cannot glory in battle fields upon which great issues have been decided, but in the conquests of peace they have been equaled by no portion of the great Republic. The history of the settlement and of the industrial and commercial progress of these States is without a parallel. It is still less than a century since the work of bringing the western wilds under cultivation, of carving farms out of unbroken forests, of founding settlements and towns was begun, but within that period the transformation has been fairly magical. As the most interesting feature of western history is that which treats of its industrial development, it follows that many of the men in whom the public has taken the greatest interest, have been those who have had to do with the creation and building of those industries which have contributed to the growth and prosperity of the country. While western communities have not been slow to recognize the merits of their statesmen, orators, scholars and literatteurs, or to pay due tribute to genius in whatever form it was made manifest, they have always felt a peculiar pride in their self-made and successful "men of affairs." The founder of an industry which gives employment to labor, which brings new products into the market, or which contributes to the expansion of commerce, has always been justly regarded as one of the most useful citizens of a community and as a personage worthy to rank with his contemporaries in the liberal professions.

Hiram H. Belding who died in Chicago on the 20th of April, 1890, a modest unpretentious gentleman, who made no effort to become prominent in any other than a business capacity, was one of the most conspicuous of the western men whose enterprises have expanded to vast proportions. His life was spent largely in building up the mammoth spool silk industry

of Belding Bros. & Co. While many know something of its present magnitude, comparatively few are aware of the early struggles attending the foundation and evolution of this great industry. This history is an interesting one, and with it is inseparably linked the history of Hiram H. Belding, who was most prominently identified with the enterprise in the West. H. H. Belding was born in Ashfield, Mass., March 22, 1835. He was descended from the old Puritan stock which has given to this country so many of its ablest men. His father was Hiram Belding, a man of more than ordinary ability and education, who, like many others of that time, was to some extent both farmer and merchant. His mother was Mary Wilson of Shelburn, Mass., a woman worthy of more than a passing notice. She was of remarkable physical endurance, strong convictions and indomitable courage. Through all the vicissitudes of life she was the heroic wife and mother; impressing her strong and noble character on her stalwart boys, guiding them with unerring hand into the paths of rectitude, frugality and industry, so indispensable to a successful life. She lived to the ripe old age of four score years, having accomplished many noble works and having realized in her sons a mother's fondest hopes. From the father the son evidently inherited quick mental perception and aptness for trade; from the mother that steadfastness of purpose, and uncompromising determination which overcomes every obstacle in the way of success. The son passed the usual uneventful farmer boy's life, working on the farm during the summer and attending the public schools during the winter. This continued until he was sixteen years of age. In the meantime his father had accumulated a snug fortune, but about this time, through unfortunate investments all that had been accumulated by years of rigid economy and unremitting toil was suddenly swept away. This occured too at an age when few men have either the courage or strength to begin life anew. The son now took up part of the burden; working on neighboring farms, selling jewelry through the rural districts of New England, and in fact whatever he might do to earn an honest penny. Notwithstanding, he managed to continue his studies and took courses in the academies at Ashfield Plain and Shelburn Falls. In 1855 his father removed to Michigan, purchasing a considerable tract of land, on a part of which the town of Belding now stands. After another year of fair success in Massachusetts, the son decided that his place was with his family on the Michigan farm, or rather the wild land which was to be converted into a farm. Arrived in Michigan, he applied himself with his father and younger brothers to the arduous work of clearing up and tilling this land. At the end of a year all of his small earnings had dis-

appeared and nothing was coming in from farm products. In this emergency something must be done to raise money, and to this necessity is undoubtedly due the founding of the mammoth silk industry now operated by the firm of Belding Bros. & Co.

An older brother, M. M. Belding, who had remained in Massachusetts, was engaged in selling silk at wholesale to the merchants of the larger towns, and it occurred to the two brothers who were in Michigan, that they might make a success of selling the same class of goods at retail throughout the northwest. In response to their request the brother sent them a small stock of sewing silk and needles, which was divided between H. H. and A. N. Belding. These goods they retailed from house to house in the villages of Michigan, Northern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. They went in debt for this first outfit, but in a few months they had realized enough to purchase larger stocks and to begin a wholesale business with country merchants. For several years they thus carried on a profitable and growing trade. In January, 1864, with a few hundred dollars as working capital, they established a store at No. 54 Lake Street Chicago, in company with their brothers M. M. Belding and D. W. Belding, who came west to join them in their new undertaking. This was the parent plant of the present widely known establishment. The Chicago business proving all that was expected, a year after it had been started M. M. Belding returned to the east and opened a store in New York city, of which he took charge. This venture also proved a success, and it was not long before the firm began to manufacture its own goods. In this branch of business they at first, met with considerable loss, through an unfortunate partnership connection, but the business genius and integrity of Belding Brothers finally triumphed, and the expansion of their enterprise has been phenomenal. They at a later date organized a stock company of which H. H. Belding was elected director and vice president, and they now own and operate five large silk mills, employing over two thousand operatives. They have also established branches in all of the important cities of the United States. This phenominal growth can scarcely be realized until we remember that in little more than a score of years, a business carried on entirely by two young men, traveling on foot from farm to farm, and village to village, with grip sacks for store rooms, containing an unpaid for stock of goods, became an annual business of four millions with a financial standing second to no other institution in the country. It is needless to say that such a result could only be accomplished by genius, ability and perseverance combined. This is well attested by the fact that they were the first silk manufacturers to

go direct to the retail trade, thereby creating a revolution in this class of business. They were also the first manufacturers to establish a silk factory west of the Alleghanies.

This business thoroughly established and splendidly organized, H. H. Belding turned to a long cherished ambition, to build a town on the site of the farm of his pioneer days. To this task with the assistance of his two brothers, he now set himself with his usual energy and enthusiasm. True a few houses had already grouped themselves about a rude sawmill and gristmill, which had taken advantage of the water power furnished by a beautiful little river. But it could scarcely claim even the dignity of a village. Mr. Belding early foresaw that it was only by a combination of industries that a successful community could be built up. He therefore began to organize manufacturing companies and locate factories in the village of Belding. The first of these was the Belding Mfg. Co., of which he was elected president. The Richardson Silk Co., now a very prosperous concern, soon followed. Several others were afterwards organized, the more important of which are the Miller Casket Co., and Hall Bros. Mfg. Co. The Belding Land and Improvement Co. was established, composed of himself and his brothers, M. M., and A. N. Belding, whose object was to promote the welfare and look after the general improvement of the village. By them the Hotel Belding was erected, this being one of the finest buildings of its kind in the State. In short so successful was his undertaking that at the time of his death he could look upon a thriving manufacturing centre with over three thousand happy, prosperous inhabitants. On every hand were the signs of success, the hum of machinery, the prosperous merchant, the farmer with his load of produce, happy to find a ready market almost at his own door, the beautiful little churches with gleaming spires, and overlooking all a large substantial brick schoolhouse. Nowhere is Mr. Belding more sincerely mourned, than in this prosperous town which bears his name.

But if we limit our knowledge to the business enterprises of this remarkable man, we get but a partial insight into his well rounded character. We must see him in his home and in his relations to the community at large. In April, 1864, he was married in Cleveland, Ohio, to Miss Sarah Elizabeth Squire, a lady of rare culture and refinement. They established themselves at once in Chicago which has continued to be their home. This happy union was blessed with a daughter and three sons. The youngest of the sons died in infancy, the other two are now well established in their father's business. In his home the shrewd, successful business man became at once the loving husband and indulgent father. No moments of his life were

ever more happily spent than when on a long winter evening he could gather his family about him, and eagerly join with almost boyish delight in their games and sports. Extremely simple in his own tastes, he was ever ready to provide his family with every comfort and luxury. Though in no sense a society man, his home was yet a favorite resort for his numerous friends, attracted by his genial manners and simple, unostentatious ways. Sympathetic, but not obtrusive, with an unshaken faith in humanity, he was the recipient of the confidence of all with whom he came in contact. In the community he was in the highest sense of the term a "public spirited citizen." He took a lively interest in the commercial, financial and moral growth of the great western metropolis. He gave freely to every worthy cause. In politics he was a staunch Republican, strong, though not partisan in his convictions. In local affairs he supported whatever he thought was best for the welfare of the community. He was one of the earliest members of the Union League Club, and one of the founders of the Douglas Club, a social and family organization. In religious belief he was an Episcopalian of low church tendency, and at the time of the organization of the Reformed Episcopal Church he assisted materially in founding St. Johns Reformed Episcopal Church, of which he was either vestryman or warden until his death, and to whose support he contributed munificently.

It is difficult in few words to accurately describe a character. Only the more salient features can be fitly expressed. The lights and shades can be understood only by those who come in contact with the man under various circumstances. It is difficult also to point out the exact traits to which a man owes his success. Tenacity of purpose was certainly one of Mr. Belding's most distinguishing traits. Despite obstacles which to many would seem insurmountable he pushed his undertakings to a successful issue. Possessed of remarkable executive ability, unerring judgment, tact and enthusiasm, he rarely failed to secure from his associates their very best efforts. He was eminently a type of the progressive American citizen. Genial, generous and sympathetic, he won the friendship and esteem of all who knew him either in a business or social way. Few of his contemporaries among the builders of the west have been so largely identified with its industrial history, and none have done more than he to contribute to the prosperity of a single community.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

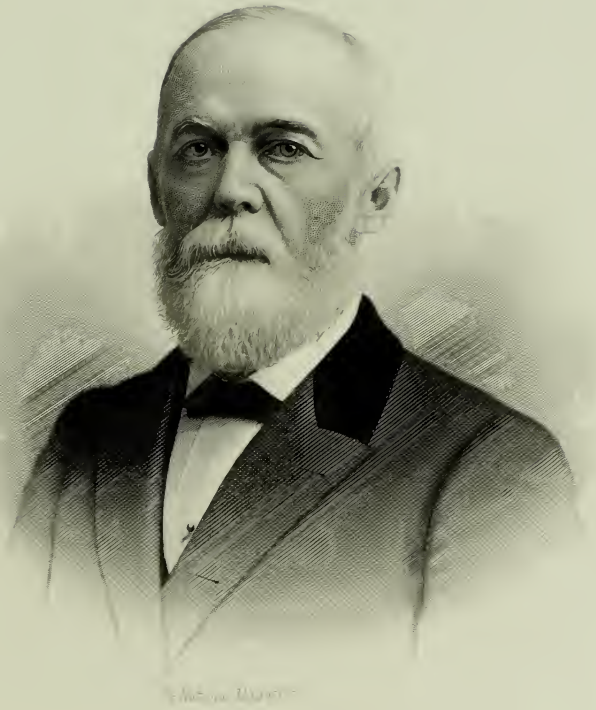
CHICAGO PIONEERS.

GEORGE M. HOW.

In the absence of the venerable and much beloved president of the National Board of Trade, Mr. Frederick Fraley of Philadelphia, one of the oldest and most widely known Board of Trade men in the west filled the important position of presiding officer during the deliberations of the Board, at the annual meeting held in New Orleans in December last. The gentleman upon whom was thus conferred the distinction of presiding over the deliberations of an organization representing interests of such vast magnitude, was Mr.Geo.M. How, who has been identified with the grain trade in Illinois from the earliest period of its existence, and who became an active member of the Chicago Board of Trade thirty-six years ago.

From the date of his enrollment as a member of the Board up to the present time he has not only been most actively engaged in the grain trade, but has been one of the men most influential in building up and perfecting the great organization which has become known all over the world. There has scarcely been a time since 1855 when he was not officially connected with the Board and there are few of its present members who know as much as he of its customs, usages and history, or who have left upon it to a greater extent the impress of their individuality.

Mr. How is a native of Maine, having been born in Portland, December 30, 1825. His father was John How, who for many years was one of the prominent merchants of Portland, and the descendant of an old Massachusetts family. His mother was a daughter of Major Lemuel Gates, a colonial officer in the revolutionary struggle who died in 1806, and a sister of General William Gates, who was one of the earliest graduates from the West Point Military Academy; who served in the war of 1812, distinguishing himself in the capture of Little York—now Toronto—and the bombardment and capture of Fort George. He also rendered valuable services to the government in the Seminole war—in which he personally captured Osceola, Florida, and escorted the Cherokees to the Indian Territory, and in the Mexican war in which he commanded the 3rd artillery. From 1846 to 1848 he was acting governor of Tampico, Mexico, and in various other capacities he



Geo M Atlee

served his country faithfully until 1863, when old age compelled him to retire, his death occurring in New York city five years later.

When George M. How was about fourteen years of age his father purchased a farm near the city of Bangor, and during the next four years the son spent the greater part of his time assisting in the cultivation of this farm. He had previously enjoyed fair educational advantages in the schools of Portland, including one of the old-fashioned academies. While working on the farm he pursued his studies, a portion of the time under private preceptorship and thus acquired a good, if not a "finished" education.

At the age of eighteen he left home, going to Bangor to become a clerk in a grocery store, where he served an apprenticeship of one year, receiving for his services fifty dollars. At the expiration of the year he went to Boston, where he secured a clerkship in a large hosiery establishment at a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year. Out of this amount he had to pay for board and clothes, and one can readily understand that even in those days of economical living and simple tastes, his savings were necessarily small. He managed, however, to live within his income, and two years later took charge of a department in another of the large stores of Boston, at a more remunerative salary. In 1847 he went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he formed a partnership with the brother of one of his employers in Boston in the dry-goods trade. But this arrangement was not satisfactory and was abandoned at the end of a year. In the fall of 1848 he left New York for the West, travelling from New York to Buffalo by rail, and from Buffalo to Detroit by steamer. At Detroit he boarded a Michigan Central train which brought him as far on the way to Chicago as Niles, that being the western terminus of the railroad at that time. Mr. How and his companions then made their way down the St. Joseph river to the town of the same name by flat-boat, and from thence came to Chicago by the pioneer steamer "Sam Ward."

When the steamer landed at Chicago, the fact that they had reached a new town in which public improvements had not progressed to any considerable extent, was impressed upon the passengers when they were met at the landing by "runners" from the various hotels who conducted them on foot to their stopping places, the condition of the streets being such that they were practically impassable for any kind of vehicle. They were obliged to leave their luggage behind and it was three days later when Mr. How finally succeeded in having his effects turned over to him at his hotel.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that Chicago did not make a favorable impression upon him, and that he should have felt anxious to

see more of the western country before selecting a location. In compliance with an arrangement which he had entered into with a New York mercantile establishment, he started out soon after he reached Chicago on a collecting tour, traveling through northern Illinois and Wisconsin. The following spring, acting on the advice of friends, he went to La Salle, Illinois, which many people then believed was likely to become one of the most important towns in the State. Mr. How's trip to La Salle was one fairly illustrative of the difficulty of getting from one place to another in Illinois in the days of pioneer roads and before railroads had been constructed. Leaving Chicago on Sunday afternoon in one of the stages of the noted Frink & Walker line, he and his fellow passengers were carried twelve miles out of the city and then transferred to an open wagon. In this they traveled Sunday night, Monday and all of the following night and all day Tuesday. Tuesday night they rested and Wednesday at noon, they reached La Salle, having traveled in all one hundred miles, a journey which is now made in something like four hours.

As the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal and the head of navigation on the Illinois river, La Salle was an important trade center when Mr. How located there in 1849. He engaged in the forwarding and commission business, and also became the agent of a line of canal boats and a line of river steamers. If he did not accumulate money as rapidly as he had anticipated, he was at least fairly prosperous until the building of the Chicago & Rock Island and the Illinois Central railroads blighted the prospects of La Salle as a center of trade and commerce. This caused him to decide upon a change of location and in 1855 he came to Chicago. Here he established himself in the commission business and at once became a member of the Board of Trade which had been organized seven years prior to that time.

In those days the Board was an institution decidedly primitive in its character. It had less than one hundred and fifty members enrolled, and a free lunch of crackers and cheese and ale is said to have had much to do with bringing them together at regular intervals.

The first meeting which Mr. How attended was held in two small rooms on the second floor of a building located at the corner of Wells street —now Fifth Avenue and South Water street. Meetings of the Board were then held only during a portion of the year. When navigation closed in the fall an adjournment was taken until the opening of navigation the following spring, prior to 1858–9, when the first winter session was held. The traders who came into the Board of Trade between 1850 and 1860 materially strengthened and added to the character of the organization, but it

continued to be a migratory institution during this period. At different times it occupied quarters on Dearborn street, La Salle street and South Water street, and a portion of the time members had to climb two flights of stairs to reach the rooms in which the sessions of the Board were held. Finally a ten year lease of quarters on South Water street was effected at an annual rental of fifteen hundred dollars, At the time this arrangement was entered into some members were inclined to think it an extravagant outlay of money and nothing could better illustrate the marvelously rapid growth of this remarkable institution than the fact that within half a dozen years from that time, the nine year lease was cancelled and new quarters were leased at an annual rental of twenty thousand dollars. The old Chamber of Commerce Building, which became the home of the Board at that time was occupied until 1885, when under a new arrangement, the present magnificent Board of Trade Building was completed at a cost of eighteen hundred thousand dollars, to become the pride of the association responsible for its existence and of the city as well.

With the development of the primitive association of 1855 into the present powerful and influential organization, none of its members has had more to do than George M. How. He assisted in the preparation of the first annual report of the Board—as chairman of what was then known as "The Standing Committee," and in this report an outline of the aims and purposes of the association was given, together with a resume of what it had accomplished, which gave it a much better standing in the community than it had prior to that time.

He was active in inaugurating the systems of grading and grain inspection which, originating in Chicago have since been adopted by all the other Board of Trade organizations in the country and in the inauguration of other practical reforms in the marketing of grain he has been a conspicuous figure.

For several years previous to 1874 he had been a member of the Board of Directors, and in that year he became president of the Board which profited by his wise and conservative administration. His interest in the organization has not abated since he retired from the highest official position within its gift. He has since labored earnestly and effectively not only to elevate the character of the local association, but to perfect this system of Board of Trade organizations throughout the country as well. For eighteen years he has annually been chosen a delegate from the Chicago Board to the National Board of Trade, and for nine years he has been one of the vice-presidents of the National Association. For nine years he has been chairman of the Grain Receiver's Association, an organization within the Chicago Board

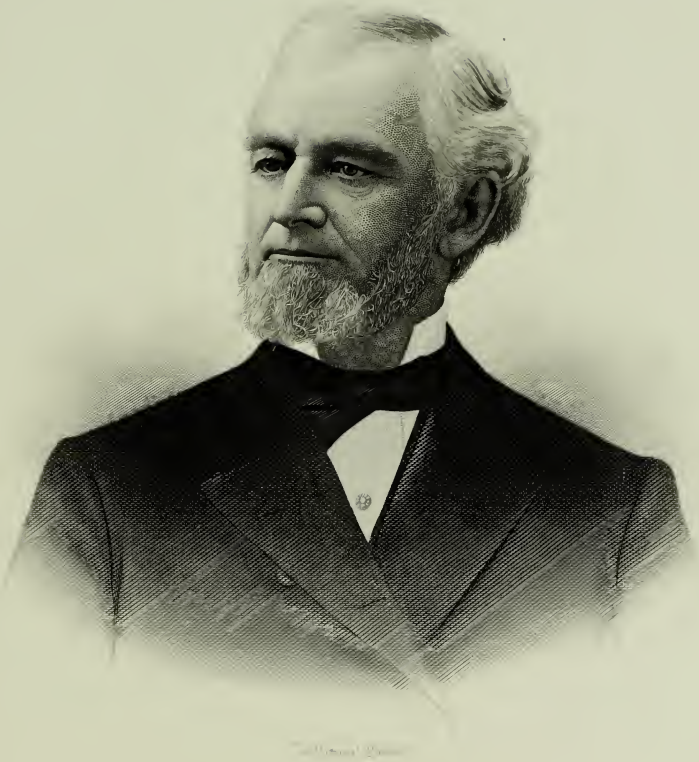
of Trade, upon which devolves many important duties and responsibilities. Absorbed in the business to which he has devoted the greater part of his active life, and having a practical knowledge of all its details he has been uniformly successful and at the same time has been, and is still, a most useful and valuable member of the association.

A systematic thorough-going business man, Mr. How has never had either the time or the inclination to be an aspirant for political honors. His political views have however, been clearly defined and his political convictions have been of the most positive character. Before the Republican party came into existence he was a member of the Whig party. Affiliating with the Republican party at the date of its organization, he has been ever since a firm believer in its principles and an active promotor of its interests whenever opportunity offered.

Married in 1853 to Julia P. Martin of Middlebury, Vermont, his family of three children grew up in Chicago. Mrs. How, a most estimable woman who was much beloved by a large circle of friends in Chicago, died a little over a year since. One son, Henry M. How, died in his young manhood in 1883. A second son, William C. How, is now living in Denver, Col. The only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. How married Albert Hayden, a son of the late Peter Hayden, the noted ironmaster of Ohio, and is now living in Chicago.

PETER L. YOE.

Should the time ever come when the great city which now holds first rank among the cities of the United States would be compelled to yield precedence to the metropolis of the west, citizens of New York may find compensation, in a measure, for their loss of prestige, in the fact that a large proportion of the founders of Chicago, of those who inaugarated its earliest commercial and manufacturing enterprises and made it one of the trade centres of the country, were native sons of the Empire State. In previously published papers of this pioneer series, much has been written of those who became identified with Chicago during the first decade of its existence. The experiences of these men were peculiarly interesting by reason of the fact that they came upon the scene when the site of the future great city was in its primitive condition of wildness, and because the few still living, have witnessed the transformation of Chicago from trading post to metropolis. Only less interesting historic characters



P. L. Yost

are those who began life in the city with the second decade of its history, who have been part and parcel of it for half a century, and who have been observers of all the more important stages of its growth and development.

A resident of Illinois since 1838, Peter L. Yoe, farmer, merchant and financier, is just now rounding out a half century's residence in Chicago.

Born in the village of Sing Sing, New York State, he was the son of Charles Yoe, an Englishman by birth, who came from Wincanton, Somersetshire, England, to the United States, when he was eighteen years of age. Soon after his arrival in this country he settled in Westchester County, became closely allied with his adopted countrymen in their struggle to maintain the form of government which they had established, marched down to New York with the Westchester County troops to participate in the war of 1812, and aided in throwing up the fortifications on the northern part of Manhattan Island at that time.

He married Mary Lynch, who belonged to a New York family, antedating the Revolutionary War. Her father, John Lynch, was born on a farm just south of the old village of White Plains, which has been for a hundred years and more noted locally as the farm on which the British forces encamped on the eve of the battle of Chatterton's Hill. The old farm was also long famous for the five large boxwood trees which stood near the homestead, and by reason of its being the home of "Prince" and "Tean," two colored servants of the Lynch family in the days of slavery in New York, who lived to a great age and enjoyed wide celebrity.

Charles Yoe was a prominent citizen of Westchester County, of comfortable means, and his sons who grew up in the village of Sing Sing, enjoyed good educational advantages combined with thorough industrial training. He was a trustee of Mt. Pleasant Academy from the date of its founding up to the time of his death, and it was at this institution, then as now famous as an "Academy," that P. L. Yoe received his education. His bent was toward merchandising and in 1830, when he was fifteen years of age, he went to New York city, where he became a clerk in Greenwich St. He remained at this place two years, during a period which was made memorable in history by the first appearance of Asiatic Cholera in this country. Mr. Yoe was in New York city when the first case of the disease was discovered on Duane St. in 1831, and saw the city deserted by all those who were able to get away, before he left for his home at Sing Sing. When he returned he became a clerk in Hanover Square until 1835, when he began business for himself as a merchant in Sing Sing. In 1837 a fire destroyed his stock of goods, on which

he had no insurance, owing to the crippled condition of insurance companies caused by the great fire in New York in 1835. This left him practically without means, and immediately thereafter he became identified with the construction of the Croton Aqueduct, on what was known as sections fifteen and sixteen, three and a half miles below the Croton dam, and also on section eighty-four in what was then known as Harlem. He held an important and responsible position in connection with this work for some time, and then decided to emigrate to Illinois. Leaving his family behind temporarily, in company with a few friends he set out on what proved to be a three weeks trip, to reach a point of destination now reached easily in thirty-six hours. Going first to Albany, he traveled from there to Buffalo by canal boat, thence to Cleveland by steamer, from Cleveland to Portsmouth, Ohio, by way of the Ohio canal and from there to St. Louis by river.

The first town which he visited in Illinois was Alton, and from there he went to Carlinville, at which place he arrived in the fall of 1838. The following spring he settled on a farm at Rhodes Point, Macoupin County, and followed the occupation of farming successfully until 1842. While residing at Rhodes Point he participated somewhat actively in the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" presidential campaign of 1840, and cast his second vote for General William Henry Harrison for President of the United States, his first vote for the hero of Tippecanoe, having been cast in 1836, at his home in the village of Sing Sing. This, by the way, is one of Mr. Yoe's somewhat unique experiences. No small number of venerable gentlemen in various parts of the country lay claim to the distinction of having voted for the "first Harrison" in 1840, and for the "second Harrison" in 1888, but there are comparatively few who can now claim the distinction of having voted for both of the presidents given to the country by the Harrison family. During the campaign of 1840 Mr. Yoe heard Abraham Lincoln make his first great political speech, at Woodburn at a Whig meeting at which four thousand people—a large crowd, in the west, in those days—were present.

After enjoying a few years of moderate prosperity as a Southern Illinois farmer, Mr. Yoe's prospects were blighted, as he thought, by the financial panic consequent upon the failure of the Illinois State Bank and its branches, and the Shawneetown Bank. Exceedingly hard times followed in the wake of these failures. Mr. Yoe found himself left with three Mexican silver dollars, the only money he had worth its face value. The remainder of his money was in broken bank notes of very uncertain value. Luckily for him, however, he found a borrower

who could use these notes at their face value, and who was willing to secure the loan by a mortgage. This mortgage he was fortunate enough to dispose of at its full value, receiving in payment therefor "a draft on New York," which was paid him in gold upon presentation some time thereafter, so that the Illinois Bank failure did not leave him a loser in the end. On the contrary, he had the very unusual experience of profiting by the failure to the extent of eighteen per cent., this being at the time the current rate for New York exchange at St. Louis.

Returning to New York State in 1842, Mr. Yoe remained there until 1843, when he again came West, this time as bookkeeper for the firm of Gurnee & Matteson, hardware and leather merchants of Chicago. Mr. Gurnee was then the City Treasurer of Chicago, Augustus Garrett—whose wife was founder of the noted Garrett Biblical Institute —being the Mayor. As bookkeeper for Mr. Gurnee, Mr. Yoe took entire charge of the city funds from September, 1843, until after the Spring election of 1845. During this time he paid out the money for the first new fire engine purchased for the city, and for building the first brick school house erected in the city, which was located on Madison street between State and Dearborn streets. One book answered for keeping all the city accounts, and the safe then in use would be looked upon as an interesting relic had it not been destroyed, along with the early official records, in the great fire of 1871. It was what was known as an old Delano safe, made of chestnut wood, covered with sheet iron and bound with hoop iron, put together with enormous rivets, and unlocked by a key which would have made a formidable weapon. At that time the entire amount of the funds collected and disbursed for the support of the city government, all of which passed through Mr. Yoe's hands, did not exceed twenty-nine thousand dollars a year.

After a time the firm of Gurnee & Matteson dissolved, but Mr. Yoe continued to be associated with Mr. Gurnee in the tanning and leather business, and at a later date became a partner in the firm of Gurnee, Hayden & Co., the widely-known Peter Hayden,of Ohio, being the third member of the firm. Mr. Hayden finally sold out his interest in the business, and the firm became Gurnee & Yoe, their business being carried on under this firm name until through an exchange of interest Mr. Yoe became sole proprietor of the most extensive saddlery and leather store in the West, while the tannery passed under the exclusive control of Mr. Gurnee.

It was while arranging to start a store at Peoria, in connection with Mr. Gurnee, that Mr. Yoe had the thrilling experience of being on board the steamer Prairie Bird when she sank in the Illinois River as the result of a collision with the steamer

Governor Briggs. The lives of all the passengers were for a time imperiled, but loss of life was finally averted.

An interesting incident of Mr. Yoe's merchandising experience during this period was his connection with the Grant family, and the somewhat important part he played in bringing them to Galena. When he and Mr. Gurnee sold the Galena branch of their business, E. A. Collins & Co. became the purchasers, the "Company" of the firm being Jesse Grant, the father of General U. S. Grant. This firm was dissolved after a time, with the understanding that Collins, who retained the Galena business, should continue to send hides to Grant, who was operating a tannery at Covington, Kentucky, taking leather in return, as formerly. This part of the agreement he failed to fulfil, and Grant finally came West to see what could be done to protect his interests. He called on Mr. Yoe while in Chicago, and was advised by him to start another store in Galena, which he did soon afterward. It was the opening of this establishment in Galena which brought General—then Captain—Grant to Illinois; of which State he became a citizen, and from which he went forth to win renown as the greatest of American generals.

In 1857, on account of impaired health Mr. Yoe sold his store and with his wife went to Europe, where he remained until the summer of 1858, when he returned to Chicago. Having been eminently successful in his business career, there was no occasion for him to again engage in merchandising, and his later life has been devoted mainly to looking after his private fortune and investments. He has always however, taken an active interest in the conduct and management of several important corporations with which he has been identified. For thirty-three years he was a director of the Chicago Gas light and Coke Company. He was one of the original stockholders of the Merchants Loan and Trust Company, of which he is now vice-president. In this connection it is interesting to note that the site of the bank building, in which Mr. Yoe can still be found daily during business hours,—is the site occupied by his first residence in Chicago in the early "forties." He was one of the incorporators and a director of the Chicago Dock Company, and took charge personally of the work of construction. Under his supervision work was begun on this enterprise in the month of August, 1861, and by December of the same year the company was receiving storage on goods. Mr. Yoe managed the business of the company two years, declining a re-election as director, resigning the position of secretary and treasurer, and selling out his interests at the end of that time.

The first house built in the block just north of Hubbard court, on Wabash avenue — now in the heart

of the city — was built by Mr. Yoe on land which cost him $12.50 per front foot The first hard coal burned in a private residence in the city was burned in his house at the corner of Washington and Dearborn streets.

Always recognized as one of the eminently successful business men of Chicago, a man of sterling integrity, of keen perceptions and first-class executive ability, Mr. Yoe has long been one of the most conspicuous of the business men — the real builders of the city of Chicago. A whig in early life, and a republican since that time, he has been pronounced in his political views, but has had no taste for figuring in public affairs. The most important public service of his life was rendered during the war, when he served as a member of the Union Defense Committee of Chicago. This historic committee, the importance of whose work can never be fully estimated, was divided into three sub-committees, of one of which Mr. Yoe was chairman. Acting in this capacity he rendered important and valuable services, not only to the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois, but to the country at large.

In the earlier years of his residence in Chicago he was much interested in building up the fire department of the city, aiding in various ways to secure the best and most efficient service. He aided in the formation of the Fireman's Benevolent Association, serving first as vice-president, and later as president of the organization, and in every way possible sought to build up and strengthen the organization.

As president of the Protestant Orphan Asylum of Chicago for one year, he laid the foundation for the subsequent prosperity of that institution by skilful and judicious financiering, and all enterprises with which he has been identified, whether public or private, seem to have profited by his careful and correct business methods.

Mr. Yoe's first wife—who was Miss Amanda Green of Rockland County, New York, and to whom he was married in 1837—died in Macoupin county in 1842, and in 1845 he married Miss Katharine A. Gurnee, who became a resident of Chicago some time prior to 1840.

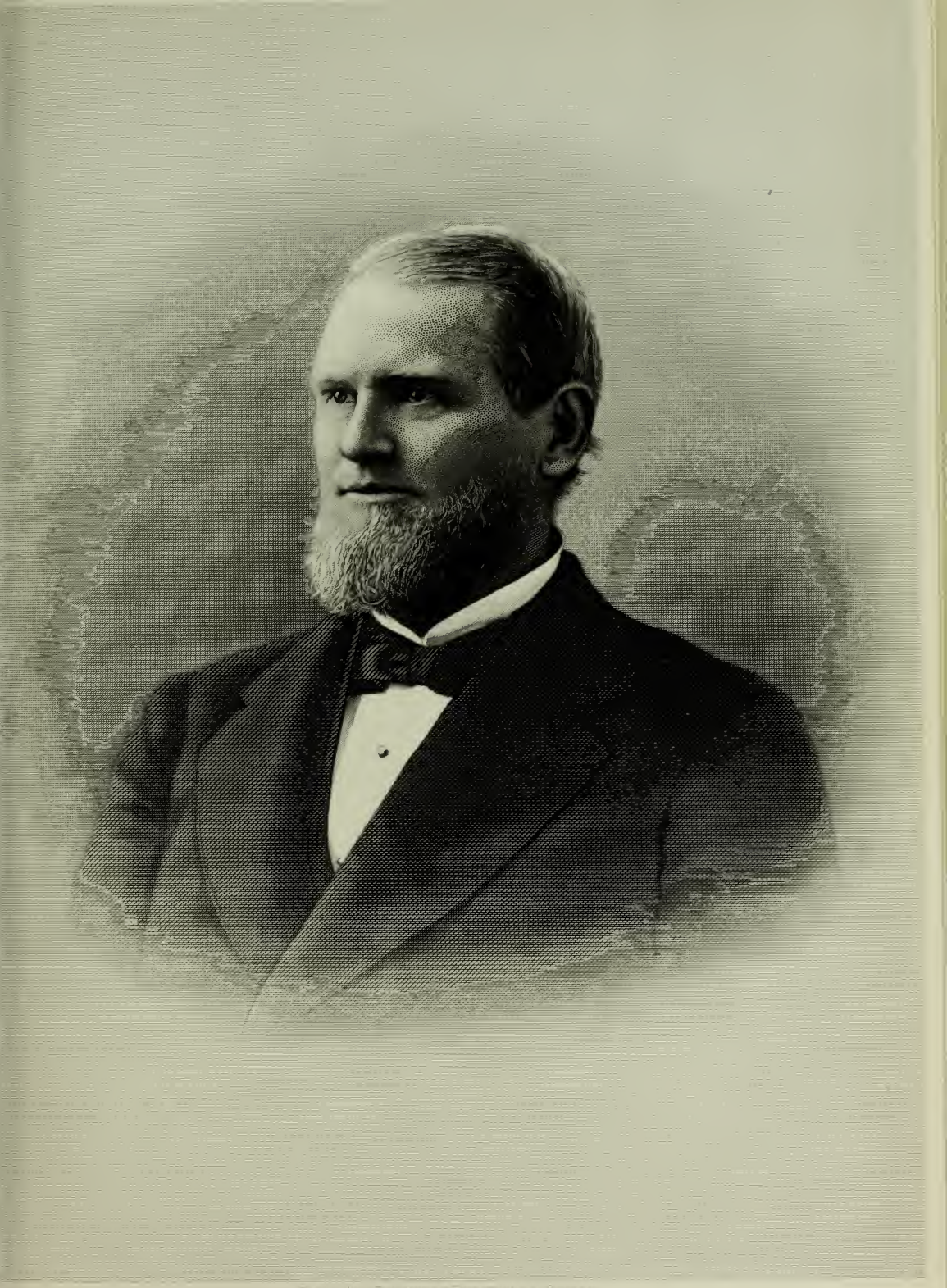
Mr. L.G.Yoe, now prominent among the merchants of Chicago, and Mrs. Freeman, the wife of Rev. Dr. Freeman, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Denver, Col., are the only children of Mr. and Mrs. Yoe. Their church affiliations have always been with the Presbyterian Church, of which they have been active and influential members.

SAMUEL HARKNESS MC'CREA.

In 1831 there arrived in America, William McCrea and his wife Abigal (Harkness) McCrea, representatives of that sturdy race, the Scotch Irish, which has contributed so much to the thrift, the industry, and the prosperity of this country. William McCrea was the son of Scotch parents, who emigrated to the north of Ireland during the era of religious persecutions. He was born in Londonderry in 1796, and his wife was a native of the County Tyrone, where she was born in 1799. Arrived in the United States the young people settled at Goshen, New York State, where their son, Samuel Harkness McCrea, was born August 16th, 1826. One of a family of ten children, Samuel H. McCrea, did not inherit a sufficient patrimony to enable him to start in the race of life with flattering prospects of building up a large fortune, but he did inherit industry, integrity, and that indomitable energy so characteristic of the men who have played the most conspicuous parts in the advancements of western civilization. It was the possession of these qualities which gave him his start in life, which brought to him the successes of later years and which made him a prominent figure in a great city, where men of ordinary calibre and ordinary ability pursue their avocations year in and year out without filling any place in the public mind.

Occupied much of the time during the years of his boyhood with tasks set him by parents, who believed in industrial training, his education was only such as he was able to obtain in the public schools of Brighton, New York, where he spent the greater portion of his early life.

But he was enterprising and ambitious, and within two years after he attained his majority he left his native state to seek what he looked upon as a more promising field for the acquisition of a fortune. He was twenty-three years of age in 1849, when news of the discovery of the rich gold fields of California traveled eastward to the Atlantic coast, and the same year he sailed from New York, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and landed safely at San Francisco. Arrived in California he cast his fortune with the gold hunters and for three years was engaged in mining enterprises. He met with fair success and in 1852 concluded to return to one of the eastern or middle west-



S. H. McCrea

ern states, where he thought his means could be more profitably invested or employed than in California. He first went to Louisiana, where he became interested in the construction of a line of railway. When this work was completed he came to Illinois, where an era of railroad building and public improvements had set in, and he was not slow to perceive that this meant a vast development of the resources and a wonderful upbuilding of the commerce of the state. In 1855 he located at Morrison Ill., turning his attention to railroad building, and becoming interested in various large and profitable contracts.

Soon after he engaged in business at Morrison, he began giving a considerable share of his attention to the grain trade, and recognizing Chicago as the natural gateway through which the products of this region should pass on their way to the eastern market, he became one of the pioneers in shipping grain by railroad to this market. He also engaged in the lumber trade, building up in a comparatively short time a large business, yielding handsome profits.

In 1862 he was attracted to Chicago, by the splendid facilities which it offered for engaging in the grain trade on an extensive scale, and removed both his family and his business to this city. Here he soon became a leading operator on the Board of Trade, and one of the most prominent and influential of its members. In 1867 he was chosen a member of the Directory of its board, and was identified with it in the same official capacity in 1868–69. From the date of his becoming a member of this great commercial organization, he exerted a marked and important influence in shaping its policies and developing its usefulness. He was active in bettering the system of conducting its operations, in reducing abuses of its privileges and powers to the minimum, and in promoting reforms of various kinds. Becoming first Vice President of the board in 1869, he was put forward and elected to the presidency in 1870, as a representative of the conservative element among the traders, and in this capacity he rendered valuable services not only to the grain shippers, but to the grain producers of the west. During his administration the methods of handling grain were radically changed, the whole business of regulating inspection, storage and shipment were taken out of the hands of the Board of Trade and placed under the control of the State. If he did not actually originate the movement which brought about this reform, Mr. McCrea's whole influence as president of the organization was brought to bear in its favor, and he unquestionably did much to inaugurate a system which has been most beneficent in its results, and in its influence upon western commerce. His activity in this connection added largely to his reputation as a sagacious,

broadminded man of affairs, and confirmed the business men of the city in the view that he was entitled to high rank among those who have contributed to the commercial prosperity of Chicago. A man of close observation and broad experience, eminently practical in everything, and of unimpeachable integrity, he was especially qualified for the position which he was called upon to fill as chief executive officer of this great association of western traders, and his duties were discharged with a regard for the best interests of the public and a fidelity to correct business principles, which won for him more than local distinction.

While engaging most actively in commercial pursuits, he took an equally active interest in public affairs, and in securing good government for the city of Chicago and Cook county. His political affiliations were with the Republican party, with which he became identified at the date of its organization in 1856. He was first chosen to fill a political office in 1876, when he was elected a member of the city council of Chicago. He was at once made chairman of the committee on finance upon which devolved the important task of shaping the financial legislation of the city, at a time when its treasury was practically empty and the extent of its resources a matter of great uncertainty. In this emergency Mr. McCrea's genius for financiering enabled him to formulate measures and inaugurate reforms which soon brought about a great improvement in municipal affairs. As a result of the financial policy of which he was the chief promoter, the depleted treasury was replenished, the various departments were supplied with funds necessary to their proper conduct, and the city's credit was fully restored.

In 1877 he was elected county treasurer of Cook county by a majority of 7,000, a fact which attested the high appreciation which the public had of his financial ability, and the extent to which he commanded the confidence and admiration of his fellow citizens. The same year that he was elected county treasurer Gov. Cullom called upon him—without his knowledge or solicitation—to assume another important responsibility in the interest of good government, and to further public improvements in Chicago. At that time the public park system of west Chicago was just being fairly outlined, and extensive improvements were projected. The work to be done was of the greatest importance and in making his appointments Gov. Cullom was careful to select as his appointees, men of acknowledged ability and irreproachable character. Upon accepting this position Mr. McCrea was one of those who entered most actively and heartily into the work of correcting the abuses which had crept into the parks management, and of managing all its affairs in strict ac-

cordance with approved business principles. It is not too much to say in this connection that he and his associates brought order out of what was at least a semi-chaotic condition of matters pertaining to the management and improvement of the parks of the west division of Chicago, and gave to the city the splendid boulevards and other attractions which are the pride of its citizens.

At the end of a two years term of service as a member of the Board of Park Commissioners, he was reappointed to the same position in 1879, and served in all six years, two years of that time as president of the board. He resigned in 1883 on account of the pressing demands of his private business on his time and energies.

In every capacity in which he figured prominently, either as a public official or as a private citizen, he was recognized as a most useful member of the community with which he was so long identified. His business associates esteemed him, and those who knew him in all the walks of life always entertained for him the greatest respect and the most kindly regard. One who had known him intimately for many years—a distinguished citizen of a distant state—writing of him after his death, paid to the memory of the man, what those who knew him best regard as a just and proper tribute, in the following language: "As a friend I have found him one of the gentlest, kindest, truest. His heart was full of the quick and warm response of a generous nature. * * * The old sought him to renew their youth, the children sought him as a companion. * * * He made a great success of life, lived nobly, achieved grandly and died bravely."

A year after he located and began business in the state of Illinois, in 1856, he was married to Miss Coraline J. Johnson, whose home at the date of her marriage was in Cook county, but whose earlier home had been in New York State. The first few years of their married life they lived at Morrison, but Chicago became their permanent home in 1863.

Willey S., Charles M., and Samuel Harkness McCrea Jr., three of their four sons, have grown up and are still living in Chicago. One son, Daniel Q. McCrea, died in early childhood.

The death of Mr. McCrea, an event which brought profound grief and unfeigned sorrow to a large circle of friends and acquaintances, occurred at his home in Chicago, March 12, 1891.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

The illustrations on pages 281 and 284 are, by courtesy, from THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF NEW YORK.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

In 1889, the monument on Plymouth Rock was unveiled. Immediately, Mr. S. R. Thayer, Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland from the United States, suggested to Secretary Blaine the propriety of moving in the matter of a corresponding, though more modest memorial at Delfshaven, whence the Pilgrims started in the Speedwell on the journey that ended in the Mayflower on Plymouth Rock. Mr. Blaine sent a copy of the despatch to the proper societies in New England and the Congregational Club of Boston, with admirable timeliness adopted the follow-preamble:

"Adopted at the regular meeting of the Congregational Club of Boston, Mass., Monday, February 24, 1890.

WHEREAS; Remembering the hospitality of the free republic of Holland so generously bestowed upon the Pilgrims, who, after twelve years residence in Amsterdam and Leyden, sailed from Delfshaven on a voyage which was completed at Plymouth Rock, it is fitting that we, members of the Congregational Clubs throughout the United States, should unite in grateful recognition of Dutch hospitality, and at Delfshaven raise some durable token of our appreciation of both hosts and guests, calling upon all Americans who honor alike the principles and the founders of the two republics to join in the enterprise." Completing this action a committee was appointed to collect funds, and the eminent historian, Dr. Wm. Elliot Griffis was made its chairman.

At once however, and on the other hand, a strong antagonism to the scheme developed itself in New England itself, led by no less a person than the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter of the Congregationalist. He died soon after, but the echo (a feeble one) of his opposing arguments was heard in one or two places in Connecticut. In seeking to discourage the enterprise, Dr. Dexter and his followers tried to prove that the hospitality and asylum afforded to Pilgrims and Puritans in Holland for more than twelve years, was "a fiction in the face of history;" that Holland's being "a free republic" was all a farce; and more of such astonishing, gratuitous and singularly unhappy reflections on a nation to whom the Pilgrims owed so much, and themselves so cheerfully felt and acknowledged the obligation.

For many months no serious effort to refute these attacks were made on the opposite side. But meantime, Dr. Griffis went to Holland and to England, engaging in special researches there, and fortified by his preparation, wrote a paper on the Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English

Commonwealth and the American Republic. He takes up all the small and unworthy objections made by his opponent, and demolishes them one by one; but besides and around this process of demolition, he builds up a noble argument, appealing to all real scholars, for the influence which Holland and her institutions has exerted upon our own Republic. Those who will best appreciate how true and well founded this argument is, are they who have given the most special study to this very subject. Dr. Griffis puts the case very strongly for Holland. Indeed, we fear it will appear so strong to the general reader as to awaken the suspicion that it is overdrawn: that the influence of Holland is unduly exaggerated and that of England unduly minimized.

Yet the instances and institutions advanced are really what they are represented to be. And such as they are, and flourishing upon our soil, they were emphatically foreign to England, out of which the Pilgrims and Puritans came; while they were perfectly patent and daily to be observed in the Republic across the North Sea. There the New England fathers actually saw them. Now from this circumstance there is only one conclusion; things cannot be derived from a region where they do not exist. England could not give or suggest what she did not herself have. If those very things however, were possessed by Holland, why deny to this country the origin of them, as regards their reproduction in America? With our utmost endeavor to be just and impartial, and with a sincere disinclination to believe what Dr. Griffis writes, we are afraid there is too much truth in the following sentences from his paper. "The history of the United States has not yet been written except by New England historians, who have a tendency to forget, or do not like to know, what New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia have done. They say we are an English nation, and they attempt to derive our institutions from England, notwithstanding that our institutions which are most truly American were never in England. The story of Holland's direct influence on the English speaking world is an omitted chapter."

While the Americas are celebrating the fourth centennial anniversary of Columbus' discovery by a World's Fair at Chicago, it is quite appropriate that the European nation, which launched the Columbus project and furnished the great majority of early explorers in America, should commemorate the same event. This the Spanish Government has undertaken to do by organizing a Historical International Exhibition, to be held at Madrid, from September 12th, to December 31st of next year.

The theme of the exhibit will be (1) the state of geographical knowledge, and the achievements of explorers down to Columbus' time, (2) the history, customs and conditions of the aborigines of North, South and Central America down to the advent of the European explorers, and (3) the history of the colonization and development of the Americas down to 1750. The first part of this theme Spain will be able very completely to illustrate from her own archives, which constitute a rich storehouse of old maps and charts, and geographical and historical works. But for an adequate exhibit along the two other lines she must depend mainly upon the generosity of American institutions and individuals in lending from their collections. Happily, the Exhibition Commissioners appointed by the Spanish minister at Washington, have met with good success at Philadelphia, where their first efforts have been made, and we learn that the University of Pennsylvania alone has arranged to furnish 4,000 articles, including MSS., charts and specimens of implements, weapons, ornaments and clothing of various Indian tribes.

The next visits of the commissioners will be to Boston and New York, and other cities and institutions will be invited to loan some of their treasures. It is to be hoped that the response will be liberal. This is the first instance of a European nation calling upon us in such a capacity, and Spain's request is a compliment to our institutions. The intended exhibition is not to be in any sense a rival of our World's Fair. The commissioners declare that every article loaned will be returned to this country in time to be exhibited at Chicago, if desired. Doubtless Spain also would reciprocate our generosity by a loan of her treasures for our Exposition. At any rate, the Madrid Exhibition, with its American-Historical theme, especially concerns us, and it offers a rare opportunity to convey to European minds some idea of the dignity which American historical research has attained. Such of our institutions as liberally respond will also reap an individual benefit by thus introducing themselves in a manner to command the respect and arouse the interest of the Old World.

In connection with the discussion of the historic name of our country, a correspondent sends the following extract from Peter Heylin's "Chorography and Historic of America" published in London about 1663. "America, the fourth and last part of the world is called by some, and that most aptly the New World--New for the late discovery, and World for the greatness of it. The most usual and yet somewhat the most improper name is that of America, because Americus Vespuscius, a Florentine adventurer, discovered a great part of the continent of it. But since the first light he had to find out those parts came from the directions and example of Columbus, who first led the way, and that Sebastian Cabot touched at many places which Americus Vespuscius never saw; it might as properly have been called Columbana, Sebastiana, or Cabotia. The most improper name of all and yet not much less used than that of America, is the West Indies; west in regard to the western situation of it from these parts of Europe, and Indies either as mistook for some part of India at the first discovery or else because the seamen use to call all countries, if remote and rich, by the name of India."

Our correspondent comments as follows: Now that we are just on the eve of celebrating what we regard as the remarkable foresight of Columbus, we cannot justify the truth of history more effectually than to bring out all which appears on the surface respecting the parties who may be entitled to the credit of this great discovery or whose name will be most appropriate to apply to this great hemisphere. Few nations have held to a single unchanged name as long as Rome. Change appears everywhere and there are circumstances which impel these changes. The wiping out of many little kingdoms and princedoms on the continent of Europe has made one Empire of Germany, and when this northern half of the western hemisphere shall come under one government it will no doubt fall in line with other nations and be known by a single euphonious and expressive name. Until then we will be compelled to content ourselves with being citizens of the United States of America, and proud of it at that!

The Thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Historical Society recently held in Madison was a memorable one, because it was, in part, in commemoration of Dr. Lyman Copeland Draper whose loss is so greatly felt by that organization—as well as by all those interested in historical studies.

The society is one of the most vigorous of the State Societies, and the sources of much of this vigor and its results in historical work —pre-eminently in the gathering of the choicest historical material—are not far to

seek when it is remembered how long the Society has had the advantage of the historical scholarship, the enthusiasm and the cause-devotion of Dr. Draper.

The President, John Johnston of Milwaukee, made a touching allusion to Dr. Draper saying, "that he lived for this society and did not forget it in the hour of death, and has set an example to wealthier men in his benefactions."

A memorial address was delivered by the Secretary, Mr. R. B. Thwaintes, giving an elaborate and singularly appreciative account of Dr. Draper's work and his services to the Society. "He was" says Secretary Thwaintes, "perhaps the most successful of all collectors of material for American border history, and it will ever remain a great regret to historical students that he was prevented from giving to the world that important series of biographies for which he so eagerly planned half a century ago."

The address characterizes him as somewhat of a recluse, a gentle scholar, of noble purpose, and wondrous zeal and self-denial in his chosen work.

The growth of the system of "University Extension," as it is called, is of great interest. A call for a National Conference has been issued to meet in Philadelphia on the last three days of December. "Representatives," says this call "will attend this Conference from all the leading colleges and universities of the United States and Canada, and delegates will be present from abroad. An opportunity will be given for the fullest acquaintance with this system of teaching, and discussions will be held on interesting points in connection with its development in America." The development and progress of all effort along educational lines is of profound significance to any one who studies history from its deepest side.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY. 1783–1789. By John Fiske. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1891. [Eighth Edition.]

When the War of the Revolution was over, the real struggle for national existence in our Republic began. It may not have appeared so to contemporaries, for Paine, as quoted by Prof. Fiske, congratulated himself and his age, that the trying of their souls was past in 1783. But it is perfectly patent to the student of history to-day, that if our Ship of State had not been under the guidance of the very highest intellectual abilities, combined with the purest and noblest moral integrity, it would have gone to utter wreck within a very few years after the peace of 1783. Therefore Prof. Fiske has seized upon this period to read us some instructive lessons in State-craft, in political wisdom, in the power and utility of republican institutions.

He conducts us at first to Europe, and gives us a clear, concise view of the diplomatic fencing that was done there, in which our plain Yankee citizens bore such an admirable part. It was French cunning, sharpened by centuries of practice, against straightforward, keensighted, perfectly honest and patriotic Yankee shrewdness. France's hollow support of a republican revolt, for the real object of humiliating England instead of advancing popular liberty, comes strongly into the foreground. But we get too a picture of English ministerial sympathies and antipathies with reference to our struggle. There always was a friendly England and a hostile England as

regards the American Republic. After this prologue the curtain rises upon America and we behold the integral parts of the future great nation in their separate—too separate—individuality. Yet each by itself is a picture worth studying; and we are led to acknowledge step by step, the correctness of our author's view, that our revolution was perhaps of all revolutions the most conservative. The colonial government-forms glided by slight changes into the State-forms. But we become painfully aware, too, that these were thirteen States—much more than *one* nation. This painful fact, however, is the one to be emphasized if we are to understand the criticalness of this period, and the marvel and happiness of our escape from it. Hence, the next chapter shows how unsatisfactory the union between those thirteen States was, and how feeble the government depending upon this precarious league. The picture grows darker and the conclusion becomes more and more inevitable, that the liberated colonies were "drifting into anarchy." Nothing is sadder to contemplate than the friction between the States, the rivalries and hostilities, the acts of oppression of the more powerful ones against the weaker, and what is worse, there are to be seen insurrections of the people of certain States against their own authorities. In the face of all this, Congress stands helpless, and seems to grow weaker as the situation grows more desperate. But now our author makes us look upon some glimmerings of light in the midst of chaos and darkness. The controversies and threatened anarchy were the result of selfishness, sectionalism, narrow trade-policies. It is refreshing to note therefore that a few clear spirits could rise above these mean and short-sighted principles, and feel magnanimously and act in accord therewith. The true, bottom principles of christianity had to come into operation before our Republic could be; before a mere straggling, perpetually disintegrating confederacy could be transformed into a Federal Union, a nation of States, inseparable and invincible. "To love one's neighbor as one's self;" "to do unto others as we would have others do unto us;" these were the foundation stones of our national constitution. Prof. Fiske indicates how these principles began to act, and to resolve order out of chaos. He shows that the idea of national sovereignty gained force (if not being) from the concrete fact of national territory. "The creation of a national domain laid the corner-stone of our Federal Union." But in securing this territory various States had to make sacrifices for the common weal: "New York set the praiseworthy example." It was indeed only the yielding up of a claim. But even that was much in those days. Virginia, however, "gave up a magnificent and princely territory of which she was actually in possession;" of a people among whom such acts were possible greater things were to be expected, and hence the great structure of our Union finally arose. Prof. Fiske quotes Mr. Gladstone, who characterizes the American constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." The chapter which describes the actual work of preparing the constitution in convention, and that on "Crowning the Work," when it had to be laboriously commended and adopted by State after State, deserve our most careful study. The selfishness and sectionalism are still strong and mean: we need to see how mean and destructive these were. But the splendid monument of patriotic unselfishness—exemplifying the Golden Rule in Statecraft—rose high and inspiring; and it finally conquered the day, and when Washington was inaugurated on April 30th, 1789, the "Critical Period" was over, and the career of the United States began.

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MAKERS OF AMERICA SERIES.

1. Thomas Hooker, Preacher, Founder, Democrat: by George Leon Walker.

2. General Houston, 1793-1863, by Henry Bruce.

Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1891.

Connecticut was an outgrowth of the Massachusetts Bay colony—the exodus of a body of men and women who felt oppressed by a certain lack of liberty of thought and of action. They braved the hardship and perils of a journey through the wilderness in order to breathe a freer air in settlements of their own. The region of the Connecticut had been pictured forth in attractive colors; and the slight matter of a prior right of the Dutch, both by discovery and purchase, did not weigh much with people whose chief use of christianity lay in the extraction of austere doctrines; with which austerity of life and a fixed purpose to have their own way in Church and State accorded well, but which could take no time to balance nicely what was just and right to neighbors of a different nation and a different Church-polity. Holland was useful as an asylum from the persecution of King and Prelates in England. But in the free wilderness such obligation was easily forgotten.

On the Connecticut the new colonists settled, and there, under the guidance of Hooker, Connecticut colony established the earliest and most democratic institution in this country. It was the first to possess a written constitution. It went far ahead of Winthrop and Massachusetts in trusting the people. Recognizing this feature of our development into a Republic, Hooker was the forerunner of Thomas Jefferson, while Winthrop's affinity is more with Hamilton. Yet as both Jefferson and Hamilton, Anti-Federalist and Federalist, have contributed to make us what we are, these earlier foundations need to be carefully studied, and Hooker, as one of the "Makers of America," must be studied to appreciate all the labor that lies at the foundation of our political existence.

In one sermon in particular, Hooker gave forth his democratic principles clearly and succinctly. It was preached by Mr. Hooker at an adjourned session of the General Court of April, 1638, as it was about to proceed to form the first Constitution. Only the brief or skeleton from which the discourse was preached is left. But even here we can read such sentences as these: "the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people." Again: "By a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to love the persons chosen, and more ready to yield obedience." The author in commenting on these words well says: "Can any one read those clear definitions of the source, the limitations, and the warrant of all authority in human government, and not recognize the formulation of a new principle in political science?"

The literary work of this volume is to be commended—as might be expected when editors are selected with such care, but we are concerned with books chiefly in their historical bearings. And it is because it is so full of instruction to the student of American history that we call attention to it.

Mr. Bruce brings into small compass the romantic story of the typical Western hero, Gen. Houston, who guided Texas to independence, steered her clear of threatened shipwreck during her brief career as a republic, and finally brought her safe into harbor as a State of the Union in 1845. The author's reasons for brevity in the treatment of his theme are set forth in this bit of philosophy in his introduction: "The true secret of wearying one's readers," says Voltaire, "is to try to tell him everything." In other words, "An exhaustive work is sure to be exhausting." Mr. Bruce certainly has avoided this error; yet as he hurries us from scene to scene in his dramatic narrative we feel that we are in the hands of a competent judge of what is relevant and essential to a just estimate of the work and character of Gen. Houston, and we are grateful to escape the harrowing ordeal which our author claims

to have endured in this complaint: "I do not think that in all my previous years I have read the amount of bad literature that I have been obliged to go through in the preparation of this volume." But from this dubious source Mr. Bruce has constructed a series of vivid and interesting pictures, in which he presents Houston as a young eccentric leaving his home, with a treasured copy of Pope's translation of the Iliad, to take up his abode in the wigwam of a friendly Indian; as a young enthusiast joining Jackson's expedition against the Creek Indians and becoming a hero, desperately wounded at the battle of Tohopeka; and in a brilliant career as lawyer, Congressman, and Governor of Tennessee, until his sudden separation from his wife, three months after their marriage, causes the collapse of his popularity, and is followed by his resignation of the governorship, and retirement from civilization to another friendly wigwam in Arkansas. The mystery of this sad affair remains unsolved, although Mr. Bruce gives us three different accounts of it to choose from. Then follow the eventful years wherein Gen. Houston is identified with the history of Texas. He appears, successively, as her deliverer from Mexican bondage, as President of the new Republic for two terms, as United States Senator from Texas for three terms, after she has become a State, and finally as her Governor. We seldom read anything finer than Houston's generosity in sparing the life of Gen. Santa Anna, and his determination to keep faith with him when fidelity meant the loss of his own popularity. Equally grand, and more pathetic, was his deposal in 1861 from the governorship of the Texas he had done so much to create, because he would not consent to her alliance with what he styled "the portentious confederacy that is forming around Jefferson Davis." In spite of Houston's participation in a wretched duel or two, as our author frankly admits, we finish the book with the impression that the hero of San Jacinto was a most remarkable man. Mr. Bruce confesses, in his closing paragraph: "I have been living with the memory of Houston for some months past, and I have found it impossible not to become attached to him."

We have received the following pamphlets:

1. Constitutional Development of Japan, 1853-1881.

2. Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin by Fred. J. Turner.

The John Hopkins Press.

The latter is a study of the Trading Post as an institution. Its scope, and the character of its historical interest is clearly shown in the opening sentence. "The Trading Post is an old and influential institution. Established in the midst of an undeveloped society by a more advanced people, it is a centre not only of new economic influence, but also of all the transforming forces that accompany the intercourse of a higher with a lower civilization."

3. The Iowa Historical Record for October.

4. The Dedham Historical Register for October. The latter is a very artistic publication, and this number has for a frontispiece a beautiful heliotype of the fireplace in the library of the Historical Society.

5. "University Extension" for October.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, held its regular monthly meeting December 7. C. P. Dorland read a paper on "Mission Rule in the Days of the Padres," which gave an interesting account of life in the missions during the rule of the padres. The president, G. B. Griffin, reported that the society's publication of the translation of Viscaina's letters and other original historical matter would soon be issued.

The annual meeting of the New Haven Colony Society, Conn., was held on November 30. Prof. S. E. Baldwin was elected president, and Thos. R. Trowbridge, secretary. Chas. J. Hoadly of Hartford, read a paper on "The Warwick Patent." Mr. Hoadly is the editor of the series of our "Colonial Record," and is probably the most widely informed student in all that pertains to the early history of Connecticut.

The Delaware Historical Society held its annual meeting at Wilmington, on December 21. The Hon. L. E. Wales was elected president, Dr. L. P. Bush, secretary, and Rev. P. B. Cabell, historiographer.

Mrs. Chas. J. Du Point presented the Society with some valuable documents, including letters of Franklin and Lord Baltimore.

The Filson Club of Louisville, Ky., which seems to be a very vigorous historical organization, has just been made an incorporated company. It is the ultimate intention to collect, maintain and preserve a library and museum with suitable buildings and grounds.

The fall meeting of the Maine Historical Society, Portland, was held December 17. The papers read were a memoir of William M. Sargent, by Dr. Charles E. Banks; memoir of Edward H. Elwell, by Samuel T. Pickard; biographical sketch of Joseph Dane of York county by Edward P. Burnham; also a paper upon the Dukedom of Sagadahoc, by Parker M. Reed of Bath. Mr. Joseph Williamson gave an account of the manuscript left by the late Judge Williamson, and read some biographical sketches of early Maine ministers. 146 of these sketches were found among the Williamson papers. An interesting paper on the historic Graves and Cilley duel was read, prepared by Hon. Horatio King of Washington, D. C.

The Dedham Historical Society, Mass., held its regular monthly meeting on December 2. A paper was read by Fred J. Stimson, Esq., on "The Law for Indian."

The Massachusetts Historical Society held its regular meeting on December 10, at which among other interesting things Rev. Dr. Paige presented, in behalf of the author, "Biographical Notes of Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, 1588-1629, by Francis B. Troup," and also gave some facts supplemental to his remarks at the last meeting, showing that John Wheeler of Hardwick, one of the leaders of the Shay rebellion, received military promotion after he had been convicted of treason and sentenced to death.

The Minnesota Historical Society at its meeting on December 14, listened to a paper by Hon. R. J. Baldwin of Minneapolis on the causes which led to the disruption of the Minnesota Constitutional Convention in 1857.

The annual meeting of the New Brunswick

Historical Club, N. J., was held on December 17. Dr. D. D. Demarest was elected president and Dr. Austin Scott, corresponding secretary.

A paper was read by Dr. E. L. Stevenson entitled "Jefferson and Morris in France during the first years of the Revolution."

The Salem County Historical Society, N. J., has just held its annual meeting. William Patterson was elected president and Charles Mecum, corresponding secretary.

An Oregon State Historical Society is evidently soon to be an accomplished fact. A meeting was held in Portland on December 4, and committees were appointed to prepare a plan of permanent organization to be perfected in January.

This is the newest recruit to the constantly growing number of Historical Societies.

The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, held a large and interesting meeting on December 16, at which Henry C. Dorr read a paper on Roger Williams and William Harris—or the controversey between proprietors and freeholders of Providence Colony.

The Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, at a meeting held on December 4, taking action on a resolution offered by Judge Lea, appointed a committee to act in conjunction with a committee from the Commercial Club, to induce the several counties to make appropriations to enable the Society to prepare its proposed Historical and Archaeological Exhibit at the World's Fair.

The Virginia Historical Society, Hon. William Wirt Henry, president, held a general meeting in Richmond, December 20 and 21. The Society has made a new departure in these general meetings by the reading of papers carefully prepared, and will without doubt create and maintain a new interest in historical matters.

There was a varied programme to which we shall refer later.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society, (Madison) in the annual report of its secretary, Mr. Thwaites, gives some exceedingly interesting information. Among the notable gifts of the year were:

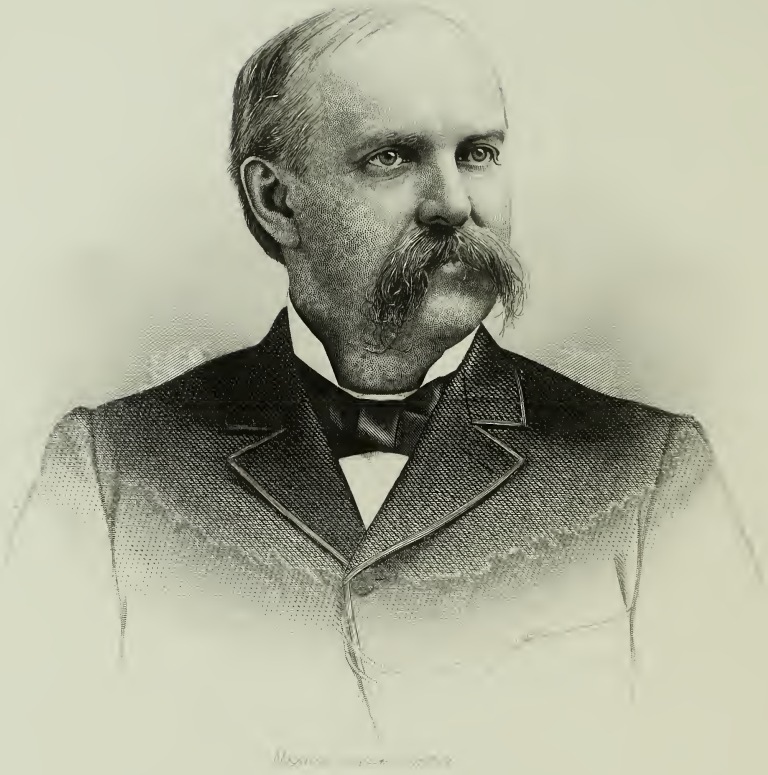
1. The Draper Library of some 3,000 books and 20,000 pages of manuscript, chiefly bearing on the history of the Western border from 1742 to 1815.

2. A gift from President Johnson of a collection of choice works selected by the secretary in Europe during the past summer.

The report indicates that a vigorous effort will be made for a legislative grant to properly house the Society collections which are now of such exceeding interest.

It is also of interest to note that the society took up the question of the proposed exhibit of the society at the world's fair. It was shown that much can be done in this direction, but that a location in some central building, alongside of similar historical and archæological exhibits from other States, would be more advantageous both to the public and to the society, then being housed in the State building which would probably be visited by few persons not directly interested in Wisconsin affairs. (See also Editorial Notes.)

The American Historical Association will hold its eighth annual meeting at Washington, December 29 to 31. There will be five sessions, and many distinguished scholars will be present. The stimulus given to historical research by the approaching celebration of the discovery of America is well attested by the fact that one session is given up to papers on the various phases of this discovery—Columbian and pre-Columbian. It is noteworthy that two of the papers to be read are by women—Mrs. Lee C. Harby of New York and Mrs. Mary Parker Follett of Quincy, Mass.



N. P. Hill

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THE DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNORS.*

PETER MINUIT AND WALTER VAN TWILLER.

"Adventure brought men to Virginia," writes Henry Cabot Lodge in his English Colonies in America, "politics and religion to New England, philanthropy to Georgia; but New York was founded by trade and for trade, and for nothing else. The settlement on the island of Manhattan was due to the active spirit of Dutch commerce." The early trading voyages were now to be succeeded by permanent colonization. But none the less was the aim of the West India Company that of merchants rather than of statesmen, to derive financial profit from the settlement rather than to create a new province for the advancement of social prosperity and political principles. It was inevitable under these circumstances that the conduct of colonial affairs should suffer from mistakes.

A clearer conception of the conditions under which Colonial Government in New York began may be obtained by a brief glance at the colonies already established on the soil of the subsequent United States of America. Virginia's permanent settlement dates from the year 1607, and after many vicissitudes, after many discouragements and even disasters, it was at this time greatly prospering under the liberal rule of Sir George Yeardley. It was he who instituted the first colonial legislature, consisting of representatives from the people, and which began its sessions in July, 1619, or a whole year before the Pilgrims left Leyden. In 1622, no less than four thousand souls occupied plantations along both banks of the James River, and after the Indian massacres of that year and the consequent wars, inducing many to

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

return to England, there remained still a population of nearly twenty-five hundred. While Minuit governed New Netherland a charter was granted to Lord Baltimore embracing the territory that later became the State of Maryland, but the first colonists did not arrive until Van

THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

Twiller had succeeded to the directorship in 1634, and the next year already beheld a popular assembly established among them, with religious toleration the keynote of their history from the very beginning. In New England since 1620 there had been prepared by the circumstances of the times a plantation of men who might be expected to prove friendly to the settlers from Holland, so that in this distant quarter of the world much mutual comfort could be derived from their comparatively close neighborhood. These were the Pilgrims at New Plymouth, still filled with memories of the free Republic; still receiving accessions to their numbers from the families left in Leyden when the Speedwell sailed away with the first adventurers. And in these regions, too, other colo-

nies found a home before Director Minuit's term had expired. Portsmouth and Dover, which Bancroft places "among the oldest towns in New England," had been established in 1623; and five years later stern John Endicott settled at Salem. In 1630 religious intolerance had already sent back the brothers Browne for daring to adhere to the Church of England, but the year was also marked by a brighter event, the coming of Governor John Winthrop with seven hundred colonists and the founding of the city of Boston. Finally in 1636, or one year before Director Van Twiller's term ended, Rhode Island's history began with the colony established by Roger Williams at Providence—a monument to his own liberal spirit and to advanced ideas that were to find America so congenial a soil in later generations; but also a living witness to the wrong then committed, of practicing under these free skies that very religious persecution which had driven its perpetrators themselves across the broad Atlantic. It was nearly fifty years after Minuit's arrival before the Carolinas were colonized; and almost sixty years ere William Penn established a refuge for Quakers in the State known by his name. Georgia originated just a century after the expiration of the term of the first Director-General of New Netherland, while that colony itself was the beginning of the States of Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey and New York.

History records that Peter Minuit, appointed Director-General of New Netherland, embarked in the ship called the Sea-Mew, on December 19, 1625. Detained by the ice in the broad harbor of the Y or in the Zuyder Zee, the vessel did not clear the Texel channel till January 9th, and on the 4th of May, 1626, arrived at Manhattan Island.

There had been two Directors before Minuit, but the office was to be henceforth of a more important nature, and was thus distinguished by a more exalted title, and he was the first Director-General. On board the same ship with him came his council consisting of five members, Peter Bylvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wissinck, John Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos and Reynert Harmensen. These were to advise the Director upon all matters pertaining to the government of the colony, and to see to it that he and others properly advanced the interest of the Company. They constituted also a court for the trial of offences, but could not punish beyond the imposition of a fine. Capital cases were to be referred to the mother country. Indeed, although New Amsterdam was not incorporated as a city until 1653, the appointment of the colonial officers seems to have been modeled after the plan of municipal government in Holland, even the number of the council suggesting the analogy. In Dutch town government the court of the Schepens or Scabini consisted

of five, seven, nine, eleven or thirteen members according to the size of the place, five being the least. When it is considered that the other officers were a secretary and a schout, or a schout-fiscal, the municipal form is borne out still more completely. The secretary first met with is Isaac de Rasieres, who, however, did not come with the Sea-Mew, but arrived in July of this year. The schout-fiscal was John Lampe. His was an office much like a sheriff of our day, but combining also the functions of prosecuting attorney and counsel for the defence at the same time. Several other odd and incongruous duties fell to his share in the new community. But in a general way Lampe's office resembled both in name and in character that of the most prominent official of Netherland towns who in earliest times was superior to the Burgomasters. While so much of New Netherland centered at Manhattan Island the Colonial Government was practically a town government.

About the personal history of Peter Minuit very little is known. He is generally introduced to us as being from Wessel, a town of Rhenish Prussia, very near the borders of Holland; and hence he has been called by some writers a German. But his name is unquestionably Dutch, it being the old form of the word for minute, which in ancient Dutch is spelled "minuit," while illiterate people still use the older pronunciation. Wesel, so near the borders, had been a veritable "city of refuge" in the days of persecution under the Duke of Alva,

FIRST VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

and thousands of Protestants fled to it from Holland. In 1568, the year of the beginning of the Eighty Years' War, the first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was held there, and when the Republic had gained strength and freedom, it is possible that some of her citizens remained permanent residents of the town. Hence Peter Minuit may have been of Dutch parentage though born at Wesel; for in the church composed of the descendants of the Dutch refugees, we learn from the letter of the first pastor on Manhattan Island that Minuit was a deacon. How he came to be selected by the Dutch West India Company for their first Director-General does not appear. He must, however, have commended himself as a person worthy to be intrusted with the command of others, and of a sufficiently adventurous disposition to try his fortunes under circumstances so novel as they were likely to be in the New World. It is also extremely probable that the Amsterdam merchants had knowledge of his capacity as derived from some occupation or office connected with the East India Company. Its possessions abroad had become a training-school for energetic and enterprising young men in the work of colonial government and the advancement of Dutch commerce. Wesel was far from the sea but on the banks of the Rhine, and Amsterdam, with its preponderating size and wealth, acted as a loadstone upon all ambitious natures who wished to see the world, to every part of which she was daily sending scores of ships.

There being no houses suitable to receive the Director-General, his council and his subordinate officers, it may be supposed that they remained for a time upon the Sea-Mew while she lay anchored in some sheltered cove within the shore-line of Manhattan Island. The first act of the colonial government was the highly honorable one of securing the land to be acquired by purchase from its aboriginal owners. Imagination, aided by the painter's brush, has brought that scene before the minds of later generations. On the very edge of the land, low by the water, in a clearing of the primeval forest, stood the representatives of European civilization face to face with the "untutored Indian." We can see the glittering trinkets brought from the ship near by in chests, opened upon the shore, the eager eyes of Indian men and women watching the display of the contents, each article still more wonderful than that which went before. An extent of territory which Minuit and his officers estimated at eleven thousand Dutch morgens, or more than twenty-two thousand acres, was definitely transferred in some way doubtless mutually understood, as becoming henceforth the property of the strangers from Europe, ceded to them in due form, so that the Indian proprietors comprehended and appreciated that it had

passed out of their hands into those of the others, conveying to them an ownership as legitimate as had been their own. Exception has been taken to the inadequacy of the price paid: sixty guilders or twenty-four dollars. Yet how was adequacy of price then to be determined? And what would the Indians have cared for a hundred thousand florins, at which the Dutch valued a ton of gold?

Of this purchase, so unique and rare an episode in the history of American colonization, there fortunately exists unassailable proof. On July 27, 1626, a vessel named the Arms of Amsterdam arrived at Manhattan Island. She bore as passenger Isaac de Rasieres, the secretary of the colonial government, and had for her captain Adriaen Joris, who in 1623 accompanied Captain May and was left in charge of the colony at Fort Orange. On the 23d of September the vessel was ready to sail again for the Fatherland with a valuable cargo of furs and logs of timber, soon to be tested in Holland for its ship-building qualities. But more than that, she carried the official announcement of the purchase of Manhattan Island, addressed to the "Assembly of the XIX" of the West India Company in session at Amsterdam; for the first six years of the charter were not yet past. The nineteenth member, representing the States-General at this session, was Peter Jans Schaghen, councilor and magistrate of the city of Alkmaar, in North Holland, and deputy in the States-General from the States of Holland and West Friesland. While in duty bound to report the proceedings of the Assembly of the XIX to the august body who had delegated him, it would scarcely seem likely that he was required to send a report every day. It is more probable that after the adjournment of the former he would render an account of its affairs in person at a regular session of the States-General. But on November 4, 1626, so interesting an event occurred that he did not wait to report it in person. The Arms of Amsterdam had arrived from New Netherland and the announcement of the purchase had been presented in the Assembly. Thereupon, on the next day, Schaghen addressed to the States-General in session at the Hague, the following historic letter:

High Mighty Sirs:

Here arrived yesterday the ship The Arms of Amsterdam which sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River on September 23; they report that our people there are of good courage and live peaceably. Their women, also, have borne children there, they have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders, is 11,000 morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain the middle of May and harvested it the middle of August. Thereof being samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wild-cat (lynx) skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins. Many logs of oak and nutwood. Herewith be ye High mighty Sirs, commended to the Almighty's grace, In Amsterdam, November 5, Ao. 1626.

Your High Might.'s Obedient,

P. SCHAGHEN.

Date 5. November 1626

Recep 7 Hoyche Moghende Heeren

Hiet is oghstick t'Schip t'wijfen van Amsterdam
achtkomy hier is dy 23 Septbr. uyt riuir Tuder
Lant gheseylt uyt de Hauen Manritius. rapporteert
dat ons volck dair Roor is in vrendigh Lopy
Saken Hroonen gebbe ooc Hindry alduir gebaut
gebbe t'Eylant Mankatter vay de volck gebroght, voor
de vaarde vay 60 ons. is groot 11000 mayy
gebbelde alle Loxe self mee gheyt, hier self
augusto gemayd. dair vas gheynder menschelick
vay Zamt-Roxe, als taxus, Hoppe, vaxse, Saber
Hontvelt. Anaxigaet, Boontjens in vlas.

Het Cargasoen van twee Schip 15

7246 Bbls vell
178½ Ohds vell
675. Ohds vell
48. Mudd vell
36. Sakkes vell
33 Minots
34 Aatts vellens.

Wesel Oysten Balcony, in Notre Gout.

Hier mede

Hoogh Moghende Heeren, zyt de Almoghende
in ouders bevolen.

In Amsterdam den 5? novem a° 1626

Eere Hoo: Mooo: Dienstwillighe

Schagen

The letter is addressed: "Messieurs the States-General, in the Hague," and the original copy is preserved to this day among the archives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. By the courtesy of Mr. T. H. F. Van Riemsdyk, the "General Archivist" at the Hague, a photographic copy was for the first time permitted to be taken, and thus its fac-simile reproduction upon the preceeding page furnishes undeniable proof of the purchase of the island of Manhattan by Director-General Minuit as the initial act of his term of office, and the inauguration of colonial government for the State of New York.

From the letter of Deputy Schaghen it would appear that the colonists who accompanied the director very soon addressed themselves to cultivating the purchased land. Having arrived at Manhattan on May 4th, by the middle of the month, it appears, grain of many kinds was already in the ground. But there was work also of another character for a portion of the pioneers. A military engineer, whose name is given by Wassanaer as Kryn Fredericke, accompanied the expedition, and under his direction labor was at once commenced upon the lines of a regular fort.

Surveying in advance the period of this administration, there seem to be but few events upon which to dwell. Perhaps this evinces its peculiar merit, according to the familiar maxim, "Happy is the people that has no annals." Until recent years, the very fact that Peter Minuit ruled here as director was somewhat apocryphal. "Some doubt has hitherto existed," remarked Senator Folsom, in his report on Brodhead's collection of documents, "in regard to the name of the Director-General or governor of the colony prior to the year 1633; and although it was generally supposed that the office was then held by Peter Minuit, yet no official act of that person as chief magistrate was among our records." Mr. Brodhead found an original document conveying part of the Patroonship on the Delaware, and bearing Minuit's name. Two other documents, however, exist, which afford additional proof of his directorship. They were discovered by the writer while engaged in the summer of 1889 in making researches among the archives of Amsterdam. A contract and deed exist, signed by Director Minuit and his council, and conveying part of the Patroonship of Rensselaerswyck.

There exists therefore ample documentary evidence that before 1633 Peter Minuit guided the destinies of New Netherland under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company. And uneventful as were the years of his incumbency, it will be observed that the few events that present themselves for notice proved to be the germ of later occurrences of importance, especially in the matter of the relations with the English and the surrounding Indians; while the

institution of the Patroonships, beginning under Peter Minuit's Administration, was both fatal to its continuance and left for future generations a heritage of trouble and legal contentions.

Negotiations with the English colonies were soon inaugurated. The Indians occupying the territory lying between the Dutch and the Pilgrims, who traded their furs to representatives from both settlements, soon made them aware of one another's exact positions. Minuit was the first to extend the courtesy of addressing letters to Governor William Bradford, conveying a formal

and cordial greeting. But from the first a presage of trouble was thrown into the intercourse. Bradford receiving Minuit's letters written in French and Dutch early in March, 1627, replied on March 29th. He acknowledged with cordiality the indebtedness incurred and the gratitude felt by the Pilgrims toward the Netherlanders for "the good and courteous entreaty" which they had found in their country, "having lived there many years with freedom and good content." But at the same time he reminded the Dutch that the region where they had settled was England's by first right, offering indeed no interference on his own part, but warning them against the possible assertion of that right on the part of the Virginians, or by vessels from England engaged in the fisheries on the American coast. Director Minuit hastened to assure the Governor of New Plymouth Colony that there was no doubt in his own mind or in that of his countrymen as to their right to settle in New Netherland. In his zeal to assert a priority of trade he put an exaggerated estimate upon the length of time the Dutch had been trading in this vicinity, making it "six or seven and twenty years," instead of sixteen or seventeen. These letters had been dispatched back and forth by the hands of friendly Indians. But when Minuit's last missive, sent in May, had received no reply by August, on the 9th of that month he sent the captain of a vessel then in port, to carry a third communication to Governor Bradford. This was John Jacobsen, of the island of Wieringen, in the Zuyder Zee. He sailed with his ship the "Drie Koningen," or the Three Kings, into Buzzard's Bay, and landing at a point then called Manomet, now Monument Village, in the town of Sandwich, he proceeded on foot to New Plymonth. He was graciously received by Bradford, and sent back with a request for a still more formal delegation, to consist of a person in authority at Fort Amsterdom, with whom negotiations could be effected of an important nature. Director Minuit readily fell in with this request, and selected for the mis-

sion the Provincial Secretary, who may be regarded as next in command under him. The ship Nassau, freighted with merchandise both for trading and for presentation to the Governor, was placed at his disposal, and a party of soldiers with a trumpeter was sent as a guard of honor. The Nassau proceeded to Manomet, whence De Rasieres sent word to Bradford that he had arrived at this point, but naively remarking that he could not follow Captain Jacobsen's example and walk all the remainder of the journey. "I have not gone so far this three or four years," he added, "wherefore I fear my feet will fail me." A boat was accordingly sent up a creek falling into Cape Cod Bay from the south, whose head waters reached to within four or five miles of Manomet on the other side of the isthmus. To this short distance De Rasieres did not object, and embarking in the boat, he reached New Plymouth in due season, "honorably attended with a noise of trumpets." The principal result of these personal negotiations, besides cementing the bonds of friendship, and encouraging commerce between the two colonies, was the sale to the Pilgrims of a quantity of wampum, and the recommendation of its use in trading with the natives. The English soon found great advantages flowing from their adoption of this practical advice. It is, however, to be regretted that relations so profitably initiated should have been marked ere long by unpleasant features.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S HOUSE.

Scanty as is the record of events during two administrations, it is a singularly fortunate circumstance that there are in existence two letters descriptive of Manhattan Island during the earliest years of coloniza-

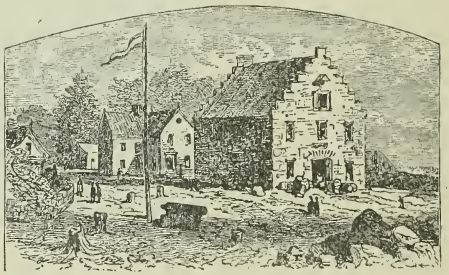
tion. One of these is the letter of Secretary De Rasiere's, which, in addition to describing affairs within the colony, furnishes the details of his embassage to New Plymouth just noted. The other was written in 1628 by the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first clergyman settled on this island, and is addressed to a minister in Amsterdam. It affords an admirable picture of every-day life; of the trials and hardships that beset the first settlers of Manhattan.

The first item of importance gathered from this interesting epistle is the character of a sea voyage in the year 1628. This of course was the initiatory stage in the process of colonizing, and it certainly was enough to deter emigrants altogether. Leaving Amsterdam on January 24th, the ship which conveyed Mr. Michaelius and his family did not arrive at Manhattan till April 7th. And that long journey was marked by the endurance of the most disagreeable hardships. The captain was often intoxicated. He would not listen to complaints when in this condition, nor would he remedy matters when he was sober. The minister's family, consisting of his wife, two little girls and a boy, were subjected to great deprivations. "Our fare in the ship was very poor and scanty, so that my blessed wife and children, not eating with us in the cabin, had a worse lot than the sailors themselves." Even when they were ill other than with seasickness, from which they did not long suffer, no better fare was provided for them, because of the captain's culpable neglect of his duties. Indeed, as a result, seven weeks after landing, the worthy lady died from the effects of this dreadful experience. These facts are certainly instructive: if a minister's family was reduced to endure such treatment on board of a ship, what must have been the experience of ordinary emigrants? Hence it must have then required courage to undertake the settling of colonies in distant America, the test of endurance beginning even before arriving. On land everything was rude, tentative, in short, primitive, and therefore imperfect, andthe privations were necessarily numerous and distressing. In the meantime the thirty houses first built along the North River shore must have increased in number and improved in manner of construction. In 1628, Wassenaer informs us there was a population of two hundred and seventy souls; but all New Netherland was then concentrated at Fort Amsterdam. Troubles between the Indian tribes near Fort Orange, in the course of which several Dutch settlers had lost their lives through imprudent and unwarranted interference, had induced the careful Minuit to order all the families residing there to come to Manhattan, leaving only a garrison of men; while for another reason not quite apparent, but perhaps an economical one, the colonists on the

Delaware were ordered to abandon Fort Nassau, and likewise to make their homes on this island.

This small number of not quite three hundred colonists is a great contrast to the four thousand people on the banks of the James River in 1622, and seven hundred at once arriving under Winthrop at Boston in 1630. It must have been difficult to induce adventurers to leave Holland, and the number of religious refugees was not so extensive as to cause a constant emigration to New Netherland. It was therefore determined, in 1629, to put into operation a scheme which had been tried with success in Brazil, now passing into the possession of the West India Company. Discovered and explored in the interest of Portugal and in 1500–1501 by Americus Vespucius, for about thirty years thereafter, Southey informs us, the country was apparently neglected. "It had then become of sufficient importance," he continues, "to obtain some consideration at court, and in order to forward its colonization, the same plan was adopted which had succeeded so well in Madeira and the Azores, that of dividing it into hereditary Captaincies, and granting them to such persons as were willing to embark adequate means in the adventure, with powers of jurisdiction both civil and criminal, so extensive as to be in fact unlimited."

In this description may be seen the model for the Patroon-ships of New Netherland. In 1629 the Assembly of the XIX, with the approbation of the States-General, published a Charter of Privileges and Exemptions. It addressed itself only to "members of the Company," even as the Captaincies had been granted only to favorites at the Portuguese Court, but the restriction in the former case was a more reasonable one than the latter. "All such" of the directors, and possibly also of the shareholders, would "be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland" who should "within the space of four years undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls upward of fifteen years old." Population was there-



THE FIRST WAREHOUSE.

fore wisely made the *sine qua non*. Should that condition fail to be complied with within the allotted time, all privileges and exemptions and grants of land would at once cease and be forfeit In consideration of the effort to plant such a colony, however, there would be given in absolute property sixteen miles of territory upon one side of any river in New Netherland, or eight miles on

both sides, the extent back from the stream being left practically unlimited. For this land, title must be obtained from the aboriginal possessors by suitable purchase.

It appears that the system of Patroonships was a curious and confusing mixture of large privileges and small restrictions. The extent of the liberties enjoyed in many directions would only make the yoke of the prohibitions the more galling; and here lay the real difficulty with the scheme, furnishing cause for endless contentions and eventual failure. Some writers trace this result, as well as the difficulties that grew out of the Patroonships, to the fact that the system was an attempt to ingraft European feudalism upon American soil. This, however, would apply more correctly to the colonization of Maryland, of which Bancroft thus truly says: "To the proprietary was given the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of the sub-infuedation. But feudal institutions could not be perpetuated in the land of their origin, far less renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor forest be transplanted across the Atlantic than antiquated social forms." If it were intended to tempt the capitalists of Holland with the attraction of feudal authority, it must be said that very few availed themselves of the opportunity. The attractions of the system for men of means, but without pedigrees and without patrimonial estates, are descanted on by Brodhead. But less than a score of such persons engaged in the colonizing enterprise. The real temptation was commercial advantage; and the rock upon which the whole establishment suffered shipwreck was trade, too eagerly indulged in by the Patroons, and too stringently prohibited by the Company. The Directors who hastily procured for themselves territories in America before they quite knew what the provisions of the charter were to be were more than disappointed when the true state of their case became known; and, as one of the later Patroons himself asserted, the conditions themselves instead of attracting rather discouraged people from becoming Patroons.

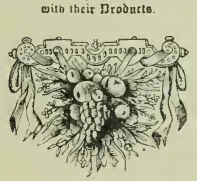
Manhattan Island was entirely exempted from this experiment in colonization, and only one of them came within close proximity to it. The first to avail themselves of its privileges were two merchants of Amsterdam and Directors of the Company, Samuel Bloemaert and Samuel Godyn. Before the States-General had seen the document, even before it had received the final revision and approval of the Assembly of the XIX, these men had sent agents to America to select lands and to buy them from the Indians. When, therefore, in 1630, the sanction of the republican Congress was obtained, they were ready at once to appear before the

Colonial Government with evidences of purchase, and obtained a ratification of their grant. Their territories extended thirty-two miles along the Delaware River on the southwest bank, and sixteen miles on the northeast shore, both tracts having been bought within the year. From the two documents in fac-simile, it is learned that earnest efforts had been made also to obtain lands around Fort Orange for Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, and a director, through the officers in charge there, and agents were sent among the Indians to persuade the reluctant ones to part with their broad acres. As a result, five or six Indian chiefs owning property along the Hudson extending several miles both to the north and south of the fort, having first made a contract, appeared afterwards before the Director and Council at Fort Amsterdam, and formally ceded their lands. This was the beginning of the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, the only one among the Patroonships that proved a success. Ere this same year (1630) was over, a third proprietary appeared in the person of Michael Paauw, also a director, some of whose relatives had been Burgomasters of Amsterdam. His territory lay near Manhattan Island, including at first Hoboken-Hacking, the name indicating a site familiar to residents of New York. But in rapid succession were added Staten Island and an intervening space between that and Hoboken called Ahasimus, now the site of Jersey City. Godyn and Bloemaert having given to their patent the name of "Swanendael," or Swan's Valley, Paauw bestowed upon his the more euphonious title of Pavonia, by translating into Latin his own name, which is the Dutch for peacock.

Thus before a year had passed all the Patroonships that were created by the original charter had already been secured. The first difficulties naturally sprang out of this somewhat undue if not unseemly haste. There appeared to be nothing left for others, except in unprotected regions far from either of the three forts. The Directors had evidently taken advantage of their position in the Chamber of Amsterdam to anticipate all competitors from the other chambers. Naturally jealousies and unpleasant accusations arose between the members of the West India Company, which did not greatly advance the interests of New Netherland. The first compromise growing out of these troubles was in the form of a copartnership in colonizing. Several merchants were admitted to a share of each of the colonies on the Delaware and at Fort Orange, the historian De Laet becoming one of the proprietors in both territories. It is worthy of notice also that while the chief proprietors of Swanendael became copartners for Rensselaerswyck, Van Rensselaer also became a copartner for Godyn and Bloemaert's

patent. Besides De Laet, another name of importance appears (among the copartners for Swanendael only), that of David Pietersen De Vries, author of an exceedingly rare volume of which the following is the Title page.

SHORT HISTORICAL
AND
Journal notes
Of several Voyages made in the four parts of the World, namely, EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA, and AMERICA,
By D
DAVID PIETERSZ.
de VRIES, Ordnance-Master of the Most Noble Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland and the North Quarter
Wherein are described what Battles he has had by Water: Each Country its Animals, Birds, kind of Fishes and Savage Men,—counterfeited to the Life,—and the Woods and Rivers with their Products.



HOORN
For *David Pietersz. de Vries*, Ordnance-Master of the North Quarter At Alckmaer, by *Symon Cornelisz. Brekegeest* Anno 1655

When the Patroons fairly began to comply with the conditions imposed on them, and sent colonizing parties to occupy the land confirmed to them, the trade in furs, the forbidden fruit, proved most attractive, while agriculture, which was the main object of the establishment of the Patroonships, was comparatively neglected, because its returns were slow and small compared with those of the sale of peltries. A conflict with the Directors of the West India Company was therefore inevitable, and as a result the Assembly of the XIX seriously amended the charter of 1629, rescinding some of the most important exemptions. Van Rensselaer and the others thereupon appeared with a paper of complaints before the States-General, claiming that it was entirely illegal for the Company to rescind what they had so recently granted, and that on the strength of the privileges promised the petitioners had fitted out expensive expeditions. It was urged too, that the Swanendael colony had been exterminated by the Indians, because the Company, contrary to its engagement, had no sufficient force in the vicinity, Fort Nassau having been abandoned. The principal result of this controversy seems to have been that the States-General examined the nature of these grants of land, leading them to conclude that they were excessive and burdened with other objectionable features. As Director Minuit had countenanced and confirmed them, they further exercised their stipulated authority over the Governors in the service of the Company, by ordering his recall—a most unjust act, since the Director-General had no choice but to follow the provisions of a charter issued by his immediate principals and sanctioned by the States-General themselves. But perhaps there had been a too liberal interpretation of the privileges to be extended. Secretary de Ra-

sieres had already been dismissed a few years before, having fallen into disgrace on account of these same factions, as Governor Bradford writes, and now, early in the year 1632, Direetor Minuit accompanied by the Schout-fiscal, Lampe, embarked for Holland in the ship "Eendracht," or Union, and the administration of the first Director-General came to an end.

The connection of Peter Minuit with the history of American colonization did not cease with his Director-

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS—LION OF NORTH.

ship of New Netherland. Among the ambitious views entertained by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, was included a design of establishing a colonial empire in North America. When about the year 1624, William Usselinx left Holland, despairing of success in inducing the Dutch merchants and statesmen to adopt his plans of West India trade, he proceeded to Sweden and succeeded in interesting the illustrious soldier in his schemes. Gustavus granted a charter to a "New South Company," which was modeled after the Dutch West India Company, and was to include participants both in Sweden and Germany. But the Protestant king's active part in the Thirty Year's War prevented Swedish operations in American waters. After his death in the battle of Lutzen in 1632 however, Chancellor Oxenstiern, under whom Sweden maintained the exalted position won by the "Lion of the North," prosecuted the King's ideas with regard to American trade and colonization, and under his auspices an expedition was sent out early in the year 1638 to establish a colony on the Delaware River. It was placed under the direction of Peter Minuit. A large tract of land was purchased from the Indians on the west side of the river, and defensive works at once begun, which were eventually designated by the name of Fort Christina. Having inaugurated this settlement and established an active trade in furs in defiance of Director Kieft's formal protests, Minuit returned to Europe, according to some authorities, while he is represented by others as "dying at his post" at Fort Christina in 1641.

Considering that the troubles arising out of the undue aggressiveness of the Patroons were the cause of

the removal of Peter Minuit, it appears strange that his successor should have been nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to Patroon Van Rensselaer, the most energetic and persistent of them all in pressing his privileges. Probably the interference of the States-General in dismissing their chief officer in New Netherland produced a reaction in the counsels of the West India Company, and placed the influence of the Patroons once more in the ascendant. Thus was elevated to the position of Director-General of their North American Province Walter Van Twiller, one of

the clerks in the Company's offices on the Haarlem Street in Amsterdam. He is usually described as born at Nieuwerkerk, a village near Amsterdam. Some call him a cousin, others a nephew of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, but this confusion doubtless arises from the fact that in Dutch one word stands for both.

It seems that Walter Van Twiller had been in New Netherland some years before his appointment to office. He was sent as agent to select a territory for his relative's Patroonship, and for this purpose is supposed to have been here in 1629. It has also been stated that he remained for about a year, and was ordered to act as a kind of spy upon the Colonial Government, it being due to his information that cause for dismissal was found against Minuit. But this conflicts again with the usually received opinion that precisely for serving too well the interests of Van Twiller's principals Minuit fell into disgrace. It is unfortunate that there are not in existence a greater number of official documents covering this period to elucidate these many points of obscurity in the determination of which we are now reduced chiefly to conjecture.

The undoubted connection of Walter Van Twiller with the history of New Netherland and of Manhattan Island begins with his arrival in the ship the Salt-Mountain in April, 1633, more than a twelve-month after the departure of Peter Minuit. He was accompanied by a force of one hundred and four soldiers. His Council of four was composed of Captain John Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andrew Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. John Van Remund, who had succeeded De Rasieres as Secretary under Minuit, was retained in this office. But while De Rasieres had also performed the functions of a "Bookkeeper of Wages," this part of the Secretary's duties was now assigned to a separate person and Cornelius Van Tienhoven was invested with the office. Conrad Notelman was appointed Schout or Sheriff.

Within the same month of the new Director-General's coming occurred two events of note. One was the ar-

rival of Captain De Vries on April 16. He was now an active partner in the Patroonship of Swanendael on the Delaware, and thus in close alliance with a number of the Directors of the West India Company; but the beginning of his relations with that Company had been neither pleasant nor profitable. As far back as 1624 there was lodged a complaint before the States-General against the West India Company on the part of a sea-captain and part owner of a vessel lying in the port of Hoorn and bound for New France. The West India Company had then newly entered upon its career of enterprise, and it

imagined that here was an infringement of its charter privileges. Accordingly the captain was arrested at the instance of the Company by the Magistrates of Hoorn. But this resolute person was not to be so summarily disposed of. He at once served an attachment on the agents of the Company, who were thereby compelled to send for instructions to the Assembly of the XIX. The captain went beyond this body to a still higher authority, and sent a petition for redress to the States-General, the result being that the States-General sent a communication to the West India people, clearly showing that the vessel in question was not interfering with their rights, inasmuch as the fisheries of Canada were distinctly under the jurisdiction of France, and that it was owned or chartered by French merchants; and at the same time their High Mightinesses took occasion to rebuke the Company for risking at the very commencement of its operations, a quarrel with a friendly power. This formidable sea-captain was David Pieters or David Pietersen, De Vries. He had gained a victory over the great West India Company, but the inevitable delay in sailing was fatal to the projected enterprise and it was necessarily adandoned, De Vries losing a large sum of money. When the Patroons consented to receive partners in the management and profits of colonies in America, the captain, instead of contributing capital, placed at the disposal of the patentees of Swanendael his skill and experience as a mariner and explorer. In February, 1632, he sailed with two ships to plant a colony on the Delaware, to succeed the one which the copartners had sent in 1630, but which had been massacred the preceeding year. He succeeded in conciliating the Indians, but no one ventured to settle in the vincinity of the doomed plantation, and the whale-fishery also furnishing but an unsatisfactory return, De Vries sailed down the coast, paid a brief visit to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, at Jamestown, and on April 16, 1633, arrived in New York Bay, to make the acquaintance of the new Director-General.

DAVID PIETERZ. DE VRIES, ARTELLERY-MEESTER VAN DE STAPEN VAN WEST-VRIESLANT EN NOORDER QUARTIER ÆTA. 60. ANNO M.D.C.L.III.
Eer Artist thus our DAVID paints, before whose day
American abashed & Asia weak did stay
Then first the Orunge flag their shores did overtake
Nor Turk nor savage Moor did ever his Courage break
Which lets him overcome Soubrese saw his arm.
For God and Gods folk raised maids waves alarm.
Now dares he on the lap of Hourn at length repair.
From fire & flame preserved of Arms to have the care

Two days later, as De Vries was at dinner with Van Twiller, an English ship passed in between the Narrows and came to anchor before the fort. A boat put off for the shore, and the vessel's errand was soon told. Her name was the William, sent out by a company of London merchants to carry on a trade in furs upon the "Hudson's River." There was significance, and indeed defiance, in that very name; therein lay hid a claim, which was also unsparingly asserted in so many words, that Hudson's nationality gave to England all the rights derived from his discovery. The person sent to communicate this mission and to assert these rights, in the present instance, was none other than Jacob Eelkens. Honorably identified as he had been with the beginning of the history of New Netherland, he appears now in a less favorable light. Shortly before the arrival of the ship New Netherland in 1623, with the first Walloon families, Eelkens had seized the person of Seguin, or Sequin, an Indian chief, on one of his trading expeditions, in the course of which he had penetrated to the vicinity of the Connecticut. He demanded an exorbitant ransom of over a hundred fathoms of wampum for the release of Seguin. As a consequence, the Indians of that region became suspicious of the Dutch, a long time intervened before confidence was restored, and the fur trade suffered greatly. Hence Eelkens, who had so long commanded at Fort Nassau, was dismissed from the service of the West India Company before Fort Orange was substituted for the former. The English, coveting a foothold in the territories about the Hudson, were not slow to avail themselves of the undoubted capacity and experience possessed by the disgraced Indian trader, while they rightly counted on his disaffection towards his previous employers as an important element in securing their ends. He stoutly maintained the right of the William to proceed up the river, and quoted the ideas of his new masters in regard to the English title and proprietorship based on Hudson's exploration. Van Twiller with as much determination repudiated those claims, and refused permission to the William to proceed. The river was not the "Hudson's River," but the "Mauritius"; all the surrounding regions owed allegiance to no other potentate than their High Mightinesses and the Prince of Orange as their Stadholder. In practical support of that declaration the Commander-in-chief of Fort Amsterdam ordered the Orange colors, or the Orange, White, and Blue of the West India Company, to be unfurled from the flagstaff of the fort and three shots to be fired in honor of the prince. Eelkens was not at all overawed by this display of authority; returning to his ship, the English ensign was run to the masthead, and three shots in defiance of Van Twiller and in honor of King Charles boomed

over the water; while at the same time the William weighed her anchor and sailed rapidly up the river.

Were it not that the truthful De Vries has recorded the incident that follows, and of which he was himself a witness, it would be impossible to give it credence. Visions of Walter the Doubter enveloped in clouds of tobacco-smoke, and weighing in either hand the books containing disputed accounts in order to properly balance them, seem to rise up before us, and Irving's ludicrous caricature almost commends itself as the sober truth. Van Twiller's rage at seeing Eelkens and the William so insolently defying his authority was unbounded. He therefore called upon all loyal denizens of Fort Amsterdam to assemble before the walls of the fort on the river bank. Then ordering a cask of wine to be brought, he exhorted all those who loved the Prince and the Fatherland to drain a bumper to their glory. An appeal of this character to patriotism was not easily lost upon the large assemblage, and with their eyes upon the distant ship they enthusiastically drank to its confusion and to the success of the Prince of Orange. But this having no appreciable effect upon the William, De Vries suggested to the Director-General a more practical measure of restraint. The man of war which had conveyed Van Twiller to his seat of government was as yet in port, and a force of one hundred soldiers was at his command. Why not dispatch the Salt-Mountain upon the errand of arrest? This obvious expedient dawned but slowly upon the dull mind of the Commander-in-Chief, for it was not till several days afterwards that an expedient was organized to carry out the project. This however, did not include the man-of-war; "a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy," conveying a part of the troops, were sent up the river to arrest Eelkens and bring back the English ship. The former commissary had already established himself upon an island in the river near Fort Orange, and was trading successfully with the Indians. His previous intercourse with them was remembered, and his facility in dealing with them was now of great service to his English employers. The settlers at Fort Orange sought to interfere with his transactions, but they did so by beating the Indians who came to trade, instead of attacking Eelkens and his party. A large quantity of furs had already been collected when the soldiers arrived from Fort Amsterdam. They soon compelled Eelkens to desist, forced the English sailors to carry the peltries on board the William, and convoyed the latter to Manhattan Island. Here Eelkens was made to give up her cargo and, with his crew, was sent back empty-handed to England.

This incident only served to open afresh the dispute as to the title to New Netherland. The owners of the William complained to the English

Government of the treatment she had received, and a claim for damages was transmitted to Holland by the Dutch ambassadors, and referred by the States-General to the West India Company. The latter defended the title of the Republic and refuted by careful argument that of the English, the question of damages depending upon this alone. Yet the Company had ably performed this same fruitless task scarcely more than a year before, when the English had, on the strength of their claim to New Netherland, ventured upon a much more serious violation of international comity than that of which they now complained against the Dutch. The ship Union, conveying Director Minuit to Holland, was driven by stress of weather to seek refuge in the harbor of Plymouth. She was at once seized upon by the English authorities as coming from a region covered by grants of the crown to English subjects. Minuit hastened to London to inform the Dutch ambassadors of the outrage, and these appealed for redress directly to the King. Little sympathy was to be expected in such a quarter; insisting upon royal prerogative to his own ruin in England, Charles I. was not inclined to yield any part of his sovereignty over America. The matter was referred for decision to the Privy Council, with the result that the ministers but reiterated and emphasized a claim so frequently advanced before. But in anticipation of this the Dutch ambassadors had urged upon the States-General the necessity of a clear statement of the Dutch title, which was accordingly prepared by the West India Company. Carefully reviewing the history of English colonization in America, this paper showed that there was no settlement by the English, nor any kind of occupation near the territories claimed, till 1620; while the Dutch had been trading without interruption from 1610 to the present year, and had built forts there. Again, coming to the question of grants, there had always been an extensive region between 38 degrees and 41 degrees north latitude, which had been distinctly left open, and New Netherland lay within these geographical limits. But lastly, and more conclusive than all, they advanced the argument "that inasmuch as the inhabitants of those countries [the Indians] are freemen, and neither his Britannic Majesty's nor your High Mightinesses' subjects, they are free to trade with whomsoever they please." They were for this reason also perfectly at liberty to sell their land as they had done to the Dutch and to convey title thereto by such sale. Further it was contended "that his Majesty may likewise in all justice grant his subjects by charter the right to trade with any people, to the exclusion of all others, his subjects, as your High Mightinesses have a right to do by yours. But that it is directly contrary to all right and reason for one potentate to prevent

the subjects of another to trade in countries whereof his people have not taken, nor obtained actual possession from the right owners, either by contract or purchase." It was contending however, with men who had decided to press their title against the Hollanders. The Union was indeed released, because Charles wished to provoke no foreign quarrels in the midst of his parliamentary contentions. But it was done unwillingly, and with the deliberate menace that the act of restoration was no warrant against similar interference in the future. And therefore the case of the William was vigorously pressed as a complaint against the Dutch. In addition to repeating former arguments, the West India Company sought to arrive at a practical and final solution of the question by the appointment of a commission to fix upon the exact boundaries between New England and New Netherland. In the expectation that this would be accomplished, they directed Van Twiller to buy large tracts of land on the Connecticut, for although this river had been discovered by a Dutchman, it was deemed safer now to fortify the title of discovery by one of purchase. Therefore, in compliance with the Company's orders, he sent an agent to the Connecticut River, in the course of the summer of 1633, to arrange a purchase of land from the Indian owners. A large tract situated about sixty miles from Long Island Sound, including the site of the present city of Hartford was thus secured, and another at its mouth, called Kieviet's Hoeck by the Dutch and Saybrook Point by the English. A redoubt, to which was given the name of "Good Hope," was built near the site of Hartford, and the arms of the States-General affixed to a tree at Kieviet's Hoeck. But it seemed as if these honorable measures to secure formal possession only provoked the English colonists instead of acting as a restraint upon their encroachments.

From the relations so pleasantly established under Director Minuit, and on account of the debt of gratitude which they acknowledged they owed to Holland, it is surprising to find the New Plymouth people among the leaders in these aggressions upon Dutch territory in America. A small vessel of theirs having returned from a trading voyage to Manhattan shortly after the Connecticut purchases had been made, it was learned what had taken place. Governor Winslow and William Bradford at once proceeded to Boston to see what the two Colonies combined could do to circumvent the Dutch; proposing among other things to erect a trading-house upon the very land which the latter had purchased; but Governor Winthrop refused to engage in the scheme. He felt uncertain whether the patent of Massachusetts permitted an extention of trade to the Connecticut, and he knew that the territory had been conveyed by royal grant to the Earl

of Warwick. In view of this, while taking no active part against Van Twiller, he addressed a letter to him. "The King of England," the Puritan governor wrote, "had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects." A courteous reply was returned on the part of the Director, bidding the English colonists to forbear entering into disputes about territory, before the British and the

John Winthrop.

Dutch Governments should arrive at some understanding regarding boundaries; and though no Puritan himself, he inculcated the Christian duty of living together "as good neighbors in these heathenish countries." The commentary of the Pilgrims of New Plymouth upon this exhortation was an immediate preparation for occupying the Dutch territories. A house was constructed and placed in sections upon a large boat, and a number of men under the command of William Holmes were ordered to convey the boat to a position above Fort Good Hope. As the expedition passed the fort they were challenged by the Dutch garrison, and the two pieces of ordnance upon the walls were leveled against the intruders. The English kept on their way however, and the threat was not fulfilled, as it was forbidden to the West Indian Company to employ its forces against the representatives of a nation with whom the Republic was at peace. Van Twiller however, when he learned of the circumstance addressed a formal protest to Holmes, which was as little heeded as the challenge from the fort. The house was placed some miles above Good Hope, and thus was founded the town of Windsor, in Connecticut. The example of the Plymouth colonists was not lost upon those of Massachusetts, in spite of Governor Winthrop's previous self-restraint. An exploring party having reported upon the excellence of the territory about the Connecticut, families from Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester and Newtown, exhorted to the enterprise by sermons of their clergy, crossed the intervening wilderness and settled on the banks of the river. Later, John Winthrop, the governor's son, led a party to the mouth of the Connecticut, tore down the arms of the States-General at Kieviet's Hoeck, and founded Saybrook. Van Twiller was in a difficult situation;

he could not use force against Englishmen without danger of compromising the West India Company; yet these people were taking advantage of his helplessness, justifying their conduct on the ground of illegal grants, by a monarch who in other respects was already discrowned in their eyes, deserving no obedience. The Director appealed to the Assembly of the XIX, and advised them to obtain permission from the States-General to employ their troops and ships against the English, but such permission was never transmitted to him, and doubtless was not even applied for. In view of all these circumstances therefore, one act of Van Twiller's stands out in strong contrast to whatever features of a less favorable kind may be discovered in his character. When, a few years later, the colony at Saybrook was massacred by the Pequods, and two English girls were carried away captives, the Director at once sent an expedition to recover them. By the promptness and address of the Dutch the captives were restored to their mourning countrymen.

Upon the side of the South River, or Delaware, Director Van Twiller was also annoyed by English aggression. A party from Virginia under George Holmes took possession of the abandoned Fort Nassau. But one of their number, Thomas Hall, an indentured servant of Holmes, took the opportunity to escape, and finding his way to Fort Amsterdam, conveyed the news of this encroachment to the Colonial Government. Van Twiller sent an armed boat to the spot with a number of soldiers, who, meeting with no resistance, captured the whole party and brought them to Manhattan Island. Without further punishment the Director sent them back to Virginia in charge of De Vries, who had come on a second visit to New Netherland. But the names of George Holmes and Thomas Hall are found afterwards among the settlers on Manhattan, and they were, perhaps, with Augustine Herrman, the first to introduce there the cultivation of tobacco.

Thus, without omitting important details, a brief sketch has been given of the troubles with the English. But the question as to the Dutch title is one of importance here as elsewhere in New Netherland. Lawsuits involving important financial and real estate interests dependent upon that very question have been conducted within recent years, and may yet arise. The West India Company was frequently called on to enter into a defense of that title, and with equal persistence the English statesmen denied it. And still historians honestly differ on the subject and are apt to advance views colored by their predilections. It is indubitable that patents from the hand of English kings covered, or almost covered, the territory intervening between their northern and southern colonies. But simple discovery or mere grants could

not give title to a territory without occupation. What Queen Elizabeth maintained against Spanish claims: "Præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat," might have been urged with equal force by the Dutch against her successors. Prescription without occupation gave no valid claim. According to Vattel, a title given by discovery is "commonly respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession." Besides, in the patents both of James I. and Charles I., there was a distinct proviso which ought to have forever debarred their subjects from urging a claim to New Netherland. The New England charter of 1620 "contained an exception in favor of the possession of any Christian prince or State. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession." Again the charter of 1629, incorporating the "governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," the original of which is preserved in the State House at Boston, contains this clause: "Provided, always, that if the said lands, etc., were, at the time of the granting of the said former letters patent, dated the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of our said dear father's reign aforesaid (1620), actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state, that then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited." Why, then should there have been any question as to the title of the Dutch to New Netherland? Reason, right and express provision supported them; the law of common sense, of specific charters, and of international usage were all on their side. English statesmen and churchmen such as Archbishop Laud, might blind themselves to questions of right or wrong in the pursuit of their ends, but such moral dialecticians as Calvinistic Puritans should have been more careful to avoid doing injustice to a neighbor. It is easy to appreciate the indignation of a Dutch historian of the present century, when he writes: "It might have been expected, in recognition of the Dutch hospitality which they had enjoyed in Leyden, Amsterdam, and other cities in Holland and Zeeland, during so long a period, they would have left the Dutch colonies in undisturbed possession. It is almost incredible that people so scrupulous in matters of conscience could have been so ungenerous towards their Dutch neighbors and brethren in the faith and paid so little regard to their previous occupation."

In the year 1622 the colony on the James River was devastated by an Indian massacre and an Indian war; in 1636 the Pequods fell upon the English settlers along the Connecticut, and a destructive war was waged against them by the Puritans. An Indian war was therefore a thing to be looked for in New Netherland. The treaty of Tawassgunshee stood as a perpetual and irrefragable barrier against such a calamity in the

section along the upper Hudson. By an ill-judged interference with a dispute between the Mohawks and the Mohicans a few Dutchmen under Kriekenbeeck had indeed lost their lives there, but it reflected no dishonor whatever upon the Mohawks, who were a party to the peace of 1618. The Indians near the mouth of the Hudson however, took no part in the council on the Tawasentha: indeed they were distinctly hostile to the nations who had entered into it. And the war that seemed inevitable at length began, in all the horrors that characterized it in other portions of the country, under the administration of Director Kieft. But the originating cause dated back sixteen years, and is to be traced to an incident that took place almost immediately after Peter Minuit's arrival, while occasional and isolated cases of trouble with the Indians marked also the period of Van Twiller's incumbency.

On Manhattan Island itself the colonists were not disturbed by any violent conduct on the part of the aborigines. The relations were as yet friendly. Yet it cannot be said that the newcomers had any reason to be very favorably impressed with their savage neighbors. They found them to be exceedingly troublesome owing to their habitual thievishness. As with the Spartans of old, it was deemed by them rather honorable than otherwise to be adepts at theft. All endeavors to improve their condition either in body, mind, or soul were met by a stolid indifference and a real or assumed stupidity that were perfectly impenetrable." They were "strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as posts." This is the record of an eye-witness, Michaelius, with no theories of Indian depravity to uphold, who was deeply solicitous for their good and labored to instruct them in heavenly things. He found it of no avail however, and at last confined his attention principally to the children. Yet he saw that these could only be permanently benefited by separation from their parents and other savage associates—a thing which proved impracticable by reason of the chief redeeming trait of the Indian nature—an extreme fondness for their children. "The parents are never contented, but take them away stealthily or induce them to run away themselves." Nor was there much chance of progress in the cordiality or thoroughness of the intercourse between the European settlers and the Indians, for the latter studiously prevented the Dutch from learning their language. This was difficult enough in itself, but the intelligent observer whose words are quoted was of the opinion "that they rather design to conceal their language from us than to properly communicate it, except in things which happen in daily trade; saying it is sufficient for us to understand them in those; and then they speak only half their reasons, with shortened

words; so that even those who can best of all speak with the Indians, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark and bewildered when they hear the Indians speaking with each other." Such a course did not promise well for an increase of friendliness, and would only embitter whatever causes of mutual dissatisfaction might arise between the races brought into such close proximity. The forbodings of war were present even in the period of peace.

The tide in the affairs of the West India Company was still leading on to fortune when Director Van Twiller was sent to govern in its name in New Netherland, and hence he was given unlimited authority in the matter of public improvements. Fort Amsterdam not having been completed up to the time of his arrival the work was now pushed with vigor, so that in 1635 the structure was finished. It formed a quadrangle about three hundred feet long by two hundred and fifty wide and occupied the ground bounded by the present Bowling Green and Whitehall, Stone and State streets. Though it is recorded that " mountain-stone," *i. e*, quarry stone, was used in the construction of the walls, it is more than likely that this referred only to the four angles, which were salient while the intermediate curtains were banks of earth. A barracks for the newly arrived soldiers was built within the walls on the west side, while on the opposite or east arose the governor's mansion, and next to this, to the south, the church was erected in Kieft's time. The principal gate faced to the north, opening upon the Bowling Green and was guarded by a small redoubt called a horn, which may therefore have stood upon the very spot of the present circular park. The expenses of completion, aside from what the structure may have cost before, are placed at over four thousand guilders.

A more modest expenditure, with

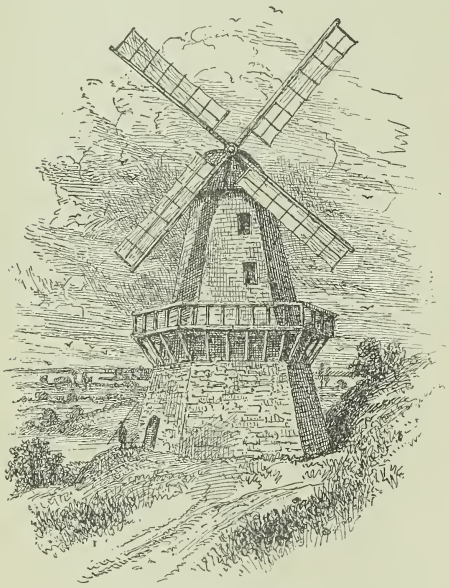
EVERARDUS BOGARDUS.

results correspondingly humble, was made for the erection of a place of worship. In the same ship with Director Van Twiller arrived the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, who, until the discovery of the Michaelius letter in 1858, was believed to have been the first clergyman settled on Manhattan Island. We now know that he was preceded for a period of five years by the author of that interesting document. Yet, even before the arrival of Michaelius, there had come over from the fatherland in the ship with Minuit two persons of a semi-clerical character, Sebastian Jansen Krol or

Crol, and John Huyghen, who, as lay readers, were to supply the place of a regular pastor temporarily. These, in the Dutch ecclesiastical system, were called "Krankenbezoeckers," or visitors (not consolers) of the sick. In the loft above the horsemill they led the singing of the congregation, read the creed, the Scriptures, and perhaps occasionally a printed homily. When Michaelius came in 1628 the horsemill still remained in requisition, but now something like regular church government began. Sebastian Crol had been transferred to Fort Orange to act as commissary, but John Huyghen remained and was made elder, while the director himself, who had been a deacon in Wesel, was promoted to the eldership. The first "Consistory" being thus constituted it was possible to hold a communion-service, at which fifty persons partook of the sacrament. Domine Michaelius preached to the people, the majority of whom were Walloons and French refugees, in the Dutch language, "which few among them could not understand," he writes; yet as an amiable concession to those few, knowing how much more precious religious truth is when expressed in the mother-tongue, he preached occasionally in French with a written sermon before him as he was unable to extemporize in a foreign language. It is not known how long Michaelius had been gone when Bogardus came, but the same rude loft served for the latter's ministrations in the beginning. Before the year 1633 was past, however, a separate church building had been erected, and also a parsonage. The church was a very plain structure, which De Vries characterized nine years later as a "mean barn," compared with the churches he had seen in New England. It stood in Broad street, at the junction of Pearl and Bridge—and the space of an ordinary lot separating the two streets it is easy to identify the exact location; the parsonage being at some distance from it and situated on Whitehall street, near Bridge, facing the eastern wall of the fort. Although a more worthy successor to the first church edifice was built within the fort in 1642, the "Old Church" was not sold till 1656 and it was used for business purposes for a century later.

In the same ship with Domine Bogardus came also the first schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen. Some writers make merry over the fact that, failing in his vocation, "he took in washing." Whether he failed in his calling as teacher we do not know, but that he took in washing was no necessary indication of this, nor was it an incongruous or unmanly vocation among the Dutch. The custom then, as now, was to accumulate articles in household use for six months or more, and then send to the laundries or "Bleeckeryen" (bleacheries), which were conducted entirely by men and were very extensive establishments. The great stores of linen

that went as a dowry with every daughter of a well-to-do family are explained by this prevalent usage, for such were necessary if the wash was attended to every half year instead of every Monday. Roelandsen may have superintended or owned such an establishment and could have managed this with a sufficient number of hands at the same time



A DUTCH WINDMILL.

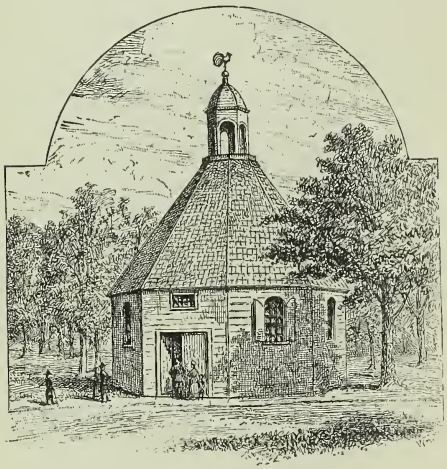
that he attended to the duties of a teacher.

Meanwhile diligent attention had been given to the development of the resources of Manhattan Island. Very soon after its purchase a large portion was systematically marked off into six separate farms, or bouweries, which were called the Company's and designated by numbers. Numbers one, three and five lay on the west side, and two, four and six on the east side. A tract of land extending to Wall street was known as the Company's garden; beyond this stretched farm number one as far as Hudson street. Number two was situated east of Broadway, number three occupied the site of the subsequent village of Greenwich, while number four included the "plain of Manhattan," later the Commons and the City Hall Park. Minuit had made some experiments in agriculture, notably with canary seed, a sample of which was sent to Holland in the Arms of Amsterdam. But with Van Twiller began the cultivation of tobacco, which proved a great success, so that the New Netherland product was much sought after in Holland and obtained as satisfactory prices as that from Virginia. It was the introduction of this culture by George Holmes which so far atoned for his leading a party to encroach on the Delaware, that in consideration of their valuable experience he and his runaway servant, Thomas Hall, were given grants of land on Manhattan, and both became reputable freeholders occupying prominent places in early colonial history. The increasing products of the soil necessitated the erection of mills. Minuit's horsemill was supplemented by wind-mills during his time, especially for sawing purposes, when he was building his great ship. A sawmill

was erected on Nooten or Governor's Island by Van Twiller; a mill stood on the southeast bastion of the fort, and one on the high ground of farm number one, just above the rise which lifts Broadway above the level of Bowling Green. Trade also made considerable strides during the earlier years of Van Twiller's term; the Patroon charter was modified so that the fur trade was less jealously restricted. As a consequence official records show that in 1633 there were exported 8,800 beaver-skins and 1383 otter-skins, yielding 91,375 florins ($36,550), the exports in 1635 reached the large number of 14,891 beavers and 1413 otters, selling for 134,925 florins ($53,770). And Manhattan Island or Fort Amsterdam, received a great advantage from this trade, for it was made the beneficiary of a system that was simply a revival of a custom of feudalism, namely, the privilege of "staple-right." When Count Dirk seated himself at Dordrecht and thus initiated the history of Holland, he exacted the payment of a toll from all vessels going past his town, up or down the numerous branches of the Maas, at whose confluence Dordrecht was situated. Those who refused or were unable to pay this, were compelled to discharge their cargoes, piling them in heaps ("stapelen") upon the shore in order to dispose of them by sale. The latter proving often more convenient or profitable, the traders along the river learned to congregate at Dordrecht as a market and the commercial prosperity of the Count's capital became assured. This "stapel-recht" or staple-right was now extended to Manhattan Island, the trade carried on in all the surrounding regions and along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, being thus made to contribute towards the advancement of the prosperity of the Company's Colony around Fort Amsterdam. Yet in spite of this the expectations of the West India Company with regard to their American province were disappointed. The blame was thrown mainly on its climate, which was, indeed, rather inconsistent. For although situated in a latitude which would warrant a temperature such as made France and Spain the home of the luxurious vine and of fruits such as the peach and apricot and orange, there was not the remotest reproduction of such conditions in New Netherland. It was even colder there at times than on the bleak plains of the United Provinces themselves. "For this reason then," the Assembly of XIX assured the States-General in June, 1653, "the people conveyed thither by us have as yet been able to discover only scanty means of subsistence and have been no advantage, but a drawback to the Company. The trade there in peltries is indeed very profitable, but one year with another only fifty thousand guilders [$20,000] at most can be brought home." A paltry sum this, by the side of the five millions of dollars

which Admiral Heyn "brought home" as the result of a few months' cruise!

Four years of Van Twiller's administration had not given the company any reason to change their opinion regarding the unprofitableness of New Netherland as a commercial venture. And although this was a shorter term than that of any of the other directors, it was resolved in 1637 to recall him. There appeared



CHURCH AT FLATLANDS.

to be good cause for adopting this measure, for he had not developed very acceptable characteristics as the governor of a Province. About a year after Van Twiller's arrival there occurred a quarrel between him and Domine Bogardus. In the early days of the colony, when but few men of standing or education could be found willing to cross the Atlantic, the clergyman, it would seem, was given a share in the councils of the colonial government. There is reason to believe that Michaelius was thus situated, and with the director an elder in his church, and a person entirely fitted for such a position, there was perfect harmony. Unfortunately both minister and director were of quite different temperaments under the next administration. From some cause, probably originating in the council, a contention arose and in the course of it exceedingly bitter language was exchanged. From all that appears in the conduct of Domine Bogardus subsequently, he was a person of a violent temper and enemies accused him of too great fondness for wine. In this respect Van Twiller was more than his match, and it seems to be no injustice to him to conclude that his morality was none of the purest. So fierce became the unhappy controversy between these prominent persons that it was made a basis of complaint against the director in Holland. Other evidences of personal unfitness for his position accumulated as time went on. The pages of De Vries' volume contain many accounts of drunken quarrels, originating in orgies which the director either himself promoted, or in which at least he took part. It was inevitable that his administration of the colony's affairs should be unfavorably affected, much to the injury of the interests of the West India Company. And to make matters still worse, while the company's farms yielded

no satisfactory returns, on the other hand those which had come into the possession of Van Twiller and his partners were signally prosperous. These men, evidently profiting by their advantageous situation as the agents of the company, had liberally provided themselves with extensive grants of land in the vicinity of Manhattan Island. The director secured for himself the island of Pagganck or Nut Island, since called Governor's from this very circumstance; while several islands in the Hell-gate, now East River, were also added to his estates. In 1636 Van Twiller, with Andrew Hudde, one of the council, Wolfert Gerritsen, probably a brother or other near relative of Councilor Martin Gerritsen, and Jacob Van Corlaer or Curler, the trumpeter, obtained possession of a tract of fifteen thousand acres in extent, including the present town of Flatlands on Long Island. It was soon after called New Amersfoort by another settler who had come from that historic town situated in the province of Utrecht and distinguished as having been the birthplace of Barneveld. The grant, although the title was secured from the Indians by purchase, was not made valid by the endorsement of the company, who were not even notified of it. These irregularities of personal and official conduct at last provoked the opposition of the most respectable member of colonial government, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had succeeded Conrad Notelman as schout-fiscal and who was possessed of legal training. But his protest only drew down the wrath of Van Twiller upon his head; he was deprived of his salary, in arrears for some time, and finally dismissed and sent back to Holland. This last proceeding on the part of the director, however, was suicidal to his official career, for the capable schout at once lodged a complaint against his superior before the States-General. On being referred to the Assembly of the XIX it was at first quietly ignored, but the complaint was too well supported by documentary and other evidence to be disposed of in this manner. Dincklagen importuned the States-General for a settlement of his claims, and the West India Company were summoned to refute his charges. As this could not be done they were forced to dismiss their unworthy officer from the directorship of New Netherland. The records of the States-General indicate that the directors had promptly sent their letter of recall, for on September 2, 1637, application was made to confirm the appointment and sign the commission of his successor, William Kieft.

Thus ended the administration of Walter Van Twiller, but, unaffected by the disgrace of his removal, he remained in the province for many years afterwards. With a cynical disregard of men's opinion as to the manner of their acquisition he devoted himself to the task of improv-

ing his extensive lands and to the renting of his herds of cattle, which were in a flourishing condition and numerous, while the occupants of the company's farms found them sadly deficient in stock. After Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's death, Van Twiller appears as one of the trustees or guardians of his sons during their minority; but there is no record of his return to Holland, although it is known that he died in his native land during the winter of 1656–57. Taking into consideration the perplexing circumstances in which the encroachments of the English on the Connecticut placed him, his failure to dislodge them is not greatly to his discredit. When they defied his protests and were prepared to resist a resort to force, the provisions of the company's charter forbade his employment of violent measures against the subjects of a friendly power. The attempt of the Virginians on the Delaware was only frustrated because they had the decency to desist when a serious effort was made to remove them from territory upon which they knew they were trespassing. Van Twiller's policy towards the Indians was firm and vigorous; his conclusion of a peace with the Raritans is to be highly commended and he certainly showed no cowardice in his dealings with the Pequods. Indeed, in consideration of the risks involved and actual war provoked, by his firm attitude towards this tribe in the matter of the redemption of the two English girls and his punishment of them for the murder of Captain Stone, Van Twiller's noble return of good for evil ought never to be forgotten, and reflects the more discredit upon those whom he thus generously treated. It is as one turns from these external relations to his public functions and private character at home that his undignified conduct and the cupidity which led him to take advantage of his official position for private ends make Director Walter Van Twiller appear in a reprehensible light. These have not unjustly caused his name to appear in history clouded with dishonor.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS BY THE PILGRIMS.

THE persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans is a theme which has been treated from widely different standpoints. It is not denied that extreme measures were resorted to, but the controversy has been chiefly over the matter of justification. As it is our purpose to consider the attitude of the Pilgrims towards this "peculiar people," it seems desirable to emphasize at the outset the marked differences between the settlers of Plymouth and Boston.

The two colonies were about forty miles distant from each other and intercourse between them in early years was almost entirely by water. The Pilgrim settlement dates from 1620, the Puritan from 1628, and these two settlements remained independent and distinct until their union under the Province charter in 1691.

The Pilgrims were separatists, the Puritans non-conformists; that is to say the former had taken themselves completely out of the Church of England and had established a church founded on the idea of brotherhood or genuine democratic equality. The latter were dissenters. They still belonged to the English church, and they contemplated the establishment of the same church here but without the wrongs and abuses.

The Pilgrims were men of mild manners, of simple tastes and, with a few exceptions, of little education. Their extraction was generally humble. The Puritans came from more noted stock and their leaders (who were of course the clergymen) were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge, more often of the latter. It was natural therefore, that one of their early concerns should be the establishment of an institution of learning. The average Puritan was dictatorial, opinionated, intolerant and obtrusive.

The Pilgrims expanded slowly, a fact partly due to the lack of a progressive spirit, and partly also to their unfortunate location and to the sterility of the soil. The Puritans increased with great rapidity. At Boston there were the marks of progress and prosperity; at Plymouth only the signs of gradual growth. At the time of their union in 1691 the younger colony was several times larger than the older.

In their origin and charter privileges the two colonies were radically different. The following is an epitome of the genesis of the govern-

ments at Plymouth and Boston, and their respective conditions until 1691. In 1606 James I. granted a charter to two companies to settle Virginia, the name by which this whole country was then known. The Pilgrims had a charter from the southern of these two companies and, arriving at Cape Cod, beyond the limits of that country, they found their charter of no avail and drew up and signed a "compact" in the cabin of the Mayflower Nov. 17, 1620. At about this time "The Great Patent of New England" was given by James I. to the council at Plymouth, England, for the planting etc. of New England. A charter was granted by this council to William Bradford and his associates in 1629. This granted the soil but not powers of government. The Pilgrims never had a royal grant. However they assumed autonomy, having a governor etc. and maintained a General Court. The Great Patent was surrendered to Charles I. in 1635, so that the "compact" was the real constitution while the colony lasted. The Puritans on the other hand, obtained in March 1629, from the Great Council a grant of territory which on March 4, 1630 was confirmed by letters-patent from Charles I. Under this charter liberal powers were also granted, and independence was enjoyed for more than half a century. The two governments differed in the exercise of their autonomy. Says Brooks Adams in the Emancipation of Massachusetts, "It has been taught as an axiom of Massachusetts history that from the outset the town was the social and political unit, but an analysis of the evidence tends to show that the organization of the Puritan Commonwealth was ecclesiastical, and the congregation, not the town, the basis upon which the fabric rested." In 1631 a law was passed at Boston that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." While this narrow enactment remained in force for many years, the more liberal rule obtained at Plymouth of freedom in the exercise of the suffrage, an exception prevailing in the case of those of bad characters and evil designs. And now after the lapse of more than two centuries we see how the Pilgrim idea has become the basis of our free institutions.

This liberality among the Pilgrims in civil matters may have been the outcome of their independence in their religious organization. The first church at Plymouth was built on the rock of Independent Congregationalism. The Puritans adhering on their arrival to the Church of England looked with little favor on the Separatists, but it has been pointed out (and very clearly by Dr. Tarbox in a paper read before the Old Colony Historical Society, April 30, 1878) that the Puritans adopted the example of their neighbors in

the establishment of their first church at Salem, and although there was in the beginning vigorous dissent from certain Puritan quarters, congregationalism became the established form of religious government in the Puritan Commonwealth.

It is proposed to largely treat the subject of this article by citing examples, and it is needless to observe that the years covered are identical with those which witnessed the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans. On October 14th, 1656, the General Court at Boston enacted the first of a series of laws against the Quakers. It was formally declared in the streets of Boston by beat of drum. Nicholas Upsall, a church member and freeman since 1631, the proprietor of the Red Lyon Inn, said on hearing the act read before his own door, "that he did look at it as a sad forerunner of some heavy judgment to fall on the country." He was fined and driven out of the colony. He went to Sandwich and was kindly received. The Governor of Plymouth issued a warrant forbidding the people of Sandwich to entertain him. He remained there during the winter and in the spring was sent into Rhode Island.

In 1657 John Copeland and Christopher Holder visited Martha's Vineyard and were ordered away. They went to Sandwich and were warmly received by some, although their coming was distasteful to others. They soon went to Plymouth where they were arrested, taken before the magistrates and discharged with the order "to be gone out of their colony." On the following morning they left for Sandwich, were overtaken, arrested, taken back to Plymouth, examined and "required to depart." They returned to Sandwich. To satisfy the clergymen there, the Governor issued a warrant for their arrest. It begins, "Whereas, there hath been two extravagant persons, professing themselves to be Quakers," etc., and concludes by ordering the under-marshal to convey said persons "unto the utmost bounds of our jurisdiction." He so conveyed them fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, and then set them at liberty. They soon reached their destination.

In the same year the Commissioners of the United Colonies sent a communication to the Governor of Rhode Island, requesting him to banish Quakers. The General Assembly replied in the following year, stating that freedom of different consciences was the principal ground of their charter.

In the same year Humphrey Norton was engaged in religious exercises, especially in Sandwich. A warrant was issued; he was arrested and taken to Plymouth. After being detained some time he was taken before the magistrates. He engaged in a theological discussion with the Governor, and was finally banished to Rhode Island.

In the same year, eleventh month,

William Brend and John Copeland, the latter of whom had been but a few weeks before banished from Boston, set out on a visit to Plymouth. They first went to Scituate (now Pembroke) where they met with Sarah Gibbons, who had lately come from New Netherlands. James Cudworth and Timothy Hatherly, magistrates, gave them a cordial reception. Officers were dispatched from Plymouth to arrest the Friends, but Hatherly refused to permit the arrest to take place. On the departure of Brend and Copeland, Hatherly furnished them with the following pass:

"These are, therefore, to any that may interrupt these two men in their passage, that ye let them pass quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any."

TIMOTHY HATHERLY.

They started for Rhode Island and Connecticut, passing through Plymouth where they were arrested and asked to enter into an engagement to leave within twenty-four hours. They replied that they were intending to proceed elsewhere but that they felt restrained from making a promise so to do. This being construed as perverseness, they were sentenced to a severe scourging.

In 1658, Humphrey Norton accompanied by John Rous, proposed to go to Plymouth to plead with the authorities on account of their treatment of Friends. They arrived fourth month, first day, Norton having previously forwarded an account of the sufferings which his fellow-professors had endured in that settlement, with some remarks upon them. They were arrested and imprisoned. Two days after they were brought before the court and questioned as to their motives in coming. Norton referred to the paper he had forwarded. The Governor would not admit that he had received it. Then Rous claimed that as a free-born Englishman he had an undoubted right to visit any part of the British dominions. They were re-committed. The Plymouth records charge them with having acted turbulently.

Two days after, they were brought before the court and charged with heresy by one of the citizens. They desired a public discussion but were remanded. Their accuser visited them, and it was reported to the court that there was "very little difference betwixt what Winter affirmed and the said Humphrey Norton owned." Being again brought before the court, Norton asked to read a paper he had written explaining their coming. The Governor employed severe language. Norton replied, "Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet." The oath of allegiance was next tendered and refused. Then the magistrates ordered them to be flogged. Three of the inhabitants who showed sympathy for them were placed in the stocks. Norton received twenty-three and Rous fifteen lashes. After a further imprisonment of a few days

they were released, and went to Rhode Island.

In the fourth month, 1658, Christopher Holder and John Copeland visited Sandwich. They attended a little Friend's meeting on the 23d. They were arrested by the marshal whose orders were to banish all such without delay and, if any such returned "the select men appointed for that purpose were to see them whipped." Upon their refusing to go the "select men" declined to act. The marshal thereupon carried them to a magistrate, two miles distant, who after an examination ordered them to be tied to the post of an out-house and gave each of them thirty-three lashes. On the following day they were taken back to Sandwich, whence they were carried towards Rhode Island and liberated.

In 1657 and 1658, the Friends at Sandwich suffered greatly from fines imposed and distraints to satisfy them, and two of the Friends were imprisoned for five months. There does not seem to have been any resort to violence.

In fourth month, 1659, Peter Pearson and William Leddra were imprisoned at Plymouth. The following is the concluding portion of a letter written by the former "in Plymouth prison in New England, the 6th of the tenth month, 1659." "At the end of two day's journey we came to a town therein called Sandwich, and the day following had a pretty peaceable meeting and it was with us, if we did escape apprehension in this colony, to have traveled into Boston's jurisdiction; but in the second meeting that we had at Sandwich we were apprehended, and had before the governor and magistrates, and by them committed to this prison, where we have remained five months and upward." Their imprisonment lasted about ten months.

The harassing of Friends in Sandwich by fines and distraints continued into the year 1659, and Thomas Ewer for reproving his persecutors was "laid neck and heels together." See New England Judged p. 148.

It was natural that the Pilgrims like the Puritans should resort to repressive legislation. The first law was passed by the General Court at Plymouth in 1657 and other enactments followed for several successive years, but they were not of long duration and were probably not always enforced with rigorous exactness. They imposed penalties upon those who brought Quakers into the colony if they did not return them, also on those who entertained them, deprived them of freedom and franchise, provided for the seizure of their books, declared that no fine should be exacted from such of them as should leave the colony within six months, provided for their being committed to jail and also whipped if they refused to depart. There were also laws that no person should furnish them with a horse and that their own horses were to be seized; every inhabitant was

authorized to apprehend them, and certain persons were allowed to attend their meetings to reclaim them.

The above recital is sufficient to dispel all doubts as to the attitude of the Pilgrims towards the Quakers. In January, 1866, Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, read at the Friends' Institute in that city a paper entitled, "The Pilgrim Fathers, neither Puritans nor Persecutors." His chief concern seems to have been to point out the distinction between the settlers of Plymouth and Boston, and his brief vindication of the Pilgrims from the charge of persecution is far from conclusive.

It is fair to assert that while the Quakers were persecuted to some extent by the Pilgrims, they were not treated with that severity which characterized the action of the Puritans in Boston. The following, it is believed, are some of the reasons, several of which are cited at the beginning of this paper:

I. Those in authority at Plymouth from 1657 to 1661, probably inherited something of the gentleness of the original settlers. They were naturally fairer and more tolerant than their neighbors at Boston.

II. As the Pilgrims and their immediate descendants never had a royal grant, it was natural that they should fear the displeasure of the English government.

III. As the Pilgrims expanded slowly they probably regarded with comparatively little aversion the advent of strangers.

IV. The general participation of all the citizens at Plymouth in the exercise of civil rights, irrespective of church membership, was favorable to the clement treatment of strangers.

V. What persecution there was, was largely due to the desire to be in accord with the more powerful government at Boston. In several cases the Puritan authorities communicated with their neighbors at Plymouth; and it is a fact that the first Quakers who visited the Plymouth Colony entered the country through Boston and not New Amsterdam.

VI. While the records prove the main contention of this article, the details of punishment and persecution are found chiefly on the pages of Quaker writers. No one doubts the sincerity and fairness of the Quakers, but the narrations may be occasionally exaggerated as the most impartial are susceptible to some prejudice in the treatmen of their own kind and kindred.

GEO. FOX TUCKER.

HISTORIC ELEMENTS IN VIRGINIA EDUCATION AND LITERARY EFFORT.*

The key-note to Virginia's intellectual past, and consequently to her after development, lies in large measure in what science teaches is true of individuals—and, as we might infer also, of a collection of individuals like the State, namely, the principles of heredity and environment. What is the origin of Virginia's people? What are the sources of her various race-elements? and how has the further history or evolution, if you prefer, of these elements been affected and modified by climatic conditions, by geographical divisions, by the physical contour of the land, by peculiarities of soil—nay, further, by traditions and customs and habits—that manifestation of a man's self and a nation's existence from which neither ever seems to break completely away.

Cast a glance upon the map of Virginia, and note the divisions of to-day, politically, materially and industrially, so varied and diverse. Five divisions will indicate roughly these differences; 1. The Tide-Water, including the parts contiguous to the navigable streams; 2. The South-Side; 3. The Valley; 4. The South-west; and 5. (I shall add for our present purposes) West Virginia. These geographical divisions, apparently made for convenience, in reality affect deeply the inner history of the State, and were originally the settling places of peoples—however commingled later—of different origins, governed by different principles and affected by different interests. Four race elements are important enough in the history of Virginia's culture to bear distinction. The English, the Scotch-Irish, the German, and the French Huguenot. The African negro would constitute a fifth.

The first settlers were the English. Coming over at the instigation of the Virginia Company in London, their objects were very similar to the later East Indian and Southern and Central African Companies; to found a colony, to establish plantations, to engage in trade with the natives, to extract from a fresh soil its mineral and agricultural wealth, to amass fortunes and possibly to achieve fame.

It needs little discernment and slight study of the map of the new world to note how admirably just this part of the entire American coast was adapted to their purposes. Stretched

*A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society, December 21, 1891.

before them lay the beautiful Chesapeake Bay. Into this flows fairly parallel the great rivers of the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the York, with its confluents, the Mattapony and the Pamunkey; the James and its tributaries, the Chickahominy and the Appomattox, forming fertile and pleasing peninsulas and presenting a perfect tracery and net-work of navigable waters—great highways for commerce and communication. The Bay itself and the Ocean create still another great peninsula, that of the "Eastern Shore." From these sections these pioneers spread slowly to the north and west and south, following, in the main, the courses of the larger streams.

It is a most striking illustration how the topography and physical features of a land determine its history, its social, political, and particularly its economical and intellectual development. Sufficient labor was naturally difficult to obtain, and the demand grew still greater, as the tobacco crop became the staple of produce and the plantations encroached on the forest domain. Economical conditions create history; and a dozen years after the colony had been planted, the first ship-load of African slaves was introduced. The social scale was lengthened at both ends. Plantations became more princely, as hundreds of servants were added as laborers and domestics. The English manorial estate, controlling the surrounding acres, leading in the vestry meeting of the neighboring church, was the model upon which the Virginian's life and government was patterned. Physical geography produced also here its effects. The scattered homes and estates, extending irregularly along the courses of rivers, necessitated the division into counties of irregular shape and unequal extent; and these counties were accepted as the unit of society and the basis of representation in the government. The contrast with New England already accentuated by certain differences in people, in altitude, in thought, was here complete. The colonists in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for reasons both natural and social, dwelt in compact communities, living close together and knit by common interests. It is unprofitable to discuss the advantages of the one form of government as compared with the other, to praise the one as containing germs of liberty which the other does not possess. Nature and climate and mode of life imposed the one upon New England and the other upon Virginia. In both colonies we find local self-government and individual liberty, alike dear and near to an English-speaking people.

True Englishmen these Virginians remain. There is still manifest throughout the Englishman's love of out-door pleasure, of an open air existence, of a life filled with excitement and adventure. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler in his History of American Literature (vol. I, p. 92) states: "These

constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and by and by, here and there, perhaps after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class and almost no literature." These were, at least, the conditions which produced "militia heroes" like Washington and Lee; "fiery orators" like Patrick Henry and Randolph of Roanoke; "astute and imperious politicians" like Jefferson and Madison; "country-gentlemen" like Wythe and Mason and John Marshall.

The second-race element, entering into the make up of Virginia's culture, is the Scotch-Irish. One hundred and thirty years after the tidewater was settled, the valley received this stream of immigration. The situation of the original home of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia was typical of the spreading of the race itself to the four quarters. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions—some northwards with the Shenandoah to empty into the Potomac; others eastward into the James or more southerly into the Roanoke; others southerly and westward into the Holston, and thus into the Tennessee, and still others into the Greenbrier and the Kanawha and thence down the Ohio. That descendants still retain that love of external scenery inborn in their ancestry is one of the curious problems which science attempts to explain. Whether we view the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania or Virginia, in North or South Carolina, in Tennessee or Kentucky, they have fairly well followed the Appalachian range and its offshoots and the courses of its streams, the highlands and the Piedmont section ever remaining that portion where their genius seems to flower at fullest perfection.

These people added to the character of the colony a much needed Puritan element—stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world, but in their very nature earnest, law-abiding, upright, staunch, honest patriots, filled with a love of liberty inherited from generations of Scotch covenanters.

The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism, their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple, thrifty and comparatively secluded lives. In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the abundance of post-offices, bearing German appellations testify, and a study of the catalogues of the valley and westernly institutions reveal a constantly marked increase in students whose names show them to be

descended from these eighteenth century pioneers. William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States and author of the first Life of Patrick Henry, Conrad and Shefey, Kemper and Koiner, are among the prominent representatives of this race.

The French element in Virginia has been not so large, but marked in capacity and distinct in quality, settling along the upper waters of the James on the border of Goochland and Powhatan, this original handful of Huguenots became distributed here and there in all sections of the State, particularly along the James and the Appomattox, the south side receiving possibly the larger share. Maury, Marye, Maupin, Michaux, Legrand, Fontaine, Flowrnoy, Dupuy, Dabney, are but a few among many Virginian family names from this source.

I have just alluded to the south side and its French elements. Half way between the tide-water and the mountains of the Blue Ridge, the southern section of Virginia received an admixture of both English and Scotch-Irish. A further commingling with the French Huguenots intensified the Presbyterian influence. Add to this the labors of Samuel Davies and other missionary evangelists, and we have the causes which gave rise to Hampden-Sidney College in Prince Edward. If any point is clear in the educational history of Virginia, it is the fact that her early institutions in their origin are not so much the creatures of denomination, as the result of traditions of *race* and *place*. They sprang from local needs, were supported by local patronage, and only by degrees, for especial reasons and in exceptional cases, did they become institutions for a whole land. Only three of these belong to the first half century of our national existence (1775-1825): The College of William and Mary for the tide-water section; Hampden-Sidney College for the south side; and Washington College for the valley.

The College of William and Mary was the offspring of the genius of the English race in Northern and Eastern Virginia. The objects asserted were: "To the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." There is about this the true and unmistakable English ring.

It was a college for both Church and State, because Church and State were then one. In the chapel could assemble, with equal propriety, a band of college youths, a convention of the Church, a body of legislators. But the influences were still stronger. Williamsburg was not only the educational and religious centre of the English colony, it was the seat of the colonial Governors, men who, imitating the state and ceremony of the

Court of St. James, introduced style, fashion, luxury, social grace, in short, a world's culture. Here were the sessions of the House of Burgesses, comprising the most prominent and active men in the colony; here were the law courts; and later the seat of the chancellor and the school for law. No wonder these young Virginians became natural leaders. They received their training besides, in their homes, among domestics, in the fields, on the plantations, in church matters as vestrymen, as justices and in the county courts, and finally in the capital at Williamsburg as members of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council. Perhaps such an atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of preachers, if that had been the hopes of the founders of William and Mary. The genius of this people lay no more in that direction than in philology and mathematics, or even in literature, though none of these branches were neglected in a way—but their genius in state-craft was consummate. They became students of law, of politics, of government; and it was the teachers in these departments, George Wythe, the Chancellor, and his successors, who inspired and captivated the youth of the time. And later, towards the middle of the century, when Abolition and Territorial Sovereignty and States' Rights were the great issues involved, President Thomas R. Dew and Professor Beverly Tucker were still upholding the genius of the race and institution among youth nurtured in the same traditions. Mr. Jefferson had to send abroad for Professors in Latin and Greek, Mathematics and the modern languages, in furnishing his State university; but for Political Economy, Law, and the Science of Government, he had only to reach out his hand among the graduates of William and Mary. What growth could literature as the expression of an art enjoy in such an atmosphere?

But no less did the Scotch-Irish possess their institution. As early as 1749, those in the valley originated Augusta Academy. Those in the south side were among the chief promoters in 1775 for the Prince Edward Academy. Through the patriotic fervor engendered by the Resolution, the one became changed into Liberty Hall and the other to Hampden-Sidney College. I have referred to the personality of George Wythe and the consequent school of jurists and statesmen at Williamsburg. Here we have to deal with the personality of William Graham in Rockbridge and the two brothers, Samuel Stanhope Smith and John Blair Smith, in Prince Edward. All three were Pennsylvanians by birth, were reared under Scotch-Irish influences, were pupils of Dr. Witherspoon at Princeton, and preachers in the Presbyterian Church. The Princeton influence, ever strong in Virginia, was now at its highest. Circumstances combined to make

Lexington as much a centre of intellectual culture for the one people as Williamsburg for the other. The mental activities of the youth were directed not so much to law and politics—although the history of the times would not allow these anywhere to remain wholly in the background—but it was theology and metaphysics which absorbed most attention. The genius of the race—the Scotch—was again triumphant. Among Graham's pupils in Rockbridge, we find Revoluntionary heroes, Congressmen and Judges; but it is a telling fact that more than one-fourth from among them became preachers of the gospel. It is to four of these—Archibald Alexander, Moses Hage, John Holt Rice and George A. Baxter, imbued with the spirit and purpose instilled by the teacher—that is due the rise and greatness of the two historic seminaries of Calvinistic theology at Princeton and at Hampden-Sidney.

Much the same characteristics are fairly manifest in the history of Hampden-Sidney College. She has turned out a President of the United States, one or two Cabinet members, Congressmen, Governors and Judges, but the genius of the institution has been far more directed towards producing an educated ministry and to filling professional chairs and presidencies of educational institutions. Noble and exalted aims! but in themselves not altogether favorable to the creation of an atmosphere charged with the electric current ready for a literary outburst.

The quarter of the century from 1825 to 1850, seems especially active in the intellectual life of the State. The older colleges become infused with a new spirit. The theological seminaries at Hampden-Sidney and near Alexandria enter upon careers of distinguished usefulness. The University of Virginia opens its doors and achieves its pre-eminent position in the State and the South. There arise on all sides new institutions with high educational and literary aims. Randolph Macon in Mecklenburg, and Emory and Henry in Washington County, are organized by the Methodists. The Baptists and the Lutherans put on foot the beginnings of Richmond and Roanoke Colleges. The State opens the Military Institute at Lexington, and one or two law and medical schools are started in different localities. Further, it is in this period that the *Southern Literary Messenger* is begun, that other enterprises, Lyceums, Athenaeums and Literary Institutes, are attempted; that the Virginia Historical Society is founded and incorporated.

If the political and constitutional ferment during and after Revolutionary times, checked the expansion of literary talent and turned the genius of the people to other channels, still darker grows the prospect toward the middle of the century. The *Southern Literary Messenger* affords a most pathetic instance. In

its brief life of three decades (1834–64), it never succeded in casting off the shadow. With distinct and apparent effort to approach nearer the ideal of a literary organ, its literary features became submerged under its uses as a reflector of political sentiment, as a defender of southern institutions and Virginian rights. Constitutional and political questions absorbed all interest, all energy—the exigencies of the time once more crushed out literature as an art and as a profession.

The influence of the colleges and seminaries could not retard this movement—indeed, but accelerated it. All participated nobly in building up the culture, the educational and intellectual life of the State—each institution, each section, each element, happy that it could preserve withal a distinctive individuality. The State University had to be largely professional—aims very distinct from literary—and specialized in philology, in mathematics, in the sciences. On the other hand, the study of the law, government, moral and political science, ever remaining popular and attractive with Virginian youth, intensified the zest for the practical politics of the day. Taking a look backward, we see that it could hardly have been otherwise. The conditions were not those for a creative and productive era, for an universal glow and spontaneous outburst indicative of an aggressive crusade. The very preference for country life was adverse. There was hardly occasion for literary criticism, for the higher flights of poetry, for the calm observant analysis of the writer of fiction. Edgar Poe looms out conspicuously, not as one born of the times, but as a lurid meteor dashing across a darkling sky—and yet in this brilliancy matching with Hawthorne and Emerson as the three original and Titanesque appearances in American authorship.

There was no centre, whether at college or in a city, no system of large collections of books, constant public discourses, sympathic mind in touch with kindred spirit, laboring and studying and waiting, loving literature as an art, and art for art's sake.

Intellectual energy was suppressed. It was not free to move and range at will. There could not be freedom of thought when it was ever on the defensive, on the watch for the terrible conflict which was not to be averted!

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.

A SYNOPSIS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN ROSS COUNTY, OHIO.

During the years 1844, 1845 and 1846, Messrs. Squier and Davis, carried on extensive explorations in the Scioto Valley of Southwestern Ohio. Their work* is well known and comment upon it is unnecessary, except as it relates to the discoveries which will be described in this paper. Among the more important earthworks which the gentlemen surveyed, they mention the one located upon the farm of a Mr. Clark, one mile west of Anderson Station, Ross County, Ohio. The land in question is now owned by Mr. Cloud Hopewell, who has given Professor Putnam unlimited permission to examine the ground. As such an examination as is being made results in the destruction of several acres of crops, and greatly interferes with the cultivation of the farm, we cannot be too grateful to Mr. Hopewell for his courtesy.

When Messrs. Squier and Davis made their examination of the tumuli they sank small shafts from the summit of the smaller mounds downward, and in but one instance did they thoroughly explore a burial structure. The larger mounds lying in the center of the enclosure were not examined by them at all. In fact, they state that the large tumulus enclosed in a semi-circle was deposited by glacial action and was not of artificial origin.

Locating our camp near a large spring in the northeast corner of the enclosure, we began a systematic investigation of the embankments, the burial places and the sites of habitations. As the work was projected in the interest of the World's Columbian Exposition and at its expense, we are not permitted to give the details of each mound explored. Our paper must be of more general character. Even were we permitted to relate all of our discoveries, the story could not be told in the space at command, for they have exceeded our utmost expectations.

Beginning at the east side of the enclosure there is a small mound barely traceable, now located in the centre of a village site. The village originally occupied about eighty acres, and its location is apparent from numerous pottery sherds, flint implements, bones of animals used for food and other debris, such as is

*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 26, 158.

common upon all aboriginal town sites. Fragments of beautifully wrought stone bracelets, perforated shark's teeth (in the fossil state), and bits of bone covered with peculiar designs were found scattered through the soil in the small mound just referred to. The carvings are very singular indeed, and so far as we are aware, nothing like them has ever been found in the Ohio Valley. The designs are combinations of squares, circles and gracefully carved lines. They vary from one-fiftieth to one-sixtieth of an inch in diameter and are deeply and regularly cut in the bone. All carvings heretofore found have been very crude. These however, were made by a fairly skilled engraver, with the best of obsidian or copper tools and indicate a purpose, a design, and an artistic ability upon the part of the executor. A savage could hardly have made them.

Squier and Davis mention the carved bones of this mound but seem to have secured no good specimens.

Lying toward the west are two mounds four hundred feet apart. The smaller one is four feet in altitude with a base line of sixty feet, the larger one toward the south is two hundred and ten feet in length, one hundred and thirty feet in width, and fourteen feet in height.

In the first tumulus there were no complete skeletons, although evidences of two partially cremated ones. An imperfect altar of burnt clay lay near the centre in the cavity of which were numbers of delicate bone needles, flint knives and fine white ashes. Immediately above the rough altar and extending for twenty feet beyond it on all sides was a great layer of mica sheets. The mica had been split up into blocks from one-eight to one-fourth of an inch in thickness and these were laid on top of each other, eight and ten sheets deep, each little deposit overlapping the one immediately toward the south. The builders had begun to lay the layer from the south toward the north. It resembled a roof of shingles in character. Two thousand sheets of the mineral were taken from the mound, together with copper hatchets and neck ornaments.

One of the most valuable mounds of the group was the third or oblong one. It was so large that with quite a force available it took three weeks to open it. A total of thirty-seven skelctons, two fine altars, many beautiful copper implements, platform pipes, Pyrula and Busycon shells, thousands of beads, pendants, etc., etc., were taken from the base line.

But let us examine the peculiar construction of the mound. It had been built at two periods, and there had been a great many interments covering a considerable period of time.

The first portion of the mound was eight feet in height and sixty feet in diameter, being circular and terminating in a cone at the top. In it

twelve interments had been made. The skeletons were fourteen feet from the surface of the second mound and it was utterly impossible for water or atmospheric agencies to have affected them. Moreover they lay upon hard burnt earth with practically dried clay and gravel above.

The bones were covered with dendritic formations and were so badly decayed that but few of the crania could be preserved. Several perforated humeri were observed, also displacements of the femurs, broken tibia and fibula, fractured radia and ulna. The builders evidently had no knowledge of the use of splints, as none of these broken bones had ever been reset. Some of them had grown together, the union of the broken ends being marked by enlargements the size of an egg. In other cases the bones had overlapped each other several inches, and the broken limb or arm was five or six inches shorter than the perfect one. In the case of a leg it was frequently bent like a bow. The skulls were of the brachycephalic type with but very few dolicocephali and one or two of the intermediate type.

A sixteen pound copper axe and a great stone bowl very like the mortars of the Pacific coast, many copper plates, and thousands of beads were in the lower mound.

How many years had elapsed before the second structure was added it is impossible to determine. The dark line resulting from decayed vegetable matter, logs and stumps which marks the summit of the earlier tumulus was quite thick. In heaping up the second mound, the builders placed but six feet of earth above the apex of the first, and they added eight or ten feet to the edges of the early one, making the later interments at the base of the first. They made no interments upon the slope of the first mound, but around its edges placed a great many skeletons.

Continuing toward the west our party opened ten or twelve small mounds, finding in them six or eight splendid altars and many skeletons covered with pearl beads, and copper implements, pipes and shell ornaments of an unusual type.

Messrs. Squire and Davis mention a mound north of the effigy in which they found a great deposit of flint implements. We opened this structure and found over 7,000 flint disks laid in a circular space 30 by 40 feet. The builders seem to have carried ten or fifteen of the disks in their hands to the mound and deposited them in little piles, some upon edges, others laying flat. There are many excavations in the structure and its contents greatly disturbed. Some of the holes were made by farmers, but the greater part of them by the original builders, who used the tumulus as a cache or storage place, and took therefrom such of the disks as they chose to work into the implements. The disks are of palaeolithic type but have been chipped with great care, from

forty to fifty flakes having been detached from each side. They are of the nodule flint and not quarry flint, as many of them have limestone or chalk-like formations on the outside of the nodule upon their edges. They vary in size from six by seven to eight by nine inches.

In the latter part of October work was begun upon the large effigy mound indicated on Squier and Davis' plan as surrounded by a semi-circle. While not the highest structure in the State, it contains more earth than any other single turmulus, being 500 feet long, 200 feet wide, and ranging from 23 to 25 feet in altitude. For convenience in exploration the great heap of earth was taken out in cuts or sections, seven in number. Each excavation extended north and south, and was from 45 to 65 feet in width. A large force was employed to properly make these cuts. When a point was reached three feet above the base line the teams would be moved to the summit of the structure and a new cut begun, while the shovelers would carefully examine the three feet of earth remaining in the excavation, working from the center towards the north and then towards the south. The making of one section occupies about two weeks. Six of the seven sections are completed.

In the east cut nothing whatever was found. In the second cut ten or twelve skeletons were uncovered, accompanied by numerous objects. One in particular, to which the newspapers have given the sensational name of "King" was covered with copper plates, pieces of decayed cloth—very coarse in texture, pearl and shell beads, pieces of mica, shell disks, bear teeth with pearl beads inserted in their sides. There were also several beautiful pipes with the skeleton. The forehead, crown and back of head was covered with a rude helmet of copper. From the crown of this helmet extended an imitation, in the same metal, of antlers 22x19 inches. These had five prongs upon each side and from their position must have stood straight up on the owner's head.

In the third cut two large finds of copper were made, also numerous skeletons. The copper is being studied at present with a view of determining its origin. There were 220 objects or ornaments representing large hatchets, plates and spool shape objects. One deposit lay above another, the plates and hatchets being upon the base line, while the sheet copper lay two feet above it. Of the lower deposit there is nothing remarkable to be observed, save in the size of one of the axes and in the great quantity of smaller hatchets and plates, the profusion of beads, etc. There are sixty-eight of the copper hatchets, forty plates, and many thousand beads. We are not aware of more than a dozen copper hatchets having been taken from a mound before at one time.

The upper deposit was entirely dif-

ferent in character from the lower. It was composed of the most unique and singular designs cut out of sheet copper. Nothing like it has ever been discovered before in the mounds of the Ohio Valley. There are four distinct copies of the Swaslika cross, there are fish and bird heads, beautifully worked in the metal, there are combs, anklets, bracelets, crecents, stencil-like figures with combinations of squares and circles, arrowhead-shaped patters, disks, wheels, etc., throughout the layer. Were such singular things manufactured by the aborigonies inhabiting the Ohio Valley? We think not. The designs evince a degree of skill beyond the ability of any of the savage mound-building clans.

Some of the gentlemen connected with the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington are of the opinion that the mound had been constructed in recent times after the advent of the White settlers. They held that the sheet copper could only have been worked in such fanciful and unusual designs by traders or settlers. While admitting their theory to be worthy of great consideration, we must bear in mind the following facts: All other objects from the mound were of a most primitive character and not differing in any great degree from those previously found. They were the duplicates of hundreds of other finds whose age has been unquestioned.

There were no modern things present (unless we accept the copper as modern), no glass beads, no iron tomahawks, nothing that could be positively attributed to European origin. That some of the mounds were constructed in post-Columbian times is probable. That this mound was constructed since the discovery of America is improbable.

If after careful study and comparison the Swaslika crosses are found to be Oriental, as Dr. Thomas Wilson of the Smithsonian thinks, the discovery will be of the greatest of importance in solving the origin of the American Race.

While in Washington we examined several books by such eminent French anthropologists as De Mortillet, and Topinard and the English authorities, Sir John Lubbock, Boyd Dawkins, etc. We were surprised that the Swaslika crosses found in the bottom of the large effigy mound just described, should be so common on many prehistoric monuments of Brittany, Italy, and particularly India, Japan and China.

We do not wish to be understood as positively asserting that the occurence of the cross in America is due to East Indian influences. But judging from the field testimony, as the reader of this paper is compelled to do, we are convinced that when the investigations shall have come to an end, the sheet copper will not be attributed to the manufacture of the whites. How old it is we do not attempt to say. It may be five hundred years—it may be three thousand. The very

character of the burials is ancient. The decayed skeletons, but a handful of them remaining, their few bones covered with dendritic deposits, the poor rude implements, utensils, and lastly, but in no wise unimportant, the stumps and roots of aged trees which once covered the mound, indicate to our mind the genuineness of the discovery, and, we firmly believe, establish an important place for it in American archæology.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO ROBERT MORRIS.

AN INTERESTING REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE only man in the history of the world who ever bore the title of the Superintendent of Finance was Robert Morris of Philadelphia," says Prof. Sumner in his valuable life of Morris, recently published. Historians, Mr. Sumner justly considers, have never accorded the Financier of the Revolution the space or prominence to which his conspicuous public service and the important part which he played in the establishment of the Republic entitles him.

The prevailing idea to-day therefore of Morris, even among well informed minds, is somewhat vague. But that it should be so seems not very difficult to account for, as there was but little in Morris's public career to draw popular attention to him as an historical figure.

His public achievements for instance, were neither heroic nor sensational, and they were moreover understood and appreciated by only a few of the most advanced of his contemporaries, and were besides clouded by scandal during his lifetime by the prejudices which his wealth invited, and by the story of his wretched downfall and death in obscurity in May 1806.

Robert Morris came to Philadelphia about the year 1750, with some means it may be supposed, but with no great fortune. His father, Robert Morris, was an English merchant of Lancashire, but Robert was born in Liverpool January 31st, 1734. Being interested in American commerce the senior Morris came to this country and settled at Oxford, on the eastern shore of Maryland, where he engaged in a career as a farmer and importing merchant.

When Robert was about seventeen years of age his father died, and as his means were small it became necessary he should learn some useful business. He was therefore sent to the Quaker city, and placed as an apprentice in the counting-house of Charles Willing, one of the most extensive merchants of that time. Here he conducted himself with activity and intelligence, and won the good will of all who were connected with him. To these circumstances we may attribute the fact that in 1754 he was in a position to form a partnership with Thomas Willing, the son of his master. The firm of Willing & Morris was enterprising and successful, and in the course of time became

very rich, and the most extensive shipping-house in the city.

During the early years of his mercantile career, Mr. Morris appears to have had no desire for public office, and was known as a business man and not as a politician. On the 27th of February 1769, he married Mary White, the sister of Bishop White and a leading belle during her day.

It was not until the rising disputes between America and Great Britian called every man to take sides, that Mr. Morris appeared in public affairs, first in connection with the resistance to the Stamp Act. In 1765 he signed the non-importation agreement, and was on a committee of citizens to force John Hughes, collector of the stamp tax, to desist from the administration of his office in October of that year.

His career as a public man began when the Revolutionary war broke out, and his remarkable qualities as a business man rapidly brought him to the front in the Continental Congress. From the first, and for years, he was the leading spirit of the committees which controlled the finances and conduct of the war, and he had to undertake a number of functions which no modern secretary of the treasury ever thinks of executing, and indeed took part in all the great enterprises of the United States which were not mililary.

Morris, like Jay, Duane, Edward Rutledge, Henry Laurens, William Livingston, Dickinson and others was opposed to a Declaration of Independence, clearly and unequivocally; not however because he had faltered by the wayside,or lost his interest or faith in the cause,but because in his judgment the time had not come. He voted against Lee's Resolution of Independence on the 1st of July, and on the 2nd and 4th he did not take his seat. Whatever his doubts may have been however, they were finally overruled by his friends, and subsequent events strengthened his resolution, so that when on the 2nd of August the Declaration of Independence was engrossed and ready for signing, Morris was ready to affix his signature with the others. When it was agreed by Congress that the management of finance should become a separate office, controlled by one man, Morris was immediately and unanimously selected for this important appointment.

By the acceptance of this post his life was embittered through the attacks of his enemies upon him in connection with his financial administration. On the other hand, however, his energy and resources as a financier, in devising expedients when he found himself in most perplexing positions; in raising money to replenish the exchequer of the Continental Congress, at times when it seemed to that body that success was hopeless, gained for him the profound admiration and respect of many of the noted men of his time. First and foremost amongst them was General George

Washington, who always remained his true friend, and even after Morris had been freely accused of financial dishonesty, believed in his integrity and offered him the position of Secretary of the Treasury under the new government, before he gave it to Hamilton.

Custis is reported as saying that Morris was the one man to whom Washington unbent and disclosed himself. The truth of this assertion can largely be determined by a perusal of the following letters, which in view of Mr. Sumner's recent publication are of unusual interest at the moment, forming, as they do, Washington's portion of the original correspondence between himself and Robert Morris on important war matters covering a period from January 13 1777, to December 24, 1781, and now for the first time presented entire.

Until recently, when they were sold at public auction in Philadelpha, these valuable writings formed part of a collection of autograph letters of noted Americans owned by a Virginian, a maternal descendant of John Randolph, and a collateral descendant of Robert Morris. It is to be noted that the majority of the letters were written at Morristown, although several were dispatched from Valley Forge.

The opening letter of the correspondence appears to be simply a personal note in which Washington requests Morris to deliver several letters for him. It reads as follows:

Morristown, Jan. 13, 1777.

Dear Sir:

If amidst a multiplicity of important matters, you could suffer a trivial one to intrude, I should thank you most heartily for taking a letter or two of mine, when you do your own, by the Southern mail, and forwarding of them, as opportunity offers, to the camp,—I have long since drop'd all private correspondence with my friends in Virginia, finding it incompatible with my public business. A Letter or two from my family, are regularly sent by Post, but very irregularly received, which is rather mortifying, as it deprives me of the consolation of hearing from home or domestic matters.

I beg you'll excuse this freedom and do me the justice to believe, that with very sincere esteem and regard

I am,

Dr Sir yr most obed. ser

Geo Washington.

The next letter in order covers two folio pages and is most interesting reading. Almost afraid to express it Washington, when he wrote, was evidently hourly expecting an attack upon his poorly protected army, and to avert it, sent out strong detatchments of picked men to assail and harass General Howe's troops, with the result that in a short time not a single British regular remained in the Jerseys, except at New Brunswick and Amboy. This is the letter:

MORRISTOWN, JAN. 19, 1777.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 14th with the dispatches from congress came safe to hand, and those for the eastward forwarded on—I am thankful to you for the information of Capt'n Bell. Intelligence of the same nature had come to me before, and I had no doubt (if the diversion intended to be made by Genl Heath towards New York, does not withdraw from the Jerseys, or detain part of the troops said to be remanded from Rhode Island) but that a storm will burst soon, somewhere. How well we are prepared for it, my letter to congress, enclosed will inform you,—I do imagine that the aim will be at this army—our numbers will be estimated larger than they really are. Genl Howe will not therefore, I should think, move forward or leave us in his rear, but clear I am in my own judgment that he will endeavor to disperse this army, or move on to Philadelphia, unless his force is much less than we imagine, or he greatly misconceives ours, neither of which do I believe.

For this reason, I again beg leave to give it as my opinion, that no part of the public stores that can be dispensed with, should remain in Philadelphia; and to request you, to urge Colonel Flowers, not to continue the operations of his department a moment longer than he can avoid in that place, as it is only intended, not to be idle, while he is preparing his elatatory &c., &c., at York or Carlyle. With great esteem and regard I am,

Dr Sir

Yr most obed't serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

Please to send me a pound or two of good sealing wax if it is to be procured.

When Robert Morris replied to this epistle he evidently enclosed the General a copy of the King's speech, which Washington no doubt read with great interest. He thanks Mr. Morris for sending it, and at the same time gives some interesting information in his next writing :

HEADQUARTERS MORRISTOWN, 5TH FEB'Y, 1777.

Dear Sir :

I have yours of the 31st ulto and can readily excuse you not answering my letters with regularity, as I know the weight of important business that lays upon your hands. The return of stores made by Mr. Towers is so small that I do not think the immediate removal of them any ways necessary. Besides they are such as will be chiefly taken up by the Troops upon their march, if there are any bulky articles not likely to be wanted soon, they are better out of the way. Mr. Wallace wrote to Gen'l Sullivan concerning his plate, and have desired him to write to Gen Heath and know wether he got it. You may depend that such steps shall be taken as will render strict justice to Mr. Wallace and the Public.

I perfectly agree in sentiments with you, that it would be better for every suspicious person to be in New York, for which reason you have Liberty to send Capt Jones in exchange for Capt Hallock, and Mr. Palmer for Capt Dear, if there are any others, taken in merchantmen, that are not held as prisoners of war. Use your own discretion, only indeavor if you can to procure the liberty of masters of ships or others [in] the same circumstances with themselves. I hope your ship will not loose her valuable cargo of salt. I thank you for the copy of the King's speech, which I think fairly bids the Parliament to prepare for an approaching storm, indeed France has done everything but make the much wished for declaration.

I have given Mons Devolland a Lieutenancy in Colonel Patton's Regiment.

I am Dear Sir

Sincerely and affectionately yours

GEO WASHINGTON

During the entire period of Washington's occupancy of his headquarters at Morristown he constantly expected that the British would attempt to occupy Philadelphia, the capital city. And he also realized that he was powerless to prevent such a move. The only thing that could be done was to remove to a place of safety the large quantity of valuable stores in and around the Quaker city. In a letter written to Morris on his birthday he fully expresses his ideas regarding this matter and tells what should be done.

HEADQUARTERS MORRIS TOWN 22D FEBY. 1777.

Dear Sir:

You are well acquainted with my opinion, upon the unexpediency of keeping any more stores in the city of Philadelphia, than are absolutely necessary for the equipment of the new Levies. I am at this time particularly anxious to have them removed. The enemy have lately been considerably reinforced in Jersey, and, from a variety of accounts are meditating some blow. I am firmly persuaded that they mean to attempt to reach Philadelphia again, as I do not know what other object they can have ultimately in view. They may first remove us from this, and our other posts, but they cannot remain at them for want of covering for their army, which I imagine they will never again suffer to be cantoned over a great extent of county. I have certain information, that they have been projecting a portable Bridge to lay over the Delaware, and I do not see any great difficulty in transporting it from Brunswic to the Delaware, if they take advantage of the Roads being hard and firm. The numbers, that are at present in Amboy and Brunswic, cannot long subsist there, and adds strength to my opinion, that they are assembled there for some other purpose, than merely as a reinforcement. The Salt that has lately been imported should be the first article secured. Mr. Walton wrote me that he either had or was carrying it to a place of security, but as I do not altogether depend upon his promises, I should be glad if you would have an eye to that and the other matters in his department.

I know you have sufficient in your own, to engage

your whole time and attention, but in times like these we must double our exertions. I am dear Sir

With the greatest Sincerity

Y'r most ob't Serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

One of the most interesting letters in this remarkable correspondence is the following:

HEAD QUARTERS MORRIS TOWN MAY 19, 1777.

Dear Sir:

Your favor by monsieur Armand was duly handed me. I have been happy to show him every mark of attention in my power, the considerations you mention, gave him a just claim to it,—and derived additional weight from your recommendation.

I am pleased to find congress took such distinguishing notice of him, as they did in their late appointment, he has requested to have the command of a partisan corps already formed. I have recommended to him to engage as many as he can meet with fit for his purpose; and have left it to him, to nominate such French officers, as he thinks qualified for the position to serve under him, as I confide in his making a judicious choice, I doubt not that they will be such as I can approve. He appears to me to be a modest, genteel, sensible young gentleman, and I flatter myself his conduct will be such as to give us no reason to repent any civilities that may be shown him. I am with great respect

Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant

GEO WASHINGTON

Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Ronarie, to whom Washington refers, was born in France in 1756. Shortly after the breaking out of the Revolution he came to this country, and on the 10th of May 1777, received a commission in the continental army as Colonel. On the same day Robert Morris wrote General Washington a letter, to be carried by Armand, and introducing him, saying he had received letters from France which "He was obliged to attend to and put great faith in, as they came from persons worthy of the utmost

credit. * * * I find he is a little disgusted at an appointment made for him by congress this day, and I believe it was through the inattention of a committee, which I shall set right again in a short time."

At his own instance Armand was directed to raise a partisan corps of Frenchmen, not exceeding the number of two hundred, and on the 10th of July 1777, congress ordered that two thousand dollars be advanced to him. He fought through the war and performed gallant service at times. Near its close he was raised to the rank of Brigadier General. But this was only after he had frequently and freely expressed himself as much disappointed with the promotions in the Continental army, saying that he procured no chance for his advancement.

Washington, as will be seen by the the following letter to Morris, did not altogether sympathize with Armand in this matter or think his position just.

VALLEY FORGE FEBY 10TH 1778

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 19th ulto by Col Armand came to my hands a few days ago. Rest assured, my good sir, that the Gent'n misconceives the matter exceedingly if he think my conduct towards him is influenced in the smallest degree by motives of resentment, arising from misrepresentation. I have ever looked upon him as a spirited officer, and everything that was in my power to do for him (consistently with the great line of my duty) I have done; but the conduct which congress unhappily adopted in the early part of the war, by giving high rank to foreigners, who enjoyed little or none in their own country, & in many instances of equivical character, has put it out of their power without convulsing the whole military system to employ these people now; for viewing rank relatively, the man who has been a major for instance, in the French service finding a subaltern (there) a field officer in ours, extends his views at once to a Brigade, or at least a Regiment—and where is either of them to be found? Without displacing or disgusting our own officers, whose pretentions would be injured by it, & whose natural interest in & attachment to the cause of their conntry,is more to be relied on than superior abili-

ties in capricious foreigners, who are dissatisfied with any rank you can give them, while there is yet higher to attain.

With respect to the particular case of Col Armand, I have only to add, that if it was in my power to serve him, I would notwithstanding he was influenced to resign in a pet.—The corps he commanded has long since been reduced to a mere handful of men (under 50) & you are sensible that it is not in my power to raise any new ones without the authority of congress.

Mrs. Washington who is now in camp, desires me to offer her respectful compliments to Mrs. Morris & yourself, to which be so good as to add those of

Dr Sir

yr most obed serv't

GEO WASHINGTON

Probably the most valuable and attractive letter of the entire correspondence is one written at Valley Forge just at the close of that terrible winter of '77–78, the most trying period of the war. From it we are able to obtain a true picture and impression of the real Washington, and in it predicts, perhaps for the first time from his own convictions, a favorable close of the struggle for the colonial cause. He says :

VALLEY—FORGE MAY 25, 1778

Dear Sir;

Your favor of the 9th Inst informed me of the acceptable present which your friend Mr. Governeur (of Curracoa) was pleased to intend for me, and for which he will, through you, accept my sincere thanks—these also due to you my good sir, for the kind communication of the matter, and for the trouble you have had in ordering the wine forward.

I rejoice most sincerely with you, on the glorious change in our prospects—Calmness and serenity, seems likely to succeed in some measure, those dark and tempestuous clouds which at times appeared ready to overwhelm us,—The game wether well or ill played hitherto, seems now to be verging fast to a favorable issue, and cannot I think be lost, unless we throw it away by too

much supineness on the one hand, or impetuosity on the other—God forbid that either of these should happen at a time when we seem to be upon the point of reaping the fruits of our toil and labour,—a stroke, & reverse, under such circumstances, would be doubly distressing.———

My best respects in which Mrs. Washington joins, are offered to your Lady, & with sincere thanks for your kind wishes, I remain

Dr Sir
Yr Most obed't Serv't
GEO WASHINGTON

From his headquarters at Spring-field, almost one year after the above epistle was dispatched, the Commander-in-Chief wrote to Robert Morris and B. McClenachan jointly the following letter in which he does not forget to thank them for a pipe of spirits:

HEAD QURS AT SPRING-FIELD, 20TH, JUNE 1780.

Gent'n:

I am honored with your favor of the 3rd and have received—in good order the pipe of spirits you were pleased to present me with,—for both permit me to offer my grateful thanks, and to assure you that, the value of the latter was greatly entranced by the flattering sentiments contained in the former.

In a struggle like ours—perplexed with embarrassments—if it should be my fortune to conduct the military helm in such a manner as to merit the approbation of good men and my suffering fellow citizens it will be the primary happiness of my life because it is the first & great object of my wishes.

To you Gent'n I shall commit the charge of making a tender of my respects and thanks to the rest of the others—with much esteem & personal regard

I have the honor to be
Gent'n
yr most obed & Oblg'd
GEO WASHINGTON

Dear Sir,

Having Just seen the
multiplicity & importance of y^r
business, it would give me more
pain than pleasure if I thought
your friendship or respect for me
did, in the smallest degree, interfere
with it. — At all times I shall be
happy to see you, but wish it to
be in your moments of leisure —
if any such you have. —

M^r Washington, myself
and family, wish you the honor
of dining with you in the way
proposed, to morrow — being Christ
mas day.

I am Sincerely & affect^y
y^rs
G. Washington

Monday 24
Dec.

There are several short personal letters in this valuable correspondence, of which the one on the preceding page is an example, that are of no public interest apart from the fact that they serve to demonstrate very clearly the close intimacy and firm friendship that existed between Morris and Washington. For instance, in one of them, dated December 24, 1781, the General writes: "Mrs. Washington, myself and family will have the honor of dining with you Christmas day," assuming that such an engagement would be entirely agreeable to Mr. and Mrs. Morris.

E. Leslie Gilliams.

THE PURITAN SABBATH.

Prof. Fiske, in a note in The Beginnings of New England, says of Sewall's Diary: "There is a wonderful charm in such a book. It makes one feel as if one had really 'been there' and taken part in the homely scenes, full of human interest which it so naively portrays." This appreciative comment might with equal truth, and for the same reasons, be applied to Mrs. Earles most interesting study of "The Sabbath in Puritan New England."* This book has the same charm—making us feel as if we had 'been there,' in the very company of our Puritan ancestors, a witness of the homely yet very human scenes which characterized the colonial church life.

The ceremonies and observances of the "Lordes Daye" quaint and often amusing to us, but solemn enough to them, were in a profound sense the real expression of the Puritan character. It is true that on all the other days of the week the religious convictions and training of the men who had crossed the sea to found an ideal theocratic state, remained a tremendous and constant force. The Holy Scriptures was their confessed guide and sole arbiter of affairs, secular as well as spiritual. Even the road to citizenship was through the church and no detail of every day life was so trivial as not to be referred to the Bible for its support and authority. The government of the family, of the township, and of the colony was moulded and dominated, in written or unwritten code, by the direct and positive influence of the "Word of God."

But it was on the "Lordes Daye" that the Puritan felt free to give this intense influence its fullest, and, we might add, its most dramatic expression, and as a result, from the curious customs and ceremonials of the New England Sabbath we get a strong light on the essential Puritan character.

There is no form of historical writing so fascinating as the autobiographical, and Mrs. Earle in her interesting book has very happily caught the spirit of autobiography. She has collected from all manner of authentic sources, chiefly we conclude from town records, church archives, and personal diaries, a vast body of facts which she has put together in so cunning a mosaic as to

*"The Sabbath in Puritan New England," by Alice Morse Earle. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1891.

present an altogether characteristic picture of the Puritan painted by the Puritan himself. She has chosen to limit this interesting study to the observances of one day—the Sabbath—and has wisely avoided, as quite foreign to her purpose, all discussion of the peculiar doctrines and creeds which were the distinction of those early colonists. Her point of view is distinctly and avowedly that of the "looker on in Vienna." We are invited to join the church-going procession, and are seated in the strangers "pues" as witnesses of the curious customs of the "meeting." We are not expected to be in sympathy with them except in the remote way in which one always sympathizes with whatever is the outgrowth of profound convictions. We are even expected to smile at the quaint scenes and formidable services—the Psalm singing, the long prayers full of personal petitions, the longer sermons bristling with doctrines and blood-curdling prophecies, and the curious figure of the watchful tithingman diligently rousing the sleepers with his long staff.

Removed as we are from these scenes by more than two centuries, and accustomed to the environment which the complexity of modern life has thrown around the church and its observances, the simple ceremonies which are brought so vividly before us in this succession of pictures seems strange indeed. What Mrs. Earle has brought together with such patient research and arranged with such skill, is so interesting in its entirety that it is difficult to make selections which will give anything like a fair idea of her contribution to the study of Puritan Sociology.

Her first grouping of facts illustrates the "Meeting House," its external and internal appearance, the observances and ceremonies of the "meeting" itself, and the interesting midday interruption of the "nooning," which became unconsciously but naturally an important social function in the Puritan commuuity.

According to Mrs. Earle the very earliest meeting-houses as we should expect, were "simple buildings enough, —square log-houses with clay-filled chinks, surmounted by steep roofs thatched with long straw or grass, and often with only the beaten earth for a floor. It was considered a great advance and a matter of proper pride when the settlers had the meeting-house 'lathed on the inside, and so daubed and whitened over workmanlike.' As the colonists grew in wealth and numbers, they desired and built better sanctuaries—'good roomthy meeting-houses.'

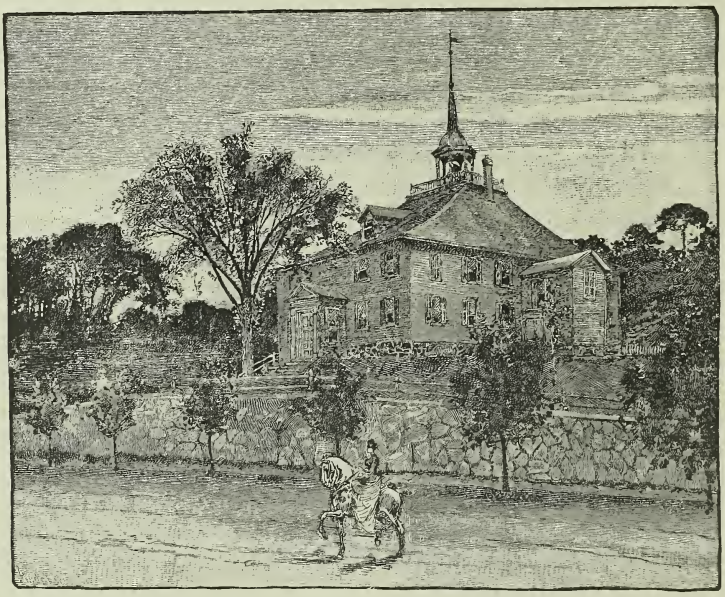
"The second form or type of American church architecture was a square wooden building, usually unpainted, crowned with a truncated pyramidal roof, which was surmounted (if the church could afford such luxury) with a belfry or turret containing a bell."

The church at Hingham (1681) still

stands, a representative of this second style; while the third advance in architecture resulted in the style of building of which the Old South Church of Boston is a typical model.

In selecting sites for their places of worship these strict Puritans seem sometimes to have been influenced by motives that were not altogether spiritual, for says Mrs. Earle "Our Puritan ancestors dearly loved a sightly location and were willing to climb uphill cheerfully, even through bleak New England winters, for the sake of having a meeting-house which 'showed off' well, and was a proper source of envy to the neighboring villages and the country around. Many of these edifices can be seen to-day in New England, crowning almost inaccessible heights, and by their aspect of desertion and decay bearing pathetic testimony to the fact that the Puritan traditions are no longer predominant."

The erection of a meeting-house was a most important performance, according to Mrs. Earle. "The church-raising was always a great event in the town. Each citizen was forced by law to take part in or contribute to 'rasing the Meeting-hows.' Not only were logs, and lumber, and the use of horses' and men's labor given, but a contribution was also levied for the inevitable



OLD CHURCH AT HINGHAM (1681).

barrel of rum and its unintoxicating accompaniments. 'Rhum and Cacks' are frequent entries in the account books of the early churches."

It was not strange that the almost universal custom of spirit drinking among the Puritans should extend to the clergy, some of whom occasionally became a little "gilded," to use one of their curiously expressive phrases, through over indulgence. Yet it would not be just to assume that they drank to excess any more than our modern clergymen, because there were some of whom it might be truthfully recorded that they had "gone to their graves, full of years, honor, simplicity and rum."

The Puritan churchman's contempt of comfort is shown by the utter absence of any effort to shield himself from the inclemencies without the meeting house or to render the interior either attractive or comfortable." The early churches," says Mrs. Earle, "were destitute of shade, for the trees in the immediate vicinity were always cut down on account of dread of the fierce fires which swept often through the forests and overwhelmed and destroyed the towns. The heat and blazing light in summer were as hard to bear in those unscreened meeting-houses as was the cold in winter."

The interior of these primitive churches was rude and simple, with raftered walls, sanded floors, rows of benches, a few pews and the pulpit. Whatever feeling the early Puritan had for ornamentation and display, was localized on the pulpit. "These pulpits were usually high desks to which led a narrow flight of stairs. In later years the stairway was frequently enclosed in a towering hexagonal mahogany structure which was ornamented with pillars and panels. Into this the minister walked and closed the door behind him, and invisibly ascended the stairs, while the children counted the seconds from the time he closed the door until his head appeared through the trap door at the top of the pulpit. One old church retained until near the middle of the present century as its sole decoration, an enormous carefully painted staring eye, a terrible and suggestive illustration to youthful wrong doers of the all-seeing eye of God."

As the ceiling and rafters of the meeting house were open, it was a common custom "to hang above the pulpit a great sounding board, which threatened the minister like a giant extinguisher, and was really as devoid of utility as it was curious in ornamentation. It was often decorated with painted rosettes, with carved ivy leaves, or a bunch of grapes, or was inscribed with appropriate mottoes, such as 'Holiness is the Lord's,' and constituted a great ornament to the church and a source of honest pride to its members."

The seats in the primitive meeting-house were long, narrow, uncomfortable benches. As the colonies grew

in wealth and importance the evolution of the "pue" took place. "Many of these pews" says Mrs. Earle, "had towering partition walls which extended up so high that only the tops of the heads of the tallest persons could be seen when the occupants were seated. The seats were sometimes on four sides of these pews, but

OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

oftener on three sides only, and so at least two-thirds of the pew occupants did not face the minister. The pew-seats were as narrow and uncomfortable as the plebeian benches, though never exclusive."

These seats were hung on hinges and were swung up against the sides of the pews during the long prayers through which it was the invariable custom to stand. This occasioned such regulations as these of the church at Haverhill—"The people are to let down their seats without such Nois" and "the boyes are not to wickedly noise down their pew seats."

Mrs. Earle finds frequent mention of the custom which is even yet common in many parts of New England of carrying to church sprigs of dill, fennel or caraway to be "munched" during the sermon as an antidote against sleepiness. She tells of one old gentleman who relates his youthful experiences in this direction in the following verses:

"And when I tired and restless grew,
Our next pew neighbor, Mrs. True,
Reached her kind hand the top rail through
To hand me dill and fennel too,
And sprigs of caraway.

And as I munched the spicy seeds,
I dimly felt that kindly deeds
That thus supply our present needs,
Tho' only gifts of pungent weeds,
Show true religion."

"Traditions" says Mrs. Earle, "of mysterious powers, dream-influencing, spirit-exorcising, hung vaguely around the southernwood and made it peculiarly fit to be a Sabbath-day posy.

"Half a century ago, the pretty feathery pale green shrub grew in every country dooryard, humble or great, throughout New England; and every church-going woman picked a branch or spray of it when she left her home on Sabbath morn. To this day, on hot summer Sundays, many a staid old daughter of the Puritans may be seen entering the village meeting-house, clad in a lilac-sprigged lawn or a green-striped barege—with a lace-bordered silk cape or a purple and white cashmere scarf on her bent shoulders, wearing on her gray head a shirred-silk or leghorn bonnet, and carrying in her lace-mitted hand a fresh handkerchief a spectacle case and well-worn Bible, and a great sprig of the sweet, old fashioned 'lad's love.' A rose, a bunch of mignonette would be to her too gay a posy for the Lord's House and the Lord's Day."

To us who are accustomed to the yearly sale of church pews by auction to the highest bidder, the Puritan method of "seating the meeting-hows," as they quaintly phrased it, seems most curious. The Puritans denounced pomp and ceremonials, yet nevertheless were great respecters of persons.

In the devolopment of the Puritan community and as a sequence of their scheme of life, the individual became of extreme importance, and in this fact we find a sufficient, natural reason for this custom of "seating the meeting." Of the peculiar ceremonies which has made the Sabbath of the Puritans so interesting, this was one of the latest to yield to the modern spirit and usage, and according to the church records the custom was not abandoned in some parts of New England until the first quarter of the present century.

"Perhaps no duty was more important," says Mrs. Earle, "and more difficult of satisfactory performance than 'seating the meeting-house.' In nothing was the regard for wealth and position more fully shown than in designating the seat in which each person should sit during public worship. A committee of dignified and influential men was appointed to assign irrevocably to each person his or her place according to rank and importance. From old church and town records, we plainly see that each laic, deacon, elder, criminal, singer and even the 'ungodly boy' had his alloted place as absolutely assigned to him in the old meeting-house as was the pulpit to the parson. The seating committee sent to the church the list of all the attendants and the seats assigned to them, and when the list had been twice or thrice read to the congregation and nailed on the meeting-house door it became a law." The seat assigned in meeting was a very complete expression of the honor and respect in which one was held in the Puritan community; age, education, reputation, military and civil service were all potential factors in deciding this important distinction.

"In all the earlier Puritan meetings, as then and now in the Quaker meetings, the men sat on one side of the meeting-house and the women on the other; and they entered by separate doors. It was a great and much contested change when men and

ANCIENT CHURCH PEW.

women were ordered to sit together 'promiscuouslie.'"

We find this important and complicated matter of seating the meeting had passed beyond the boundaries of the New England colonies of which Mrs. Earle writes. The records of the church at Brookhaven, L. I., August 6, 1703, shows this quaint and interesting entry: "Whereas, there hath been several rude actions of late happened in our church by reason of the people not being seated which is much to the dishonor of God and the discouragement of virtue. For preventing of the like again, it is ordered that the inhabitants be seated," and then follow the rules by which this is to be done.

"Little girls, sat with their mothers or elders on 'crickets' within the pews. Often a row of little daughters of Zion sat on three-legged stools and low seats the entire length of the aisle, but the boys

were herded by themselves. They usually sat on the pulpit and gallery stairs, and constables and tithingmen were appointed to watch and control them.

"I like to think," exclaims Mrs. Earle, "of those rows of sober-faced Puritan boys seated on the narrow steep pulpit stairs, clad in knee-breeches and homespun flapped coats and with round, cropped heads, miniature likenesses in dress and countenance(if not in deportment) of their grave, stern, God-fearing fathers. Though they were of the sedate Puritan blood, they were boys, and they wriggled and twisted and scraped their feet noisily on the sanded floor. One other seat in the old Puritan meeting-house, a seat of gloom, still throws its darksome shadows down through the years—the stool of repentance. 'Barbarous and cruel punishments' were forbidden by the statutes of the new colony, but on this terrible soul-rack sat the shrinking, sullen or defiant form of some painfully humiliated man or woman, crushed and cowering, bearing on the head a paper inscribed in 'Capitall Letters' with the name of some dark or mysterious crime, or wearing on the sleeve some strange and dread symbol, or on the breast a scarlet letter."

The tithing-man whom Mrs. Earle finds most carefully portrayed in these old records, she rightly characterizes as the most grotesque, extraordinary and highly colored figure in all the sombre New England church life. She describes him as a distorted and absurd type of the English church beadle—a sort of low comedy strain in the sober religious drama of that early New England life. Fussy and pompous he certainly was on the Sabbath, strutting about the quiet meeting-house, rapping the restless boys and prodding the elderly sleepers. For this purpose he was equipped with a long staff with a knob at one end and at the other a long fox tail or hares foot, which he softly thrust into faces of the dozing maidens and matrons.

Mrs. Earle quotes from the Journal of Obadiah Turner of Lynn, Mass., an account of one of these burlesque beadles which brings the whole scene before us.

"June 3, 1646, Allen Bridges hath been chose to wake ye sleepers in meeting. And being much proude of his place, must needs have a fox taile fixed to ye ende of a long staff wherewith he may brush ye faces of them yt will have napps in time of discourse, likewise a sharpe thorne whereby he may pricke such as be most sound.

On ye last Lord his day, as hee stalked about ye meeting-house, he did spy Mr. Tomlins sleeping with much comfort, hys head kept steadie by being in ye corner, and his hand grasping ye rail. And soe spying Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard and give him a grevious prick on ye hand. Whereupon Mr· Tomlins did spring upp mch above ye floore, and with terrible force strike hys hand againtst ye wall; and also, to ye great wonder of all, prophanelie exclaimed in a loud voice, curse ye woodchuck, he dreaming so it seemed yt a woodchuck had seized and bit his hand. But on coming to know where he was, and

ye great scandall he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. And I think he will not soon again goe to sleepe in meeting."

It would appear from the records that few towns were content with one tithing-man. There were usually several appointed in each parish. They were in authority during the week as well as on Sunday, and reported when any member of a family within their jurisdiction failed to attend public worship. They marked and noted all who "prophanely behaved, lingered without dores at meeting time on the Lordes Daie," and all the "Sons of Belial, strutting about, setting on fences, and otherwise desecrating the day," and could arrest any who "walked or rode unnecessarily on the Sabath."

Mrs. Earle sums up this ancient tithingman by saying "he was preeminently a general 'snook,' an informer both in and out of meeting—a very necessary, somewhat odious but certainly at times a very absurd officer. He was, in a degree, a constable, a selectman, a teacher, a tax-collecter, an inspector, a sexton, a home-watcher, but above all a Puritan Bumble whose motto was 'Hic et ubique.'

"For many years after the settlement of New England," says Mrs. Earle, "the Puritans even in ordinary tranquil times went armed to meeting. As late as 1692, so the records show, the Connecticut legislature ordered one-fifth of the soldiers of each town to bring their arms to the meeting-house. By a statute of 1644, these guards were commanded to wear armor which consisted of 'coats basted with cotton-wool and thus made defensive against Indian arrows.'

"These armed 'sentinells' are always regarded as a most picturesque accompaniment of Puritan religious worship, and this apparently incongruous union of church and army seemed suitable enough in a community that always began and ended the military exercises on 'training day' with solemn prayer and psalm-singing."

The whole strange scene becomes a concrete image in the mind of Mrs. Earle, and she exclaims, "Can you not see it? The warm June sunlight streaming in thro' the narrow dusty windows of the old meeting-house; the armed watcher at the door; the Puritan men and women in their sad-colored mantles, seated sternly upright on the hard benches; the black-gowned minister, the droning murmur of whose sleepy voice mingles with the out-door sounds of the rustle of leafy branches, the song of summer birds, and the muffled stamping of horses feet; the restless boys on the pulpit stairs; the tired sleeping Puritan with his head thrown back in the corner of the pew, and the vain tithingman strutting about with his fantastic and thorned staff of office."

The Puritan meeting-house was totally without means for heating it

and in the colonial days, as Mrs. Earle observes, the long and tedious services must have been difficult to endure in bitter winter weather. One of these old chroniclers puts an unconsciously dramatic touch into his gossiping diary when he records that one day the weather was so cold that "communion bread was frozen pretty hard, and rattled sadly into the communion plates." Nothing could more strikingly emphasize the privations that these Puritan worshippers endured in these comfortless meeting-houses than the gloomy rattle of that frozen sacramental bread on the church plate.

It appears that the men with careful partiality and good sense wore top-boots, heavy frieze stockings, and, later on, warm periwigs surrounded by fur caps or hoods and many-caped great coats or full round cloaks. In some parts of New England the men even carried muffs. The Boston 'News Letter' of 1716, as Mrs. Earle notes, offers a reward for a man's muff lost on the Sabbath day on the street, and there are other indications that the custom was quite general.

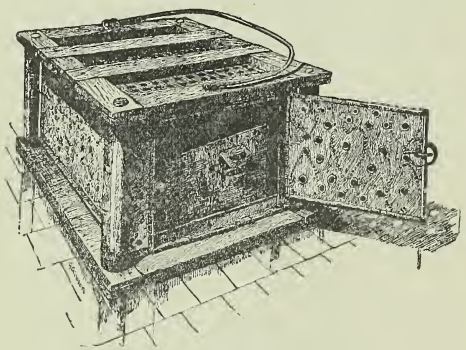
"But the Puritan goodwives and maidens," says Mrs. Earle, "were dressed in a meagre and scanty fashion that when now considered seems fairly appalling. Their cloth or kid or silk slippers and high-channelled pumps were the holiday and Sabbath day covering for the feet, excepting in the stormiest weather. Often in midwinter the scant-skirted French calico gowns were made with short elbow sleeves and round, low necks, and the throat and shoulders were lightly covered with thin lawn handkerchiefs or dimity tuckers. A thin cloth cape, mantle or spencer was frequently the only covering for the shoulders. In bitter winter weather women carried to meeting little footstoves—metal boxes, which stood on legs and were filled with hot coals at home, and a second time during the morning from the hearth stone of a neighboring farm-house or a 'noon-house.' These footwarmers helped to make endurable to the goodwives the icy chill of the meeting-house; and round the footstoves the shivering little children sat on low 'crickets,' warming their half-frozen fingers."

The introduction of stoves created much discussion. It seemed sybaritic to the Puritan mind, and Mrs. Earle shows from the records that it was well into the eighteenth century before the New England congregation ceased to piously freeze during service time.

One of the brightest bits in this sombre mosaic is the account of the "noon or Sabba-day house," and its unconscious re-enforcement of the meagre social resources of the Puritans.

"There might have been seen a hundred years ago by the side of many an old meeting-house in New England, a long, low, stable-like building, with a rough stone chimney at on end. This was the "noon-

house" or "Sabba-day house" or "horse house," as it was variously called. It was a place of refuge in the winter time at the noon interval, between the two services, for the half-frozen members of the pious congregation, who found there the grateful warmth which the house of God denied. They built in the rude stone fireplace a great fire of logs, and in front of the blazing wood ate their noon-day meal of cold pie, doughnuts, pork and peas, or brown bread with cheese, which they had



COLONIAL FOOT STOVE.

brought safely packed in their capacious saddle bags.

"From the blazing fire in this 'life-saving-station' the women replenished their little foot-stoves with fresh, hot coals, and thus helped to make endurable the icy rigor of the long afternoon service. In many villages the meetings in the 'noon-houses' were to the towns people what a Sunday newspaper is to Sunday readers of our time, an advertisement and exposition of all the news of the past week, and a suggestion of events to come. At noon they discussed and wondered at the announcements and publishings which were tacked on the door of the meeting-house or the notices that had been read from the pulpit. The men talked in loud voices of the points of the sermon, of the doctrines of predestination, pedobaptism and anti-pedobaptism, of original sin, and that most fascinating mystery, the unpardonable sin, and in lower voices of wolf and bear killing, of the town meeting, the taxes, the crops and cattle; and they examined with keen interest one another's horses, and many a sly bargain was suggested, bargained and clinched in the 'Sabba'-day house.' Many a piece of electioneering was also discussed and 'worked' between the services.

"The shivering women crowded around the blazing and welcome fire, while they ate and exchanged doughnuts, slices of rusk or pieces of 'pumpkin and Indian mixet' pie, and also gave to each other receipts therefor; and perhaps (since they were women as well as Puritans), they glanced with envy, admiration, or disapproval, or at any rate with close scrutiny, at one another's gowns and bonnets and cloaks, which the high-walled pews within the meeting-house had carefully concealed from inquisitive view. A sentence from an old letter brings the scene very near: 'Anne Bradford gave to me last Sabbath in the noon-house a peecing of the Blazing Star:

'tis much finer than the Irish Chain or the Twin Sisters. I will send some of my lilac flowered print for some peeces of Cicelys yelloe India bed vallants.' The wood for the fires was furnished by the farmers of the congregation, and an apple-growing farmer often contributed a barrel of "cyder" which New England beverage must have proved a great comfort to the shivering laymen and deacons." The records also furnish occasional glimpses of the brewing in the noon-house of that 'most insinuating drink,' flip. Its potent constituent was Jamaica rum, a favorite stimulant of our forefathers, and was mixed with an iron stirring-stick heated in the fire and called with fatal felicity a "logger head." With the incoming of stoves the noon-house was doomed and soon disappeared.

One of the most characteristic customs of the Puritans was their psalm singing, to which Mrs. Earle devotes four of the most interesting chapters of her book. She gives an elaborate account of the old Bay Psalm book which has the distinguished honor of being the first book printed in New England, having been published in 1640—as well as of "Sternhold & Hopkins Psalms" and "Ainsworths Versions,"both of which it supplanted.

Concerning Puritan church music in general, Mrs. Earle writes. "Of all the dismal accompaniments of public worship in the early days of New England, the music was the most helplessly forlorn—not alone from the confused versifications of the psalms which were used, but from the mournful monotony of the few known tunes. The great length of many of the psalms was a fatal barrier to any successful effort to have good singing. Still confused and poor as was the singing, it was a source of pure and unceasing delight to the Puritan colonists—one of the rare pleasures they possessed.

They sang these poor, and for the most part monotonous tunes with a reverential feeling which it is exceedingly difficult for us to understand. They were to them as essential a part of the service as the Holy Scriptures themselves, less the element of authority, and "whenever a Puritan," says Mrs. Earle, "even in road or field heard at a distance the sound of a psalm-tune, though the sacred words might be quite indistinguishable, he doffed his hat and bowed his head in the true presence of God."

Finally came "singing by note" after long and bitter contention, and when this forward step had been established, the way was prepared for the quaint "fuguing" of Billings, the famous Massachusetts tanner and singing-master. This new method of singing was his peculiar "invention" as he termed it, and with true Yankee spirit he naively boasted, that it had "more than twice the power of the old slow tunes." It is interesting and not wholly surprising to learn that Billings

psalm-tunes fulfilled a patriotic as well as spiritual mission, for we are told that during the Revolution their spirited strains were played with drum and fife on many a battle-field. This was a true Cromwellian inspiration.

Mrs. Earles account of the observances of the Sabbath day, independent of the "meeting" itself, is very interesting and full. The "Lords Daye" began in the Puritan community with the descending sun on Saturday. As they found abundant scriptural support for every act and observance, so they found it for this in the words, "The evening and the morning were the first day." Nothing better illustrates the potent influence of the Puritan traditions than the fact that to this day, in many of the remote towns of New England, this observance, somewhat modified, is still maintained.

Concerning the minister or parson himself, his ordination, his authority, his plain speaking, Mrs. Earle has brought together a multitude of facts which shed a curious light on these related subjects. The minister's ordination was quite as important a social as a spiritual function. In Connecticut certainly, as the records show, and probably in Massachusetts, an "ordination ball" was added to the accepted ordination supper, and a liberal amount of cider, punch, beer and grog, seem to have been always provided for this feast. The Rev. Mr. Thacher of Boston, wrote in his diary on the 20th of May 1681, "This daye the Ordination Beare was brewed." "Many accounts of gay ordination parties" says Mrs. Earle, "have been preserved for us in diaries. Rev. Mr. Smith who was settled in Portland in the early part of the eighteenth century wrote thus in his journal of an ordination which he attended: 'Mr. Foxcroft ordained at New Gloucester. We had a pleasant journey home. Mr. L. was alert and kept us all merry. A jolly ordination. We lost all sight of decorum.'"

One thing which these old records reveal with startling clearness is the prominent part the early New England pulpit took in directing the ordinary affairs of the community as well as its spiritual concerns. The pulpit was to the Puritan community what the press is to modern society. Politics and business, and all the petty details of social life, were discussed as naturally and vigorously as predestination and the ways of "a wonder-working Providence." Eliot, that most noble zealot and missionary and equally noble preacher, delivered phillipics "with boiling zeal" against "the Creature called tobacco"; President Chauncey of Harvard College could preach against "the disfigurment of long, ruffianly hair;" the saintly Roger Williams could instruct the women of his church to wear veils; John Cotton, in opposition, could argue from his pulpit to prove that the wearing of veils was a

sign of their undue subjection, and Increase Mather thought it no loss of dignity to preach against the "Monstrous Periwigs" which made their wearers "resemble ye locusts that came out of ye Bottomless Pit."

"Every natural phenomenon" says Mrs. Earle, "every unusual event called forth a sermon, and the minister could find even in the common events of every day life, plain manifestations of divine wrath and judgment. He preached with solemn delight upon comets and earthquakes, storms and diseases, wonders and scandals, as well as on the standard 'doctrines' and the unpardonable sin."

Without any attempt to analyze his character or his creed, and dealing only with his life on the Sabbath, whose ceremonies, customs and laws were the natural, concrete expression of his deeply religious nature, Mrs. Earle presents the Puritan in his most characteristic aspect. His religious character embodied all that was most powerful and peculiar in him as distinct from other men of his time. In the detail of his manner and environment of worship, we have his character in action—the most comprehensive representation of the man.

THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK.

III.

In judging the present usefulness and estimating the future possibilities and probable influence of such an organization as the Ohio Society, it must be remembered that the Society, in a certain sense, is yet in its infancy, and perhaps, not yet fully decided upon the permanent adjustment of its affairs and methods. Such an adjustment must be decided upon a basis of experience, having the objects which it is desired to accomplish in view.

A main motive in the organization, suggesting the line of greatest influence and usefulness, was not merely the social pleasure of intercourse and fellowship between the banded Ohioans in New York, but to make the Society a centre of thought, a moral power, an exponent in the heart of the metropolis of all that is characteristic and noble in Ohio and the region which she represents. The Society should stand in the place of a friend and old acquaintance to the western stranger who comes to New York, and should stand in relation to the East, as the permanent expression of the attitude, thought and wishes of the great West.

These objects of the original organizers were so well voiced in the inaugural address of their first president that I shall quote a few sentences. "We should make something more," said Gen. Ewing, "of such good and abundant material than a mere social club. * * * We found this society because we love Ohio, and would cherish her history, her traditions, her recollections of home and camp and forum. * * * We hope to make it felt in this great field of thought and action, as a generator of wholesome intellectual and moral forces. * * * A pleasant rendezvous * * * where the ideas and policies of East and West may meet in intelligent and friendly encounter, and where sectional prejudice may be worn off in the attrition of social intercourse."

With these aims in view have been undertaken the formation of a Society library which should especially look to the collection and preservation of the traditions and history and biography, relating to Ohio and its section; the practice of having special papers prepared by members of the Society, embodying bits of history or reminisence, or treating subjects of especial interest and value in keeping with the design of the organization; and the institution of

formal and informal Society dinners, where the elements of sociability, fraternity and the enunciation of thought and sentiment might have the fullest expression and exert the greatest force. It is for the better accomplishment of these ambitions that members of the Ohio Society are now canvassing the advisability of some new arrangement in the matter of a Society home. The subject has been put into the hands of a special committee who will consider various plans, and report that which seems to afford the best facilities to insure progress in the Society's work.

Of the two principal plans suggested in case a change is made, one provides for the acquirement of suitable rooms in a convenient location, to accomodate the Society library, and furnish a reading-room and attractive parlors for resident or visiting members and their friends; and the holding of the annual banquets and other special affairs of the Society, in some suitable hotel, provided as occasion demands. The other plan proposes the acceptance of a suggestion from several other societies or clubs of the city, of a combination of financial resources for the acquirement of quarters so commodious as to furnish special separate parlors for each organization, and a large common banqueting room, better than any of these societies now individually possess, which shall be used by all in turn as they have necessity.

Doubtless each of these plans have advantages, but the members feel in coming to a decision, that they must only look to the welfare of the Society and its increased opportunities in the special lines which inspired its organization. It must be remembered that the society is not a political organization even in the remotest meaning of that term ; that its aims so far as they may at any time incidentally and indirectly affect the direction of the affairs of the nation, can only do so as an inspiration to patriotism on the broadest foundations, and that while especially designed to stand as the exponent of a section of the country, its object is to combat rather than encourage feelings of sectionalism, by exhibiting the contrary sentiments. The possibilities before such an organization are very far reaching. To act as the special guardian of the territory which it represents in preserving the scraps of history of the region, which might otherwise be lost, must constitute a most valuable and patriotic service to the entire Union, and merit the recognition which inevitably it will command at the hands of the future historian. And to devote its energies to the task of more closely cementing this great Union of states and diverse interests of various sections, by conveying the best sentiments and aspirations of an important region to the cosmopolitan heart and centre, and in return transmitting the consensus of opinion and

desire from the metropolis to the home country—is a work of patriotism which might well engage the noblest talents.

And yet precisely this is the inevitable significance of such a society in New York city, and must be the inevitable result, if it be conducted in such a manner that "the ideas and and policies of East and West may meet in intelligent and friendly encounter." The success of such an enterprise must be the sincere hope and desire of every loyal American citizen.

COLGATE HOYT.

Among the Ohioans in New York who have made their mark in literature, in journalism, in art and in finance, are many who are still young in years. One of the most successful of these younger men is the subject of the present sketch. Mr. Colgate Hoyt, who is already a well-known figure upon Wall street and a power in financial circles, has been a resident of New York City for about ten years. If it be true, as Bailey says, that "We live in deeds, not words," his achievements fitly represent a life-time, and yet those who know him feel that he is still standing upon the threshold of his career. The structure of his success is not only conspicuous, but solid; for ability, fidelity, industry and integrity are its broad foundation stones. One of his intimate friends has furnished us with the materials for this brief sketch.

Mr. Hoyt was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 2d, 1849, and comes from a family held in the highest esteem in that city. His father, Hon. James M. Hoyt, formerly an active and successful practitioner at the bar, is loved and honored in the community in which he lives, and his mother, lately deceased, possessed qualities so rare and a character so sweet and yet so strong that her influence extended far beyond her immediate circle, and her memory is her children's most precious legacy.

Colgate began his education in the private and public schools of Cleveland and, at the age of fifteen, entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, with the intention of preparing for college. Owing to a trouble in one of his eyes, which was injured when he was a child, he was compelled to discontinue his studies at the end of a year and, returning home, began a business career. At the age of sixteen, he entered the hardware store of Messrs. Colwells & Bingham, in Cleveland, with his foot upon the lowest round of the ladder. He regards this somewhat arduous

Colgate Hoyt

experience of his early life as the foundation of his business success. His father's influence and means might have procured for him a pleasanter and less exacting employment, but probably not one which would have afforded him a better training. His eagerness and faithfulness were rewarded by rapid promotion and, when he left its employ, the firm, as a token of regard, presented him with a gold watch-chain, which he even now wears with affectionate pride. Mr. Hoyt then entered the office of his father and soon became his partner in the business of buying and selling real estate, principally of outlying property surrounding the rapidly growing city. He devoted himself for several years to this business with marked success and yet holds substantial real estate interests in Cleveland.

In 1877, at the solicitation of eastern capitalists, with whom he had a wide acquaintance, Mr. Hoyt added to his other occupation the business of loaning money on real estate security in the West. This branch of his business grew rapidly and, in 1881, when he left Cleveland for New York, had assumed such large proportions that he had under his management investments amounting to several millions of dollars.

In 1878 he took a trip over the Northern Pacific Railroad to its then western terminus at Bismarck, and, there leaving the railroad, proceeded by boat up the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers to Fort Keogh, from which point he accompanied a large military detachment, commanded by his brother-in-law, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, which marched overland through the Yellowstone Valley into the National Park. On his return he wrote a report on the possibilities of the Northern Pacific Railroad, predicting its completion and the advisability of investing in its securities, which predictions have been more than verified.

In May, 1881, at the solicitation of Mr. John B. Trevor and Mr. James B. Colgate, he moved permanently to New York City, taking up his residence in Yonkers on the Hudson, and became a member of the long established and well-known firm of James B. Colgate & Co., whose office for many years was at No. 47 Wall street. Aided by his untiring energy and enterprise, the business of the firm of James B. Colgate & Co. rapidly increased until it became one of the most extensive transacted in the street. Mr. Hoyt was vigilant, active, aggressive, intelligent and honest, and having the confidence of his associates and customers, conducted transactions of the greatest magnitude and responsiblity. His business and social relations with leading financiers, among whom may be numbered Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Mr. William Rockefeller, Mr. Charles L. Colby, Mr. James B. Colgate and many others, have been, and are, close and intimate. But his

labors were not confined to the business of the firm simply.

In 1882 he was appointed, by President Arthur, a Government Director of the Union Pacific Railway, and he remained in that position of trust and influence until the end of Mr. Arthur's term, and, for several years he was Chairman of the Government Board. Meanwhile he was engaged in other large railroad enterprises.

In 1884, his friends having become interested in the Winconsin Central property, Mr. Hoyt formed an association with Messrs. Charles L. Colby and Edwin H. Abbot, respectively President and Vice-president of the Wisconsin Central Company, and its entire stock and that of all its branch lines was placed in the names of these gentlemen as trustees. The Wisconsin Central Railroad was then an unfinished property, with no valuable connections, starting at the small town of Portage and running northerly through a wilderness to Lake Superior; but Mr. Colby, whose father had originated the enterprise, and who believed implicitly in the future of the property and had worked for its development with undaunted courage and persistence, and with a unique ability, convinced Mr. Hoyt of the correctness of his conclusions and found in him an able, active and successful associate. The tasks which these two men have jointly accomplished are simply Herculean; they admirably supplement one another and are not only partners, but devoted friends. Shortly after their association, the money was raised and a road built from the Wisconsin Central to St. Paul to connect this system with the Northern Pacific on the west, and from a point on the Wisconsin Central near Milwaukee to the City of Chicago, which made the Central a through line from Chicago to Lake Superior and St. Paul. Being unable to perfect satisfactory terminal arrangements at Chicago, Messrs. Colby, Abbot and Hoyt went to work to provide a terminal railroad there. The undertaking was simply gigantic, and, for several years, the burden of this great enterprise rested mainly on the shoulders of these three men. They met with many discouragements and overcame numerous obstacles; but as a result of their steady purpose to carry to a successful issue what they had begun, the great terminal railroad known as the Chicago and Northern Pacific Railroad has been developed and completed. It owns the finest passenger station, not only in the City of Chicago, but, in the country, and its magnificent facilities are used, under favorable arrangements, by the Wisconsin Central Company, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, the St. Paul and Kansas City Railroad Company and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and it yet has ample room to accommodate several more trunk lines. Much of the

success of this great enterprise was due to the unfailing energy and persistent efforts of Mr. Hoyt.

In 1884, on the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency, Mr. Hoyt resigned his position as Government Director of the Union Pacific Railway Company; but at the earnest instance of his colleagues, backed up by a large interest in the stock, he was soon elected a Company Director of that road. This position he held for several years, until, because of his disagreement with the policy and management of the President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, he resigned from the Board, and he and his friends transferred their interests in the stock of the Union Pacific to the preferred stock of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Mr. Hoyt never forgot his early trip over that portion of the country which this road traverses and assured his friends that the future of the Northern Pacific property was in every way brighter and more certain than that of the Union Pacific. He believed that the productiveness of the country through which it passed and the value of its land grant rendered its stock one of the most inviting investments for unemployed capital.

In the meantime, Mr. Hoyt had been elected a Director of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company and of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company and had served on the Executive Committees of both Boards and, shortly after, he was elected a Director of the Northern Pacific Company, which position he has continued to hold and is now also a member of both the Executive and Finance Committees of that Board and Vice-President of some of the branch lines of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, among them the Duluth & Manitoba. Soon after becoming a member of the Board of Directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, Mr. Hoyt saw the great need of additional equipment in order to take care of its constantly growing business. The credit of the Northern Pacific was taxed, and its resources required in the other development of the property. How to furnish the large means necessary for this greatly needed increase in equipment was the question. Mr. Hoyt met the emergency by raising three millions of dollars for this purpose and organized the Northwest Equipment Company of Minnesota, of which company he is still president and treasurer. In 1889 he became Vice-President of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company, of which Mr. Villard was president. Through adverse legislation in the State of Oregon, it became necessary either to wind up the affairs of the company or to transfer its assets and property to another corporation organized under a more liberal and favorable charter. Mr. Villard undertook the responsible task of re-organization with his customary skill, ability and energy, when suddenly in July, 1890, he was so prostrated by

the death of his son that he was compelled, under the advice of his physician, to give up business and go abroad for rest. Mr. Hoyt reluctantly, in addition to all his other duties, took up the unfinished labor and, within sixty days, the necessary assent of stockholders having been procured, the assets and property of the Oregon & Transcontinental Company were transferred to the North American Company, and the stock of the former was exchanged for that of the latter, organized under the laws of New Jersey with a liberal charter. The rapidity and harmony with which this re-organization was accomplished mark it as unique in the history of Wall Street and, for his untiring efforts toward its accomplishment, Mr. Hoyt deserves the highest praise. In the Fall of that year, the great financial stringency in the money market caused embarrassment to many large and influential concerns, among whom were brokers conducting important transactions in the so-called Villard securities. It seemed for a time as though disaster must overwhelm the North American Company by reason of the failure of its financial agents. Mr. Hoyt and his associates worked day and night during these trying times, and although the rate of interest was exorbitantly high and the North American Company was a borrower to the extent of millions, its credit was saved and its solvency was preserved.. This crowning success was largely due to Mr. Hoyt who, as the responsible head of the company, stood at the helm.

In December, 1890, Mr. Villard returned from Europe and the solvency of the North American Company having been preserved, Mr. Hoyt, worn out with the strain of the terrible ordeal through which he had passed, insisted upon retiring from the Board and resigned his position as Vice-President, which, at his imperative request, was reluctantly accepted.

At this juncture, Mr. J. B. Trevor, one of Mr. Hoyt's partners in the firm of J. B. Colgate & Co., and his life-long friend, suddenly died, and this necessitated the winding up of the large business of the firm. On the death of Mr. Trevor and the dissolution of the partnership, Mr. Hoyt retired from the stock brokerage business and sought rest in Cuba, returning in the spring greatly invigorated and restored to health. But his trip to Cuba was not solely for recreation. He went partly to examine some iron ore properties there, in which he is largely interested.

The Spanish-American Iron Company, of which Mr. Hoyt is Treasurer and Director, is the owner of the famous Lola Group of iron mines situated in the Island of Cuba. Mr. S. P. Ely, now a resident of Cleveland, Ohio, and who was intimately connected with the opening and development of many of the largest iron

mines in the Lake Superior region, among them the Lake Superior, the Republic and the Minnesota, some two years since visited Cuba and was so struck with the richness and value of the ore deposits of the Lola Group of mines that he purchased them and, in connection with Mr. Charles L. Colby, Mr. Hoyt and some of their associates, organized The Spanish-American Iron Company, which has a capital stock of $5,000,000. The mines are now being rapidly developed, harbor facilities are being constructed and it is expected that, within a comparatively few months, this company will become a large shipper of Bessemer ore of high grade and quality, most of which will be transported to the eastern States in the ships of The American Steel Barge Company, of which Mr. Hoyt is President and Treasurer. The rapid development of this latter company, which has been largely due to the able management of Mr. Hoyt, is most surprising.

In 1888, Captain Alexander McDougall of Duluth, who formerly commanded vessels of the ordinary type plying the Great Lakes, had secured patents on peculiar forms of steel barges and steamers, now known throughout the world as the "whalebacks." Captain McDougall had tried, for several years, to get capital enlisted in the development of his ideas; but his departure was so radical from all preconceived notions that his efforts in this direction were unsuccessful until he brought the matter to the attention of Mr. Hoyt. Mr. Hoyt, who, with his associates, own and control the great Colby iron mines on the Gogebic Range in the Lake Superior region, was so impressed with the advantages of the McDougall style of boat for the transportation of iron ore that he personally bought the patents of Captain McDougall and organized the American Steel Barge Company, with a capital stock of $500,000, of which company he is the President and Treasurer and Captain McDougall the General Manager. Although, at first, this novel type of vessel was considerably ridiculed and all sorts of predictions made by mariners and ship builders, that the "whalebacks" would be totally unseaworthy, they have triumphantly stood the test of a severe experience and are now an assured success, and Captain McDougall's dream has been more than realized. In two short years from the organization of the company, its capital has been increased from $500,000 to $4,000,000; it has the largest fleet of barges and steamers of any one company on the Great Lakes and owns and operates the largest ship yard, which is situated at West Superior, Wisconsin; it is now building a branch yard at Everett, on Puget Sound, for the Pacific trade, and has steamers and barges on the Atlantic coast engaged in the transportation of coal. The steam barge "C. W. Wetmore" in the summer of 1891

successfully crossed the Atlantic, carrying grain from Duluth to Liverpool, and returning in ballast to New York, and demonstrated the seaworthiness of this type of boat, both when loaded and when light. The first steamer built by the company, the "Colgate Hoyt," has now been in operation on the Great Lakes for over a year and has astonished everybody by its economy of operation and the small horse-power required to attain good speed with heavy cargoes and heavily loaded consorts in tow. It is already predicted by many of the best vessel experts that the "whaleback" type of ships will, in time, revolutionize the water-carrying trade of the world.

In 1889 the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, which was then leased to The Missouri Pacific, failed to pay the interest on its bonds, the lease was forfeited and the road put into the hands of receivers and its securities greatly depreciated. Mr. Hoyt's friends were largely interested in the bonds and stock of this company and, after five different committees had essayed to reorganize it and put it on a paying basis, Mr. Hoyt, in connection with Mr. Olcott, President of The Central Trust Company of New York, and Mr. Enos, President of the railway company, formed a reorganization committee known as the Olcott Committee, into which all the others were finally merged. In the face of great difficulties a successful reorganization was effected, nearly $30,000,000 of money raised and the road put upon a sound financial basis. On the death of Mr. Enos last winter, Mr. Hoyt was urgently pressed to accept the Presidency or Chairmanship of the Board, but declined for the reason that he did not feel warranted in adding this responsibility to the many he was already carrying. He still however, retains his position on the Board, and is a member of the Executive Committee.

His success in these varied enterprises has been simply phenomenal. It is due of course, to his ability and industry, but it is also due to the significant fact that he uniformly inspires confidence in his associates and that his character for integrity is above reproach. Mr. Hoyt has not confined his attention simply to business. He is emphatically a "many sided" man. While living in Cleveland he took an active interest in the organization of one of the finest cavalry companies in America—The First Cleveland Troop—noted for its escort of President Garfield at his inauguration.

He has traveled extensively through Europe and visited every State and Territory but one in this country; he is an admirable raconteur and possesses social qualities of a high order; he has been a useful member of the Ohio Society since its organization, belongs to the Union League Club, the Fencers Club, and to the Seawanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club of New York, to the Country Club of Westchester County, and to

the Oyster Bay Yacht Club. He is fond of horses and of yachting and keenly enjoys such recreation as he can find time for. He has lately purchased a farm near Oyster Bay, on Long Island, where he is building a summer residence. Mr. Hoyt however, has not allowed the demands of business to make him neglectful of higher duties.

At the age of sixteen he united with the First Baptist Church of Cleveland Ohio, and has always been a consistent Christian, deeply interested in all religious matters. For many years he was active in Sabbath School work in northern Ohio, was superintendent of the Sabbath School of his home church until shortly before he came to New York, and under his management it became one of the best organized and largest Sabbath Schools in Cleveland.

He was active in the Young Men's Christian Association work and materially helped in the purchase of its first building and home in Cleveland.

In educational matters he also takes a lively interest. He is one of the trustees of the University of Rochester, of Brown University and of Vassar College. He delights to aid, as far as he is able, all needy and worthy churches, especially in the great northwest, and within the last year he formed a syndicate, to which he was a generous subscriber, which furnished funds for the building of the "Chapel Car Evangel," which is a church on wheels, and by means of which a great missionary work is being done along the lines of railroads with which Mr. Hoyt is connected; religious interest is being awakened, and the formation of churches in the small pioneer towns aided. He is now a member of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church of New York City, having lately removed his residence from Yonkers where, for ten years, he worshipped with his family at the Warburton Avenue Baptist Church.

In 1873 Mr Hoyt married Miss Lida W. Sherman, the third daughter Judge Charles T. Sherman and a niece of General W. T. Sherman and Senator John Sherman. Five children have blessed this union, four of whom are now living. His married life has been singularly happy, and much of his success has been due no doubt, to the inspiration and restfulness of his home, for—"A man's best things are nearest him."

He is still in the prime of life, being only in his forty-second year. The successes which have come to him though shining, are not after all, surprising. Industry, ability, perseverance, vigilance and integrity have but earned their fitting rewards; "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before Kings."

WILLIAM FORD UPSON; SECRETARY OF THE OHIO SOCIETY.

The last election of officers of the Ohio Society, which occurred in the month of December, 1891, resulted in the unanimous choice of William Ford Upson as Secretary. In point of years Mr. Upson is one of the younger members, but rare grace of mind and person, and an enthusiastic appreciation of the value of the Society and interest in its welfare, finely qualify him to render acceptable service in the capacity in which he has been chosen.

Mr. Upson is a lawyer—one of that class of whom Ohio has furnished a considerable number, who, growing to manhood in the Buckeye State, have removed to the metropolis of the continent where opportunities offered for careers commensurate with their aspirations. He was born at Akron, Ohio, March 10th, 1857. His father, Judge William H. Upson, himself a native of Ohio, and of New England descent, has spent many years of his life in the service of his country in several positions of honor and trust. Judge Upson represented the Cleveland district in Congress during the first term of Grant's administration. Afterwards he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and later was made Chief Justice of the Ohio Circuit Court, a position which he holds to-day. Mr. Upson's mother, *nee* Julia Ford, is related to the family of the late Governor Tod of Ohio.

Young Upson received the elements of his education in the public schools of his native town, and then entered the classical course in Western Reserve College, now Adelbert, in Cleveland, graduating in 1878. He stood well "all around" in his studies without making any special exertion to excel, and graduated as second honor man of his class. He took a special course in German, with a view to prosecuting his studies abroad in the lines of his chosen profession of the law. Accordingly, in 1879, after a year of legal study in his father's office in Akron, he visited Germany and spent the two succeeding years in the Universities of Berlin and Gottingen.

This was not his first experience in Europe. Since his fourteenth year he had occasionally enjoyed the advantage of a trip abroad with some member of his family. He visited Russia in the winter preceding the assassination of the late Czar, at a time when that unfortunate empire was in a state of uneasiness and half-stifled agitation. These glimpses of the Old World had been sufficient to give him some adequate conception of the value of a training in the magnificent German institutions, as a

Wm. Ford Upson

means of enlarging the vision and providing an intellectual balance-wheel to the spirit of business "push" and enterprise which characterized his own country.

The special studies which he prosecuted in the universities mentioned, were Roman law, philosophy and history. The first of these provided a training which could not be obtained by the study of American law, which is comparatively new and subject to frequent changes. For the processes of analysis and deduction, Roman law, on the contrary, presents a complete and unchanging system; and the Germans, who regard Roman law as the basis of modern German law, in the same way that they regard the German Empire as the legitimate descendant and representative of ancient Rome, have made the study of the Roman statutes an important part of their law curriculum. They have analyzed, and so to speak dissected, the ancient system in a minute fashion which would not be possible with a modern judicial system in actual operation in the courts.

After this thorough training and preparation for his life's work Mr. Upson returned to Ohio, and was admitted to the bar of that State in 1882. The following year he removed to New York city and began practice as a member of the firm of Scott and Upson. In 1885 he was married to Grace Hazlett, daughter of the late Judge Isaac Hazlett, of Canton, Ohio, and two boys have been born to them. After his marriage, he made his last visit to Europe with his wife, devoting a summer to the trip.

In the practice of his profession he has given special attention to the intricacies of commercial and corporation law, and a large part of the firm's business has been along these lines. In the Fayerweather will contest of some months ago Mr. Upson was enabled to do good service for his Alma Mater, Adelbert College, the case being finally so adjusted that this institution will receive the large sum which Mr. Fayerweather had bequeathed to it.

Scarcely yet in the prime of life, and with his life's work only well begun, Mr. Upson promises an honorable career of which not only his many friends in Ohio, but the many in New York may well be proud.

James Harrison Kennedy.

HON. NATHANIEL PETER HILL.

EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR OF COLORADO.

THE first appearance of the family of the subject of this sketch in America was about 1730, when Nathaniel Hill, the great grandfather, who was born in 1705, came to this country from the County of Cavan, Ireland.

For our knowledge of this family prior to its advent into America, we are mainly indebted to Sir Bernard Burke, LLD., Ulster, King at Arms at Dublin Castle, the highest living authority on English genealogy, and to Colonel Henry Dudley Teetor, Genealogist, who visited England and Ireland and made thorough investigation of the subject.

Nathaniel Hill was of English stock, a descendant of the family of that ancient Anglo-Norman surname, members of which removed from England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when in 1573, Sir Moses Hill, Knight, and Peter Hill, his son, accompanied the Earl of Essex, at the head of English forces, sent to suppress O'Neill's rebellion. Both Moses and his son, Peter, were granted large estates chiefly in County Down.

An old emblazoned pedigree of this family may be consulted in the British Museum. It bears date November 3, 1562. From its pages it is learned that Robert de la Hull (Anglo-Saxon for Hill) "came into England with Ye Conqueror;" his first local habitation was at Hulle, now Court of Hill, Shropshire, where the Hamlet of Hulle was held by William de la Hull, A. D., 1221.

From this locality branches of the family extended into other English counties and eventually into the North of Ireland. The records and many circumstances connected with the life of Nathaniel Hill, show that he was a descendant of the landed gentry of England, and that he came to this country possessed of wealth.

Soon after his arrival he went to a Scotch-Irish settlement west of the Hudson River on the westernmost frontier, then known as Dwaarskill, in the precinct of Hanover, now town of Crawford, Orange County, New York. The first public record we have of his presence in this settlement is his enlistment in Captain John Bayard's militia of Wallakill, in 1738. His name appears in the first published tax list as found in Rittenburg, Orange County, 1768, but he was a freeholder long before this. In the "Life of James Craw-

ford" it appears that he bought a large tract of land in the town of Crawford from Nathaniel Hill in 1746. or twenty-two years before.

In his will dated March 17, 1780, and the third recorded in Ulster County, he provided that an estate to cost not less than $4,000 be bought and given to his son William, when he became of age; provided for dowries for the unmarried daughters, for the care of the wife, and left a valuable estate for his oldest son James. He had, soon after his arrival in this country, built upon the Dwaarskill a solid stone mansion which is still occupied by his descendants. He had also before his death given to his son James, large estates on the Wallakill, and he had built three miles east of Montgomery, now in Orange County, a substantial English-looking homestead of brick and stone, which is still standing and of which an illustration taken from a late photograph is given. This with one of the best farms in Orange County, he gave to his son Peter.

The amassing of property at that time shows thrift,industry and ability; but Nathaniel Hill was more than a money maker, and in every respect more than an ordinary man. From the records of the Goodwill Presbyterian Church, of which he was an active member and trustee and from other sources, and particularly through information which has been handed down to his grandchildren, we learn that he was a leading man in the community in which he lived, highly respected by everybody, and that at his death in 1780 he left an honored name. The reputation which he bore at his death for rectitude and intelligence is confirmatory of the opinion of Sir Bernard Burke and of the tradition which had been held by his descendants that his ancestors formed an unbroken line of God-fearing men, who loved right and duty above everything else, men of industry and ability who obtained honorable distinction among their fellow men.

In 1745 he married Susanna Armstrong, by whom he had three sons and six daughters. The second son, Peter Hill ,grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was born at Dwaarskill, Orange County, in 1751, and was the most eminent of the sons of Nathaniel Hill. When only twenty-four years of age he received a commission as captain in Colonel James Clinton's regiment of Minute Men. This organization proved so effective that by special act of Congress it was made auxiliary to the Continental Army, thus entitling its members to the same pay and privileges as the members of the regular army. He was distinguished while in this command for his gallant defence of Fort Montgomery. But the story of his life is best told by the inscription which his friends placed on a tombstone which was erected soon after his death. The elements have not yet effaced it and it still may be read: "In mem-

ory of Peter Hill, who died October 14, 1795, in the 44th year of his age. In the various relations of life he was truly amiable, as husband, parent and neighbor, affectionate and obliging. Early in life he manifested much zeal for the liberties of his country, and in the memorable capture of Fort Montgomery, after making a brave defence, was one of the few who escaped the ruin of that place. In his intercourse and dealings with mankind he was a person of great probity, ever ready to defend the honest poor man, but active to detect and suppress the villianous and disorderly, often the peacemaker between contending neighbors, sound in judgment and truly exemplary in life. In his Christian profession he was steady to the last, and by his death society has suffered a great loss."

In these few words is sketched the career of a noble and good man, at once a brave soldier and a gentle peacemaker. He died in the prime of life, but his career was full of activity and his life was well rounded.

He married Isabella Trimble, and about the year 1774 occupied the brick mansion built for him by his father near Montgomery and nine miles from the old homestead. His children, aside from two sons and one daughter who died early in life were:

1, Sarah, who married Dr. Charles Fowler; 2, Nathaniel P. Hill; 3, Isabella, who married General Charles Borland of Montgomery; 4, Peter, who married Margaret Miller.

Nathaniel P. Hill, father of Senator Hill, was born in 1781. He was educated at Montgomery Academy, of which he afterwards became a prominent patron. He had the military spirit which was shown in the life of his father and grandfather. He was lieutenant in Captain Peter Millkin's cavalry company, which took part in the war of 1812. In 1819, Governor De Witt Clinton commissioned him Captain of the Orange Huzzars, which he commanded for many years. No man in his day in that neighborhood had to so great a degree the confidence of his neighbors. While never seeking office, he was frequently called to positions of responsibility. He was a member of the legislature in 1816, 1819, 1820 and 1825; he was sheriff of his county in 1820 and 1822; judge of the Court of Common Pleas 1823–1825; a member of the Board of Supervisors in 1833. In 1836 he was presidential elector and voted for Martin Van Buren. He had the old-fashioned idea that office should seek the man, and not man the office. Whenever he was a candidate for any office he remained at home on his farm until after election, so that it should not even appear that he was seeking office, or by any chance that he was influencing votes. The honorable distinction of peacemaker that was given to his father, Captain Peter Hill, belonged to an even greater de-

gree to Nathaniel P. Hill. There are those still living who remember how he was sought for, far and near, by his neighbors to decide questions in dispute. Judge Monell once said, that Nathaniel P. Hill decided more cases off the bench than any judge in Orange County on the bench. Perhaps no higher tribute than this could be paid to him as a man. It showed perfect confidence on the part of his neighbors in his integrity and fairness. It also indicated that he must have been a man of great intelligence and remarkable sense of justice. Like his father and grandfather, he was a devout man, and was trustee and one of the incorporators of the Presbyterian Church in Montgomery. He died in 1842, and the following obituary notice was given in the Newburgh *Telegraph*:

"Died, at his residence, in the town of Montgomery, of billious-pleurisy, on the 12th day of May, 1842, the Hon. Nathaniel P. Hill, in the 62d year of his age. Judge Hill was one of the most respectable and useful among the citizens of this county. He held, in the course of his life, many public stations with honor to himself and advantage to the public. He was several times a representative in the State Legislature, was judge of the County Court, sheriff of the county, presidential elector in 1836, besides holding numerous appointments and offices of trust, all of which he discharged in a most faithful manner. He was emphatically an honest man, and one who will be long remembered for his many virtues by the people of Orange."

He was one of Plutarch's men. He was not illustrious as a scholar, as a writer, as an orator nor as a statesman. But among the people with whom he came in contact, there was such instant and universal recognition of the strength and fairness of his mind, of the integrity of his character, of his large public spirit and the conscientiousness with which he discharged the duties of all the offices that he held, that it can be said there are few careers more noble, though there may have been many more illustrious. The highest tribute that can be paid to any man is the affectionate respect of those with whom he comes in daily contact, and this was the respect that Nathaniel P. Hill had during his whole life. In 1827 he married Matilda Crawford, whose ancestors were Scotch-Irish, and were among the earliest settlers in Orange County. The town of Crawford received its name from the family. She was a woman of great strength of character, and was in full sympathy with the noble life of her husband. She lived until 1879, having survived her husband thirty-seven years, long enough to hear the gratifying news of the election of her son Nathaniel P. Hill, to the United States Senate. This in a brief, inadequate way, gives the history of Senator

Hill's ancestors, in this country. It is a record without a stain, and one which any one might look upon with pride.

The subject of this sketch, Nathaniel P. Hill, was born February 18, 1832, in the brick house on the old homestead, three miles east of Montgomery, which was first occupied by his grandfather, Captain Peter Hill in 1779, and now occupied by his brother. He was the third of seven children, the eldest of whom was James K. Hill, fourteen years of age at the time of his father's death. Nathaniel was ten years of age. His elder brother for five years managed the farm in Orange County, and then went to Yale College, where he graduated. He afterwards studied law, and for many years has enjoyed a large and profitable practice in New York City. He has always been held in high esteem by his associates at the Bar as a man of strict integrity. Nathaniel P. Hill succeeded his brother, and continued in the management of the property until he was twenty-one years of age. During this period he was a part of the time a student at Montgomery Academy. The responsibility of the management of so considerable an estate thrown on the shoulders of one so young, undoubtedly developed early the business qualities which have distinguished his career since; the power of self-control and the habits of industry. At this time having determined to avail himself of better facilities for education, his attention was drawn to Brown University, Providence, by a pamphlet published by Dr. Wayland, its president. He knew no one in Providence, but he was so favorably impressed with the broad views of Dr. Wayland and with the opportunities which Brown University afforded, that he decided to enter that institution, which he did in February, 1853. At that time the professor of chemistry was George I. Chace, who, with the exception of President Wayland, was regarded as the ablest member of the faculty. He had a remarkably clear, strong intellect, and was as much at home in the study of metaphysics as in the study of the natural sciences. Mr. Hill was fortunate in beginning his scientific studies under a man of such acute mind, and breadth of vision. Professor Chace, recognizing Mr. Hill's exceptional qualifications both as a student and as a teacher, in 1856, before the completion of his studies secured his appointment as assistant to the Professor in chemistry, and in 1858, as Instructor in chemistry, applied to the Arts. In 1859 he was appointed full professor in the same department, and occupied the chair with distinguished success until 1864. By a mistake which was carelessly allowed to go uncorrected, his name appeared in the catalogue of that institution as Nathaniel Parker Hill. He took up his work with great enthusiasm. At this time there was little laboratory work done in the teach-

Gilbert

ERECTED A·D· 1773-4 BY NATHANIEL HILL FOR
HIS SON PETER HILL, FATHER OF NATHANIEL P HILL,
FATHER OF HON·NATHANIEL P·HILL OF DENVER.

RESIDENCE OF EX·U·S·SENATOR NATHANIEL P-HILL,
DENVER.

ing of either chemistry or physics in our colleges. Realizing the importance of the laboratory for the most effective work in his department, he started a fund to erect one, by subscribing five hundred dollars. He visited all the laboratories accessible, that he might have the advantage of the experience of other college professors, and of other scientific men. He prepared a general plan for the building and made special designs for the fitting up of the working rooms. When the laboratory was finished it was regarded as the most convenient and complete college laboratory in the country. Its main features were afterwards copied by many other colleges. In many respects the period from 1859 to 1864, was the most interesting and satisfactory of his life. He began to teach just at the time when attention was turning to the study of chemistry. His practical tendencies and thoroughness of method led him to emphasize the laboratory work, and he was continually broadening this feature. He soon made an impression as a scientific man, not only on his associates but on the manufacturers of Rhode Island. Whenever any difficult chemical problem in manufacturing came up for solution he was applied to. The City of Providence was the centre of very extensive and varied manufacturing industries, and no better field could have been afforded to a man of practical ideas and scientific education.

During the last years of his connection with Brown University a large portion of his time was devoted to working out intricate problems in the Arts. Many of these, usually solved only after ingenious but unscientific experiments performed at great cost, were brought before Professor Hill. His practical tastes, united with scientific knowledge, usually secured the desired results promptly, with but little expense, and he was becoming an important factor in the industrial life of the richest manufacturing State in the Union.

But in 1864 an event occurred which changed the whole tenor of his life. A tract of land in Colorado called the Gilpin Grant, was offered to certain capitalists in Providence. They requested Professor Hill to go to Colorado and make a report on the representations regarding its geological formations, its mineral deposits and the general character of its soil. At this time there was no railroad west of the Missouri River, and he went to Colorado by coach, arriving in Denver in June, 1864. He made the investigations for which the journey was undertaken, and before returning visited the mines of Gilpin County, which were the only mines in the territory worked at that time. He was impressed with the waste which the methods then used for the reduction of ore involved. At this time there were no smelters and no mills that could treat the refractory ores without great loss of gold. He then

conceived the idea of establishing works which could successfully treat these ores. He repeated his visits to Colorado twice in 1865, and in the winter of that and the succeeding year made two trips to Europe and spent several months in Swansea, Wales; Freiberg, Saxony and in other places, examining the methods there employed for treating ores for gold and silver. He returned to Colorado in 1866, accompanied by Mr. Lewis of the firm of Naylor & Co. of New York, and Professor Herrmann, metallurgist of Vivian & Sons, Swansea. Seventy-two tons of ore which had been taken from the celebrated Bobtail mine at Central City were purchased and hauled to the Missouri River in wagons and afterwards shipped to Swansea. Professor Hill spent the winter of 1866 and 1867 in Swansea for the purpose of experimenting with the assistance of Professor Herrman with this ore. The caution and convervatism of Professor Hill, which were marked characteristics of the family, assured the success of any enterprise he might engage in before the first step was taken. After satisfying himself fully of the feasibility of smelting the ores of Colorado, he resolved at once to organize the company which has held for twenty-four years, a prominent place throughout the entire mining regions of the west—the Boston & Colorado Smelting Company.

At the age of thirty-two, after achieving success as professor of chemistry in one of the oldest institutions of learning in the land, and making his department almost the first in the country, he started out in an entirely new career. A party of Boston and Providence capitalists, prominent among whom were James W. Converse and J. Warren Merrill, who for many years were president and treasurer of the company, eagerly took up the new scheme and subscribed a capital of $275,000. The Company was organized in the spring of 1867. Professor Hill had secured the services of Hermann Beeger as metallurgist, who brought to the establishment scientific knowledge and an extensive experience in the smelting business, and the two arrived at Black Hawk, Gilpin County, in June 1867, to begin the construction of their plant. One smelting and one calcining furnace were erected, and the first smelting was done in January, 1868. The business rapidly increased, and three smelting and seven calcining furnaces were added. In 1873 the business was further extended by establishing branch works at Alma, Park County.

When the Company first began operations the ores were concentrated by smelting into matte containing gold, silver and copper, and this product was sent to Swansea, Wales. In 1873, owing to the inability of the Company to make satisfactory terms with the gold and silver refiners of Europe, it became necessary for the Boston & Colorado Smelting Com-

pany to separate the metals from the matte and refine them. The establishment of works for this purpose may be justly said, next to the founding of the works in 1867, to be the most important event in the history of the Company. By this step the Company became independent of all foreign establishments which had hitherto had a monopoly of this kind of work. It deals directly with the mines and sells its products, gold, silver and copper, in a refined state in the best markets of the world. Fortunately Professor Hill had a short time before this new departure made the acquaintance of Professor Richard Pearce, a gentleman of large scientific attainments and equally large practical experience in metallurgy. He had been connected with the School of Mines in London, and for eight years was at the head of a great smelting and refining works at Swansea. The connection which was then formed and which still exists has led to the most satisfactory results. For the enlargement of its plant, growth of business, and great prosperity since 1873, Professor Hill never failed to attribute credit largely to Professor Pearce. The capital of the Company was increased to $500,000, and in October, 1873, the refining works were in full operation.

Up to this time the supply of ore came almost entirely from Gilpin and Clear Creek Counties, but mining throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region had received a great stimulus, and in order to command the ore products not only of all portions of Colorado, but of New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, Utah, &c., it was deemed necessary that the position of the works should be at some railroad center. Accordingly in 1878 a new and much larger establishment was built two miles north of the business centre of Denver and the new town which was incorporated, was appropriately named Argo. The capital of the Company was increased to $1,000,000, and the works at Black Hawk were soon after abandoned. The value of the product of the works from the beginning to the present time in gold, silver and copper is $65,212,630.60-100 which has steadily increased from $270,886,00 in 1868 to $5,564,593.60-100 in 1891.

Professor Hill was the first to successfully treat the refractory ores. There have been hardy and earnest prospectors; there have been competent engineers; and there have been able mine managers, who have done a great deal to develop the mining interest of Colorado, but Professor Hill stands almost alone in the work he has done to put mining on a sure and sound basis and enable the miner to obtain the largest returns for his labor. He has had able assistants in William A. Abbe, who rendered valuable aid in the early days, in Hon. H. R. Wolcott, who for a number of years was Acting Manager, in Professor Beeger and particularly in Professor Richard Pearce. But to

Professor Hill after all, belongs the credit of conceiving these works, of raising the money to start them, of devising methods and of conducting the business of the Company ably and successfully.

He came to Colorado when the business of mining was at the lowest ebb. In Gilpin County, the only place where any mining was going on, the surface ores, which yielded their gold quite freely to the stamp mill process, had been nearly all worked out. Millions of dollars had been expended in mills and machinery for working the refractory ores, but all had failed. In 1867, when Professor Hill commenced the erection of his works at Black Hawk, there were only three old stamp mills running in Gilpin County; the miners were moving away or waiting for some one to come to their deliverance. Five years after no busier place was seen in Colorado than the villages of Central City and Black Hawk and the hills surrounding them. At thirty-two Professor Hill had accomplished what to many would have been a life's work as a teacher of chemistry. At forty-six he had established an entirely new business which revolutionized mining in Colorado. He did not follow in the wake of some one else but established a business which was the result of scientific knowledge, energy and business sagacity.

But Professor Hill was now about to enter a new field, where he has won a success, not less than he obtained in the two other occupations of his life. Up to this time he had been immersed in scientific research and business. His known probity of character and sound judgment had frequently suggested him to his neighbors for various offices. He was Mayor of Black Hawk in 1871, and in 1872 and in 1873 a member of the Territorial Council, where he first participated in the proceedings of a legislative body. He early saw the tendency of combined capital to secure more privileges than are given to the individual taxpayers. Without a tinge of the views of the communist he has fought monopolies in all his public career. This is an evidence of the justness and fairness of his mind, because being a man of wealth and being brought into intimate business relations with those large aggregations of capital, naturally his sympathies would be on the side of capital.

In the summer of 1878, Senator Chaffee decided not to be a candidate for re-election as United States Senator. When Professor Hill's name was suggested as the successor of Senator Chaffee, it was felt that he would be the most intelligent representative of Colorado's chief industry, mining, that could be sent to represent her in the Senate. He was easily nominated at the Republican caucus in January, 1879, on the fourth ballot, and was elected for a term of six years, beginning March 4, 1879. Measured by the

usual standards he was not likely to win distinction in the Senate in his first term. He never had taken any part in national politics, and was not familiar with the routine life of a congressman. He had but small acquaintance with public men. He had none of the arts of the politician and had no experience in practical politics. But Senator Hill had been successful in everything he had undertaken, because of qualities which make a man a success in every position of life. Had he entered the Senate during the reconstruction period, he might have been less successful, but during his term in the Senate, the most important questions that came before the Senate were of a business character, and an opportunity was at once afforded him to show his ability.

Not an unimportant adjunct to his success was his social life. Taking his family with him, he kept open house during his term. He was able to entertain generously and his house almost immediately became one of the social attractions of Washington. He was on intimate terms with President Hayes and President Arthur, and with men of controlling influence in both administrations. One of the honors which a Senator may receive, and which is usually conferred only upon one of long service and established position, is that of regent of the Smithsonian Institution. This was an honor conferred upon Senator Hill early in his term.

The labors of a Senator who endeavors faithfully and conscientiously to discharge not only his public duties, but also to look after the interests of individual constituents are burdensome This is especially true of the Senators from new States like Colorado. The work of Senator Hill was particularly arduous. There was no reasonable request, however small, from a constituent which he did not comply with, and his prompt attention to correspondence greatly increased the number of requests. His visits to the departments were almost daily.

He rarely missed attending a meeting of a committee of which he was a member, and he never shirked any of the duties belonging to the position. This involved a great deal of labor for one of his painstaking disposition. During the latter part of his term he was Chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads, one of the most arduous positions in the Senate when the work is done as he did it, yet he was seldom absent from the Senate when in session.

The writer of this sketch has never met even an enemy of Senator Hill who would not admit that Colorado never has had a more faithful or influential Senator.

But a review of the measures he introduced and supported is of much more importance, in order to obtain an adequate conception of the work he accomplished. He secured the passage of a very large number of bills affecting Colorado, which though only of local interest, should be men-

tioned. One of the first important measures was a bill providing for the removal of the White River Utes and Uncompahgre Utes to Utah. The Indian outbreak at the White River Agency occurred just after the beginning of his term, and there was no possibility of any peaceable settlement without the removal of the Indians. The removal of these Indians opened up some eleven million acres of land, which now constitute one of the most promising agricultural and pastoral sections of the State. It also gave to the miners some of the richest mineral land in Colorado. In this district are the flourishing towns of Curay, Pitkin, Aspen, Montrose, Grand Junction, Glenwood Springs, Meeker and several smaller mining camps and agricultural centers. His Bill, providing for an appropriation for the sinking of artesian wells was a pioneer measure and became a law. Soon after,on account of the attention which this measure drew to the subject, wells were sunk in Denver, and now the best domestic supply of water is secured in this way. The sections of school land in the mineral districts having been exempted under the law donating to the State two sections in each township, were of no value to the State. Senator Hill introduced a Bill to take other land in lieu of the 16th and 36th sections found to be mineral, which finally became a law in 1884. This Bill secured some ninety thousand acres of land to our Agricultural College and half a million acres to the general school fund. Another measure was the appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars for a public building in Denver. One of still more importance made Denver a Port of Entry. This put Denver on the same basis for commercial purposes as a seaport town. But the full value of this measure was not appreciated until Denver was connected by direct line with the Gulf. The expenditure of some millions of dollars in making a good Port of Entry at Galveston and at other places on the Gulf, will eventually make Denver the great distributing point commercially, between Chicago and San Francisco, and she will have no rival between Galveston and the Canadian border. There were many other bills passed which he introduced, such as securing new land offices, providing for better mail facilities, preventing hardship for witnessess, amending our mining laws and opening up more land for settlement. His Senatorial career would have been called a success had it ended with the legislation he secured for the State he represented. But taking a more enlarged view of his career, we have not yet touched upon its most important features.

He took a part in the debate over the tariff bill of 1883, and specially championed the wool interests of Colorado, demanding that the tariff of 1867 be unchanged. He took special interest in the preservation of the National domain from railroad land

grabbers. His masterly exposure of the fraud connected with the New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Vickburg Land Grant, commonly known as the Backbone Land Grant, which Senator Edmunds said on the floor of the Senate " was the most audacious steal he had ever heard of," as reported in Volume 192, page 768 of the Congressional Record, was not successful in preventing the issue of patents by the Secretary of the Interior for most of the lands. Senator's Hill's speech on that subject was made just before the expiration of his term, and the agitation which he helped to create did secure from the next Congress a forfeiture of the grant of all the lands for which patents had not been issued.

Senator Hill will always be regarded as the originator of what will probably prove to be the best plan for the establishment of the Postal Telegraph in this country. Committees had been appointed before to investigate the subject and reports had been made, but by the introduction of his bill, by the exhaustive investigation by the Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads when he was Chairman, by securing a favorable report by that Committee to the Senate and by the general interest which was aroused, Senator Hill has done more to this time than any other person to secure legislation for that purpose.

He made a careful study of the system of Postal Telegraphy in Great Britain and of the history of the corporations which controlled the telegraph business of this country.

The Bill prepared by him, well equipped as he was with facts, will probably be the basis of any future legislation on this subject. His elaborate speech in support of this Bill, delivered in the Senate, January 14, 1884, attracted the widest attention, while the exhaustive report made by the committee of which he was the chairman, is still the storehouse for information on this subject. While he did not secure the passage of the postal telegraph bill, yet the interest he awakened in the subject, instead of dying out, has rather increased.

His speeches on the silver question must always be regarded by the careful student as the most important part of his Senatorial career. These speeches were characterized by exhaustive research, close reasoning and irresistible logic. Previous to the discussion of the silver question by Senator Hill, the speeches of the friends of silver had not always commanded the respect which the subject deserved, nor were the arguments brought to bear in favor of bi-metallism of such a character as to attract the intelligent, thinking people of the country. Senator's Hill's first speech on this subject was delivered June 20, 1882, in answer to Senator Sherman. No resume of this speech can easily be given, but it was based on the well ascertained principles which underlie currency, illumined by an array of stubborn facts and accurate

information, and conducted with calm reasoning and relentless logic. It was his first carefully prepared speech. The subject matter was of so great importance, and the respect for the speaker so general, that he had the close attention of the Senate during its delivery. From this time on, he was regarded as the leading champion of silver in the Senate. Senator Sherman admitted that this speech was the strongest argument in favor of silver he had yet heard. The eastern papers were full of criticism of this speech. The Kansas City *Times* said: "The effect of Senator Hill's speech was very telling, and it is safe to predict that no further effort will be made, at this season at least, to demonetize silver." The New York *Tribune* spoke of it as "a carefully prepared speech upon the general question of maintaining a double standard, which was listened to with close attention by the leading financial men in the Senate." It also said: "The subject is one to the study of which, in some of its practical aspects, the Senator has given the years of his maturity, and upon which he proved himself fully qualified to speak, from his point of view, to so eminent a body as the Senate of the United States." It adds: "At the close, the Senator was warmly congratulated and complimented by several of his fellow senators, including several who held pronounced views as Monometallists." Senator Morgan, on the floor of the Senate, in referring to this speech said: "The logic and the facts on the subject were exhausted in that argument, and they will never be answered anywhere." Another critic said: "A scholarly speech was, of course, to be expected from an ex-professor of Brown University, but Mr. Hill has given the country some thing a good deal more and better than that. He has discussed a great question calmly, dispassionately and with a most thorough and masterly statesmanship. His speech will be one of the landmarks of currency debates." The speech attracted a great deal of attention abroad. The London Economist, the leading financial authority of the world, reviewed the speech at length in its issue of August 26, 1882, saying: "The speech puts the wants and desires of the supporters of silver remonetization in so clear a light that we cannot do better than to give our readers an outline of its contents." While a distinguished authority in Europe spoke of him as "the leading bi-metallist of America." These quotations from papers and authorities of widely different sympathies are given simply to show that Senator Hill had lifted the discussion of this question to its proper level, and that what has been said regarding the ability with which he discussed this question in the Senate is fully warranted. He delivered in the Senate other speeches, notably those of December 15, 1884, and February 26, 1885. Probably none of them attracted wider attention than

that delivered before the Commercial Club of Providence, January 9, 1886. During this period he also prepared some valuable papers for the *North American Review*. His speeches to this day have never been answered. He was so careful in his facts, so conservative in his inferences, and so clear in his reasoning, that his opponents preferred to change the subject.

In his work in the Senate he was not a frequent speaker, but made his influence felt more particularly in the Committee Room. But the speeches that he did deliver gave him a wide reputation. These addresses had a breadth of comprehension and a largeness of purpose that indicated the statesman. While no speech of his was ever tarnished by disgraceful epithets, or by demagogic appeals, yet his opposition to the arrogance of corporations and to the tyranny of monopolies was constant and invariable. He had the sagacity to predict what we now see realized in the vast combinations of capital, under the name of trusts.

There was a steady growth in his senatorial career, and his horizon steadily widened. His clearness of mind and thoroughness of work made him do well whatever he undertook. Beginning with securing local legislation, he gradually took up the great national questions of the day and exercised a potent influence in Congress. No selfish interest ever did or ever was thought to influence his public acts. He gave up all active management of business and devoted himself entirely to his work in the Senate. True to his State, true to the interests of the people he represented, and his own high sense of honor and duty, he showed himself a worthy descendant of those ancestors who rendered such patriotic, useful, and unselfish services in a less important sphere of action. His failure of re-election was no discredit to him, for his record needed no vindication. If his Senatorial career had been characterized by less statemanship and more politics, he might have still been in public life. Even his opponents admitted the integrity, ability and devotion with which he represented Colorado in the Senate. For manifold reasons, which it is not necessary to explain, he had the opposition generally of the politicians of the State. Their combined efforts, together with those of great railroad and telegraph companies, barely succeeded in defeating him. Had it been decided by a popular vote, he would have been returned by a triumphant majority, for the people gratefully remembered his faithful services.

After leaving the Senate, Senator Hill held no public office until in January, 1891, when he was nominated by President Harrison as one of three members of the International Monetary Commission. The appropriateness of the appointment was at once recognized all over the country, and it was felt that the Commission, with

Mr. Hill on it, would accomplish something, if anything could be accomplished. President Harrison, who was a fellow Senator with Senator Hill, recognized the value of his work in the Senate, while Mr. Blaine, who was also interested in this appointment, was equally familiar with Senator Hill's record on the white metal.

Before going to the Senate, Senator Hill had been the active manager of extensive business operations. His private interests had been neglected in his devotion to the public weal. On retiring into private life, he turned his attention almost exclusively to business affairs. He took again an active part in the management of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company. He engaged in several new business operations, one of the most important of which was the organization of The United Oil Company which is producing the larger part of the oil of the Florence District. He has been from the start and is now President of the Company. He has also been for thirteen years President of the Colorado Smelting and Mining Company, the operations of which have been on an extensive scale in Montana. He is President of the Denargo Land Company which has been engaged in some large and most successful land transactions near Denver.

A biograghical sketch of Senator Hill would be incomplete unless there was some mention of his ownership of the Denver "Republican." When he left the Senate he determined never again to be a candidate for any public office. Nothing has happened since then to change his mind. He has the keenest interest in public affairs. At the same time he is independent of all parties and factions because he has no desire to re-enter public life. He has enjoyed to the full the freedom which this has given him in the discussion of any national or state political question. His paper has consistently advocated the same views regarding postal telegraph, silver, trusts and combines that he advocated while a member of the Senate. He has exercised great influence through his paper in purifying the politics of Colorado. A gang of dishonest contractors and political strikers had fastened itself on the ruling faction of the Republican party. There was the most barefaced corruption in nearly every department of the City, County and State. To the "Republican" under the management of K. G. Cooper, and the editorship of William Stapleton, is almost entirely due the credit of uncovering these frauds, and so arousing the people of this State that their repetition is not likely to occur again. An effort was made to weaken the attacks of the "Republican" on the State, County and City corruptions by saying that its efforts for reform were insincere. It was stated by members of the corrupt combination that these attacks were made to promote the political ambition of the owner of the paper, but as Senator Hill has per-

sistently declined to be a candidate for any office or to use his influence for political purposes, the public soon became convinced that no motive other than to serve the public good was behind the policy of the paper. No better evidence of this could be given than the course which the "Republican" pursued during the years 1889 and 1890. The support which the "Republican" has received and the public confidence in the sincerity of its utterances have enabled it to exert a great influence on all matters affecting the welfare of the state and city.

To know Senator Hill well it is necessary to see him in his family relations, which are remarkably happy. He married Miss Alice Hale in Providence, in July, 1860. He has three children, a son and two daughters. Crawford, the son, is the eldest. He was educated at his father's Alma Mater, and is at present actively concerned in all his father's business affairs. Senator Hill is essentially a family man. The time not devoted to business is always given to his family, and all his social enjoyments are in his own home or in the company of his family. This, naturally, has introduced a confidential relationship between the different members of the family and a personal loyalty that is not often seen.

His natural reserve and straightforward, business-like manner have given an impression that he is cold-blooded, but the very contrary is true. He is sympathetic, kind and generous, but is never demonstrative in their manifestation. He has always been a liberal supporter of all charities and good works. He is a man of strong will and indomitable resolution. When once he has marked out a course it is very difficult to make him vary from it by a hair's breadth.

This sketch, which so inadequately tells the story of Senator Hill's life is long enough to indicate his intellectual ability and sterling qualities of character. It is seldom that one man has achieved such distinguished success in three different fields of endeavor. Usually a change in a career means that there has been a failure, but in all three of his occupations, in professional teaching, in business and in public life he has had a successful career, finishing up the work he undertook. A great many men who have achieved success have obtained their most valuable business knowledge from failure, but from the beginning of Senator Hill's career to this time, he has not touched any enterprise of which he has not made a success. The reason is apparent to those who know him. In the first place, he inherited qualities which make strong men. His early life on the farm developed self-reliant qualities. He never half understands a thing or starts out in any enterprise until he sees the end. He has always been careful and conservative in business matters. Though living in a land where speculation is so rife, he

has been satisfied to amass his fortune through the slower though surer methods of the ordinary channels of business. Not the least factor in his success is his great physical endurance. Few men have been strong enough to work year after year the number of hours a day that Senator Hill has. Hence, he has always been able to make the best and fullest use of his mental powers. Though, at the present time, fifty-nine years of age, he is still in the prime of life, with none of his faculties impaired and his judgment clearer and stronger because of large experience in nearly every phase of business and public life.

B. W. Steele.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

The American Historical Association held its eighth annual meeting in Washington, December 29-31, 1891. A member sends the following notice of the meeting: The president, Hon. William Wirt Henry of Richmond, Va., read the opening address, taking as his subject "The Influences that went to make the Virginia of the Revolution." He was followed by Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett of Baltimore, in an admirably calm and thorough paper on "The Virginia Secession Movement." Presi- Lyon G. Tyler of William and Mary College, read the concluding paper which gave some interesting facts from the records of an old Virginian County (York.) Thus curiously enough the first session of the Association was devoted entirely to Virginia history. Four other sessions were held and a large number of papers read—indeed, it would seem too large a number for the time allotted. There was also too little discussion, which would seem to indicate that the Committee on Programme should introduce a slight modification of existing arrangements. Among the papers read, special attention should be called to one on "Henry Clay, the first Political Speaker of the House" by Miss Mary Parker Follett of Quincy, Massachusetts. Professor Barrett Wendell's dissection of the Boston Puritans was also interesting on account of its matter as well as its epigrammatic qualities.

The attendance on the meetings was good, though perhaps not so large as usual. At the closing session it was resolved to meet at Chicago in the summer of 1893, under the presidency of Dr. James B. Angell of the University of Michigan. The Association may congratulate itself upon the success of its work, not the least part of which will be found to consist in the friendly relations which American historians are enabled to form with one another under its auspices.

By the recent settlement of a New Jersey estate, a letter written by Rembrandt Peale, the painter, in March, 1854, a few years before his death, has been brought to light. It gives some interesting details concerning the painting of the famous portrait of Washington which was acquired by Congress and now adorns the capitol. The picture was painted by Peale when but eighteen years of age.

"When Washington sat to me in 1795, the latter part of September," runs the letter, "he came to my rooms at 7 o'clock; each time, as he entered, in the act of putting his watch in his fob, thus giving me an example of punctuality. My father, an old acquaintance, kept him in conversation, which enabled me to study his countenance. It was a period of some anxiety with him, as he was hesitating whether or not to sign Jay's treaty with England; and further, he was

doubtless disturbed by the publication of forged letters, which it was asserted were taken on the person of a runaway servant. No one ventured to speak with him on the subject, and he would not condescend, unasked, to deny them. My uncle, James Peale, a zealous politician, at the second sitting he gave me, bluntly addressed him: 'General, did you write those letters?' To which he replied, 'I never lost any letters. No servant of mine ever ran away from me.' He talked at ease on other subjects, but my uncle went out, telling his (Washington's) answer to everybody he knew, and in two hours all Philadelphia was relieved of scandal."

The excitement over John Jay's treaty was at its height at the time the portrait was painted. Jay was burned in effigy in Boston. Edmund Randolph, Washington's Secretary of State, had just been retired from the cabinet, on account of the intercepting of some despatches of the French minister. In view of the crisis he was passing through at the time, the Peale portrait is especially interesting, as contrasted with the Stuart picture, executed later on.

The "New Haven Palladium" is to be highly commended for its enterprise in gathering local traditions and scraps of history pertaining to its neighborhood. It maintains an historical column under the appropriate heading, "In Years Gone By," in which it presents to its readers many an interesting legend or episode of the past. In a recent issue it speaks of an engraving in the New Haven Historical Society rooms of a portrait of a wild African chieftain, known as Cinque or Cinquez. The original, painted by National Jocelyn, is now the property of Robert Purvis of Philadelphia.

A very romantic story is woven about this Cinque. Although an ignorant savage, he was a born leader of commanding presence, whose resolute spirit and energetic performance remind us of Mrs. Stowe's and George W. Cable's dusky heroes—Dread of the Dismal Swamp and Bras Coupe. He was kidnapped with others of his tribe on the west coast of Africa and brought to Havana in the spring of 1839. They were sold to two Cubans, Senors Buiz and Montez, who took them unshackled aboard a little coasting schooner—the now famous Amistad—en route for another Cuban port. For venturing to help themselves to the scant supply of provisions and water aboard, the poor wretches were whipped and finally told by the cook, in a stupid joke, that they were to be killed and eaten.

This aroused Cinque. He urged his companions, since they must die anyway, to make a strike for liberty. The attempt was made on the second night out. Some of the negroes had armed themselves with large knives or cane-cutters. In the melee the captain of the schooner died, after he had killed one assailant, by a stroke of Cinque's sinewy arm. The cook paid the forfeit of his life for his own ill-timed pleasantry, by the same hand. Montez, one of the Cuban owners, fell severely wounded. Buiz, the other owner, and Antonio, the cabin boy, were securely bound. The rest of the crew, fleeing for their lives, escaped in a boat. A painting of this scene by Hewins, ten by fifteen feet in size, hangs in the New Haven Historical Society rooms.

Cinque placed Buiz and Montez at the wheel by turns, directing them to sail eastward. They did so, perforce, by day; but at night cunningly turned the prow to the north Two months of this zigzag sailing brought them off Montank Point, Long Island, whence a United States cutter conveyed them to New Haven. This affair was the occasion of an international broil. The Spanish Government demanded the blacks as mutineers, and President Van Buren seemed inclined at first to deliver them over. But popular sympathy was aroused and money was provided for their defense. Such men as GovernorRoger

S. Baldwin and John Quincy Adams, championed their cause. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and finally in March, 1841, the brave negroes were unconditionally released. Funds were raised to convey them to Africa. Several of them had seemed converted to Christianity, but when returned to their native jungles, nearly all, and Cinque with the rest, relapsed into savagery.

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The coming Columbian Fair has given impetus to a vast amount of historical research of the most interesting character. Under this same incentive we are surprised to learn how easy it is to "discover" veritable historical relics. Three newspaper accounts have come under our notice lately of bells that are certainly entitled to be called historic, if the accounts are at all authentic. We would like it better if the stories with all their startling variations did not bear such a surprising resemblance to each other, It is not every day that we find ship's bells becoming church bells, and vice-versa. But we give the facts for what they are worth, leaving each reader to accept them or to remain skeptical as he chooses. The first bell is said to be now in daily use in a factory in Saylesville, R. I. It has, as is claimed, an interesting history; which it certainly is, if true. About four inches from its crown, a legend runs around it to the following effect: "*Peter Secest, Amsterdam, Anno* 1263, *Fecit.*" The account then proceeds:

"The date, together with other well-authenticated facts, lead to the belief that the bell was long used in a convent belfry in England, and was taken therefrom for public use during the Reformation." Then follows a most romantic story in which this same Peter Secest's bell appears on board of the Constitution in her famous fight with the Guerriere —and rings the hour on board of "Old Ironsides," after the Guerriere has surrendered.

From this pinacle of glory it descends, by the account, to the ignominy of a scrap heap in a great navy yard—to reappear once more to do service in a factory at Saylesville.

Another bell has a story hardly less romantic, not to say marvelous, and enjoys the added advantage of standing in close connection with the historic personage whose name is now and will be, till the fall of 1893, in everybody's mouth. We are transferred from Rhode Island to New Jersey, and find the world-renowned Alhambra and the great Isabella of Castile, brought into curious juxtaposition with an African Methodist Church and its worthy but dusky trustees. The account says that it hung in one of the towers of the Alhambra after the capture of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was presented to Columbus by Isabella, who placed it in the chapel which was the beginning of the great Cathedral of Carthegena. When Carthegena was sacked and destroyed it fell as a spoil to the French ship La Rochelle, which was wrecked on the island of San Andreas. The account adds naively "A few of the crew were saved, together with the bell." Then by mixed commercial and romantic channels, it finds its way at last to the belfry of the African Methodist Church in Haleyville, N. J.

The third bell also commends itself to the Columbian Fair. This time it is a fig tree that rescues the resonant object from oblivion. A Gothic 'F' lends color, (though with a rather feeble historical tinge), to the theory that Ferdinand presented it to Columbus; who brought it to the West Indies; where it was hung in the belfry of a church, which was destroyed by an earthquake; which rather tumbled the church about and mixed up the belfry with a young "parasitic" fig tree whose nature it is to clasp its branches about any object; whereby the bell rose into the air and swung and rung to the passing breezes for more than three centuries-. The account continues asfollows:

"More than three hundred years passed

away. One day a man espied the bell in the arms of the fig tree where it had been thus wonderfully preserved from falling to the ground and being buried out of sight. The bell was secured, and for a long time was preserved as a venerated relic—almost worshipped by the superstitious natives of Santo Domingo. It finally came into the possession of Padre Bellini, a patriotic priest of Santo Domingo city, who hung it in the chapel of his convent school. His heirs will loan it to the World's fair.

"This bell is of bronze, very small, but of elegant workmanship (eight inches high by six and a half across), and bears on the surface the image of San Miguel, to whom it is dedicated and the letter 'F' in old Gothic. From this Gothic 'F' it is inferred that it was a gift to Columbus from Ferdinand of Spain, husband of Queen Isabella. When the historian and antiquarian shall have passed their opinion upon this relic, it may be predicted that few objects pertaining to our early history will surpass it in interest."

It can be safely said that this would be true if that opinion should prove a favorable one.

One Columbian relic naturally leads to another. They are said to be preparing to fire a salute at Chicago in celebration of Columbus' discovery with a cannon that was originally intended to intimidate and perhaps blow out the brains of his son Don Diego. That estimable youth, by reason of the exalted distinctions conferred on his father, found it not difficult to unite himself in marriage with a peeress of proud Spain, Maria de Toledo. Thereafter invested with the governorship of the island of San Domingo, it was fitting that he should build a palace to accomodate so fair and noble a bride. But as he was building, the perverse notion seized his subjects that the palace might be intended to serve as a citadel as well, and to prevent this uncomfortable contingency they constructed a redoubt and planted a battery against the as yet incompleted residence of their Governor. By reason of a certain "innocuous desuetude" the redoubt fell into decay, the cannons tumbled one after another into the sea, but one of them considerately hid itself beneath the crumbling walls, only to be discovered under thirty feet of debris and was finally secured for the great Fair at Chicago. So that this anti-Columbian cannon may be on its way to the great city by the Lakes, to boom away to the honor of Diego's father, a pro-Columbian salute.

A curious document is cited in "The French in America," (reviewed in this number), which we do not remember having seen mentioned before, and which in a most remarkable manner foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence some thirty-three years. It is a pamphlet containing the proceedings of a convention of Pennsylvania Presbyterians, and has this somewhat verbose title: "A Renewal of the Covenants, National and Solemn League, A Confession of Sins, and an Engagement to Duties, and a Testimony, as they were carried out at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania, November 11, 1743." Among the resolutions adopted was the following: "We must guard, according to the rights which Jesus Christ has transmitted to us, our bodies and our property free from all unjust restraint." Also this: "King George II. has none of the qualifications for governing this country which the Scriptures require" With drawn swords and uplifted hands the convention solemnly swore "to protect our persons, our property and our consciences against all attacks, and to defend the Gospel of Christ and the Liberty of the Nation against enemies within and without" Evidently these bold laymen and divines were ripe for the revolution, little more than a quarter century later.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

"The Memorial History of the City of New York, from its first settlement to the year 1892. Edited by James Grant Wilson. Volume I. New York History Company, 1891.

It need not in the least be attributed to local prejudice to regard the story of the founding of New York more interesting and more romantic than that of any other city on the Atlantic border of the United States. To Plymouth, to Boston, to Jamestown, to Charlestown, colonists simply came and settled. The country was known before they came, and had been known for a long time. There were no questions of previous discoveries: there was no great vital water-way half seen and then again hidden from observation for nearly a century. But three navigators contend for the glory of the discovery of the harbor, the bay or the site of New York, and scholars hesitate as to whom belongs the crown. To the towns or sections of our republic first mentioned came a people well-known to all our citizens, whose language we speak, whose manners and customs we have largely inherited. To New York came a kindred race, but of a different language, and customs also different; a people whose history has only recently been made at all widely known by the brilliant pages of one of our own countrymen. And thus made known, the deeply interesting fact advances to the foreground that the colonists who founded New York came not as refugees from political or religious oppression; came not as the subjects of a king to conquer savage wilds at his bidding. They came the free citizens of a Republic which taught lessons to the founders of our own; they came in the bold, enterprising pursuit of a commerce which embraced the ends of the earth.

Now such facts being involved in the story of New York, that story at once assumes a more than local significance. It appeals to students of history throughout our land. And none the less does this larger interest belong to the history of this one city, because that city has become the Metropolis of the Hemisphere which was still *new* when it was founded.

The Memorial History is written on the co-operative plan. Prof. Jameson, of Johns Hopkins, has recently given us a careful estimate of the advantages of that plan of writing history. Whatever it may sacrifice in the way of unity of style or of treatment, there is the overtopping consideration of the larger results which are made possible by "division of labor." So in the history before us—as in that of Boston—several hands have gathered the fruits of knowledge, of research, of diligent inquiry, of personal visiting of scenes, or examination of original papers or letters. Much that was hitherto hidden in printed or unprinted documentary collections, has thus inevitably come into view, interweaving itself with an added vividness among those leading and patent events which each historian must needs repeat. There is in this volume with chapters from so many authors, a diversity, perhaps some inequality of style. But there is one quality that is delightfully and assuringly uniform—a quality which will of course commend itself to the seeker after historical information rather than after literary finish, and that is, the unvaried industry of each writer on Gen-

eral Wilson's staff in collecting his facts; in gathering such (if it were possible in his department) as had not been recorded before; or in throwing side lights upon permanent occurrences from an examination of original sources even in the study of these. Here no doubt appears the impress of the editorial supervision, giving this leading and commanding aim of the Memorial History as the cue to each writer before any chapter was entrusted to him. The advantages of Gen. Wilson's previous experience as editor of the widely known and eminently valuable Cyclopedia of American Biography came into play here, and while not the author but the editor of this volume, credit for the whole is for this reason his due.

In the pages of this first volume of the Memorial History, the first century of its existence is considered. The circumstances noted at the beginning of this review are duly emphasized in no less than four chapters. The importance of this preliminary view fully warrants this large space devoted to it. Here the reader is led into careful and exhaustive discussions of explorations of the coast previous to Hudson's voyage and leading up to it. The curtain is next appropriately lifted upon the solemn yet savage solitudes which preceeded the most busy scenes, in so small a compass, upon the whole continent at the present day. There is nothing more striking or even poetic than the mere thought of this contrast between "Manhattan Island in the sixteenth century" (the title of the illustration which heads the chapter on the Indian dwellers on Manhattan), and that same island in the nineteenth. As we now approach the coming of Hudson, a long look is cast across the ocean and upon the country and the people whence the Half-Moon came. An understanding of their conditions, their institutions, their triumphs, is important for the comprehension of the colony they were here soon to establish, of the city they were here soon to found--and any one at all familiar with the peculiar forms or circumstances attending the planting of Manhattan Island will appreciate at once that a necessary part of the volume must be a careful review of the constitution and history of the Dutch West India Company. We are now ready to follow the progress of Henry Hudson, all unconscious of the great thing he was to do, "led in a way that he knew not," starting from Amsterdam, to find China by the way of Nova Zembla and Siberian coasts, and "fetching up" so to speak on the mud flats before Hudson or Albany: then, *and not till then*—convinced that there were no straits through North America, conducting to fabulous Cathay.

Now the history of the spot covered by the Queen of American commerce properly begins, and the subsequent plan of the volume is to treat the administrations of the successive governors. This allows one to watch in detail the gradual advancement of the great city from the little hamlet of houses nestling under the walls of the fort. Each governor in those early times necessarily made a distinct impression for good or ill upon the fortunes of the infant enterprise. The Dutch Directors-General were four in number, and each strongly different in mental or moral characteristics from the other. But whether energetic or indolent, whether weak or firm, whether honest or otherwise (and one at least was otherwise), their influence was overshadowed and their efforts handicapped by the great West India Company—the powerful Trade-trust, which saw in Manhattan Colony a commercial venture much more than an experiment in politics. The writers on this period have done full justice to this curious, perhaps anomalous complication of circumstances, which in itself forms one of the most instructive and fascinating subjects for the historical student.

But the Dutch sway passed away, the English came upon the scene, and at once a new development began. And this too is in line with the remarkable cosmopolitan character of New York City. As the editor remarks

in the preface; "the Hollanders, the Huguenots of France, and the English were the chief founders." That great amalgamation of races which now is going on over the whole extent of our Continental Republic, was being realized on a small scale on Manhattan Island. It succeeded well, as the reader of these pages is abundantly enabled to perceive. And we must observe again, that this, at present, National circumstance in epitome here, lifts the history of this city above its local bounds and places it before the whole Republic as a study of historical evolution, of social philosophy, and of race-fusion. It is mainly on this ground that in this review we are warranted in devoting so much space to this volume.

"THE FRENCH IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1777–1783." By Thomas Balch: Translated by Thomas Willing Balch. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates: 1891. Vol. I.

This work well illustrates the greater interest and superior value which attaches to a small segment of history completely told, as compared with an attempt, however well executed, to set forth the outlines of an extended period. The one method gives us a bony skeleton, the other clothes its structure with flesh and blood. From the interesting monograph of Mr. Balch upon the part played by the French in the Revolution, with its full coloring of incident, and minutiæ and detail of operations, undoubtedly we derive a truer as well as more entertaining conception of the entire struggle for independence than any more complete but conventional catalogue or synopsis of events could furnish.

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch in his preface tells us that the present work was conceived by his father during the years between 1854 or thereabouts, and 1859, when he was engaged in editing three volumes of Revolutionary and Colonial documents for the Pennsylvania Historical Society. "In sifting the manuscript from which the materials for these volumes were drawn, his attention was called to the fact that the share which France had taken in the establishment of the independence of the United States had not been thoroughly studied or fairly narrated." To correct this deficiency he visited Paris in 1859, hoping to re-enforce the materials which he had on hand. He obtained access "to a large and valuable, in many cases till then, unused collection of documents," and a number of original and important but unpublished manuscripts, both French and American, many of them being the journals of actors in the scene narrated. Through this medium an exceedingly interesting and instructive panorama of pictures of Americans and American life of the Revolutionary period is afforded us, as viewed by educated French eyes. The second volume, yet to be published, will be especially rich in this direction, although the book before us (published in Paris in 1872, and now for the first time translated into English) has worked the same vein to a considerable extent, and with excellent results.

Thus volume second, yet to appear, will principally consist of historical notices of the French regiments in America, biographical notices of the French officers and "many episodes and interesting details, among which will be found a sketch of American society at that period, as it appeared to the French officers, who speak in their MSS. and letters of the private life of a great number of notable American families." Volume I, which we have examined, presents an intelligent summary of Revolutionary events from a French standpoint to 1781, with an insight into the policy and attitude of France; and a complete and detailed account of the transactions of the French on this continent from that year to the end of the war.

In presenting the part which Calvinism played in teaching a love of freedom and fomenting the colonists to independence, Mr. Balch emphasizes the influence of the Huguenots, through whom indirectly, France thus

early contributed a factor in the evolution to freedom. When the issue came to war this people had in their blood the traditional hatred of France for England to re-enforce their determination to stand for what they deemed just and right in the sight of God and man. The stern religious faith of Huguenots and Puritans alike, their acceptance of the Scriptures as the sole arbiter of right, their assertion of their right to judge, and their readiness to denounce and contend against even kings where these potentates transgressed what they considered the commands of God, were, indeed, a fundamental and mighty force in shaping the alienation of the colonists.

The researches of Mr. Balch have thrown light upon another point of interest, by disclosing the secret policy of the French Government in fomenting the discontent of the colonists for some years previous to the war. This was the idea of the very able French minister, Choiseul, whose energy and ability rebuilt the French navy after its apparent irreparable annihilation and the utter prostration of the nation by the disaster of the Seven Year's War. During the years that he was accomplishing this and refilling the depleted French exchequers, he secretly dispatched various able agents to America to arouse the colonists against England. Pontleroy in 1764, and again under the assumed name of "Beaulieu" in 1766, was sent on such an errand; and Baron de Kalb, afterward killed in the battle of Camden, originally came to the colonies on the same secret mission. His instruction, dated April 12, 1767, required him, according to our author, "to ascertain what were the needs of the colonists for artillery officers and engineers, as well as for military stores and provisions. He was to study and stimulate the desire of the colonists to break with the English Government, to inform himself about their resources in troops and intrenched forts, about their projects of revolt, and the leaders whom they expected to put at their head." This agrees well with the fact that at the very outset of the Revolution and long before the efforts of Franklin and Deane had secured a formal alliance, the French Government connived at, if it did not instigate and procure the sending of arms and provisions, secretly, to America.

Mr. Balch is peculiarly well fitted to treat his double theme, with an equal regard for the pride and interests of both France and the United States. He is evidently proud of his French blood and antecedents, but is quite as proud of his American citizenship and jealous that our national honor shall be scrupulously maintained before his French audience. This is well illustrated in his treatment of La Fayette, who is revered as an unselfish patriot and lover of freedom in this country, but quite generally despised as a coward and time-server in France, because he neither excused the oppressions of the times of Louis XVI., nor could sanction the murder of that unfortunate monarch nor the thousand other sanguinary horrors of the French Revolution, under the bloody dictatorship of Robespierre and his confederates. Mr. Balch justly accepts the American estimate of La Fayette, and yet has a sympathetic understanding of the French misconception. He hopes to correct the French view, by gently pointing out to his relatives across the water, just how they arrived at their hasty and false judgment. We quote some sentences in this connection: "The intentions of the worthy man who interposes between the parties ready to tear each other to pieces, are generally misunderstood by all. . . . La Fayette was necessarily sacrificed in his character of go-between and mediator between the partisans of liberal royalty and extreme Republicanism. . . . The rank which he occupied, as well as the popularity which he enjoyed, led him to believe that he could guide the existing state of affairs, and in case of need control it. . . . He foresaw neither the excesses to which the people were soon to go, nor the

resistance which royalty was to oppose to progress. . . . He lost, at the same time, the favor of the court which treated him as an enemy, and the affection of the people who considered him a traitor. . . . Whilst in France his military talents are disputed, and his disinterestedness is styled a farce, and his liberalism is called calculation; the Americans erect monuments to him and gratefully associate his name with that of Washington."

Our author hopes eventually, for a correction of the injustice of the French toward the memory of their distinguished countryman. "In America," he writes, "the judgment of posterity has begun for La Fayette. His memory is venerated; his reputation is free from every stain. But in his own country he is not, and cannot be judged yet, impartially. The dissensions born of the struggle of 1789, and the massacre of 1793, are not yet allayed. The French Revolution is not finished. Civil equality is secured, but political liberty is always in dispute." It is noticeable that while La Fayette is misjudged in France, Washington is venerated, in America, as the perfect type and ideal of nobility and patriotism. He has been even figured on the French stage as the hero of numerous dramas. And yet we know that while Washington would have sympathized, as did La Fayette, with the efforts of the people against oppression, yet the eminent Frenchman could not have surpassed him in abhorrence for the tyrannous sway and horrible and innumerable crimes perpetrated in the name of justice and freedom by the bloody guillotine-reformers.

When the French troops reached Philadelphia on the march to besiege Yorktown, we have a description of the capital, and at that time metropolis of the revolted colonies. The Prince de Broglie, who tested the hospitality of Philadelphia, speaks of "the pretty complexions and the good breeding of almost all the women," and mentions the same habit of universal tea drinking which had been noted of Boston as well. The French minister, Luzerne, took him to tea at the home of Mrs. Robert Morris, wife of the Comptroller-General of the United States. He thus describes the affair: "Her house is simple, but well furnished and neat. * * I drank excellent tea, and I should even now be drinking it, I believe, had not the amassador [De La Luzerne] charitably notified me at the twelfth cup, that I must put my spoon across my cup, when I wished to finish with this sort of torture of warm water. 'For,' he said to me, 'it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you as it would be indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her what your intentions are on this point.'"

The Prince took a rather cynical view of the Colonial Congress. According to his opinion, the reason why "the assemblies of the several States seemed to avoid sending to Congress the men most distinguished for their talents," was that "if, at the opening of the Revolution, the most active minds and most vigorous personalities had been chosen members of the general assembly, they would have led the others and made their own opinions alone prevail;" while, on the other hand, "the persons of ability had discovered the secret of obtaining for themselves the important offices, governorships and other valuable posts, and therefore had deserted Congress." Continuing in this sarcastic strain he adds: "Of the men who appeared to me to possess much intellect and strength of mind among those whom I met in Philadelphia, was a Mr. Morris, surnamed 'Governor' [Governeur]. He is well informed and speaks French pretty well; however, I think that his superior abilities which he has not concealed with sufficient care, will prevent his ever occupying an important office." Yet notwithstanding the Prince's claim of our forefather's care to select stupid men for office, Mr. Morris for a long term served as United States Minister to France.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

A monthly meeting of the California Historical Society (San Francisco), was held on Jan. 12th. Dr. Taylor presided and a paper prepared by Amos W. Bishop of Oakland was read. It was entitled "Sketch of an Early California Mission."

The Indiana Historical Society, (Indianapolis) held its annual meeting Dec. 31st. It has largely increased its membership and has taken a fresh interest in the perpetuation of Indiana history, especially that of the pioneer period. The Society has made arrangements to publish its current historical papers. The Society is over fifty years old. Its latest pamphlet is on "The Rank of Charles Osborne as an Anti-Slavery Pioneer" by Hon. George W. Julian, and is really an account of the rise of the Abolition movement in this country.

The Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka) held its annual meeting on January 19. Addresses were made by President Emery and Dr. McVicar, of Washburn College. Ex-Gov. Thos. A. Osborne was elected President and F. G. Adams re-elected Secretary.

The Maine Historical Society (Portland) held their session on January 21. Among the papers read was the following: The Ancient Town of Augusta Near the Mouth of the Kennebec. By Henry W. Wheeler, of Brunswick.

Notes on Pre-Columbian Discovery. By James P. Baxter.

Samuel Denny of Ancient Georgetown. By Parker M. Reed, of Bath.

The Maryland Historical Society is still actively interested in the selection of a successor to its late President, J. H. B. Latrobe. Mr. Wallis and Gen. Johnson have been formerly put in nomination. The election occurs at the February meeting.

The 38th annual meeting of the Old Colony Historical Society (Taunton, Mass.) was held on January 13.

The following officers were elected. President Dr. S. Hopkins Emory; Cor. Secretary Charles A. Reed; Historiographer E. H. Reed.

The Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul) held its annual meeting on January 11. Gov. Ramsey presided. Hon. Moses K. Armstrong presented a very valuable manuscript volume, being a journal of Gen. Harney's expedition against the Indians in 1855, illustrated with maps drawn with the pen. Secretary Williams read his annual report. This shows a condition of great prosperity. The library has now over 20,000 bound volumes and more unbound. The Society has an ample income, a large active membership, and has won an honorable place by its publications and its historical work.

The annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, (Nebraska City), was held on January 12th. Hon. W. H. Eller of Blair, prepared a paper on Old Fort Calhoun, which was read by Secretary Caldwell. The paper threw considerable light on this, the earliest military post of Nebraska, as it was written from personal research and observation. The session ended with a most in-

teresting address by Hon. J. Sterling Morton, on "A Trip from Nebraska City to Salt Lake City in 1855."

The Oneida Historical Society, N. Y., held its annual meeting on Jan. 12. Gen. C. W. Darling read the report which shows active historical interest. The Society has appointed a committee to secure an appropriation from the legislature to properly care for and distinguish the resting place of the revolutionary hero, Gen. Herkimer.

The Buffalo Historical Society, N. Y., held its annual meeting on January 12. Joseph C. Greene, the retiring president, was succeeded by George S. Hazard. Geo. W. Townsend was elected secretary. The flags of the 100th Regiment received by them from the Board of Trade in 1862 and carried through the war, were presented to the Society by Major Stowits and accepted by Geo. S. Hazard, in a patriotic and eloquent address.

The annual meeting of the Dover Historical Society, N. H., was held on January 20. Hon. Charles H. Sawyer was elected president, and A. G. Whittemore, secretary.

The annual meeting of the Buck's County Historical Society, Pa., was held on January 19. Interesting historical papers were read by I. A. Anders on "The Schwenkfelders"—and by Rev. J. G. Dengler and Gen. W. W. H. Davis.

The annual meeting of the Dauphin County Historical Society, (Harrisburg, Pa.,) was held on January 14. A. Boyd Hamilton was elected president, and Dr. Wm. H. Egle, corresponding secretary.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, (Pittsburg), held its monthly meeting on January 22. A very interesting paper on the "Early History of the Sewickly Valley," was read by Rev. James Allison.

The 70th annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, (Providence), was held on January 12. President Horatio Rogers delivered the annual address, which stated that the Society has never attained to greater prosperity and strength than it has now.

The West Virginia Historical Society held its annual meeting on January 20. Dr. J. P. Hale was elected president and V. A. Lewis, secretary.

The Virginia Historical Society as mentioned last month held its general meeting in Richmond December 21.

The following programme sufficiently attests the historical interest of this meeting.

Monday evening, December 21st, "Early Revolutionary History of Virginia," 1773–'74, by Prof. James Mercer Garnett; University of Virginia; "Historic Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort," by Prof. John B. Henneman, Hampden-Sidney College, Va.; "Notes on Recent Work in Southern History," by Prof. William P. Trent; University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; "Catalogue of Epitaphs on Ancient Tombstones in York, James City and Warwick Counties, Va.," by Prof. J. L. Hall, William and Mary College, Va.

Tuesday evening, December 22d: "The First Election of Washington to the House of Burgesses," by Hon. R. T. Barton, Winchester, Va.; "The Old Brick Church, Smithfield, Va.," built in 1632, by Hon. R. S. Thomas, Smithfield, Va.; "Richmond's First Academy," projected by M. Quesday de Beaurepaire, in 1786, by Mr. Richard Heyward Gaines, Richmond, Va.; "Agriculture in Virginia during the First Twenty Years of the Colony," by Mr. Philip A. Bruce, Richmond, Va.; "Some Unpublished Facts Relating to Bacon's Rebellion in Accomac

County, Va.," by Mr. F. P. Brent, Virginia; "Thomas Hansford, the First American Martyr to Liberty," by Mrs. Annie Tucker Tyler.

Prof. Garnett in his paper dwelt on the part Virginia played in bringing on the war of Independence. "It used to be said, that Massachusetts should share with Virginia the honor of the commencement of the revolution. It cannot be denied that Massachusetts first began letters of correspondence, because letters were sent to Virginia by that colony. Virginia promoted the rebellion however, for it was she who sent out letters of correspondence to the other colonies existing at that time."

Mr. Bruce's paper was full of fresh and entertaining points. He demonstrated that many of the methods to which we are now indebted for our great agricultural supremacy had their birth at this time and have really undergone few changes. The agricultural developments during this period, contended Mr. Bruce, bear a close relation to all of the future developments along this line. All subsequent work had experienced the usefulness of the plantation period.

Mr. Barton's paper graphically described elections in which Washington was a candidate, and showed that the conduct of elections in those days were dependent on equally as peculiar conditions as they are at this period, and that the Father of Our Country suffered defeat at the hands of his opponents through the influence of a whiskey dealer in one campaign at least, before he gained his first seat in the House of Burgesses.

Mrs. Tyler's paper contained some new and valuable facts regarding the history of Thomas Hansford and his family.

Prof. Henneman's interesting paper is presented in this number.

from France, had emigrated to Holland. The Director retained two votes in the Council while La Montagne had but one; an advisory board was summoned in times of danger, but from the constitution of the Council it is evident that Kieft was practically absolute ; and all attempts at appeal from his decisions were regarded with suspicion and often visited with punishment. The personnel of the government was completed by the appointment as Provincial Secretary, of Cornelius Van Tienhoven, and of Ulrich Lupold, as "Schoutfiscal," or prosecuting and executive officer, to compel the execution of the laws of the Company and the ordinances and regulations of the Council.

The appearance of the little capital-town of the province was discouraging, and not such as to give the new Director a favorable idea of its past or future prosperity. Fort Amsterdam was in a dilapidated condition, and the guns were for the most part dismantled; the public buildings were in need of repair, and all but one of the windmills were out of order; the Company's bouweries were untenanted, and the cattle belonging to them had been scattered and appropriated, perhaps to a great extent by Van Twiller himself, whose farms at least were well stocked; and much other property of the company had been taken without authority.

While Van Twiller had been busy enriching himself (he continued to do so, even after the arrival of his successor), the public interests had evidently suffered greatly under his administration, and the new Director soon found that great abuses had entered into public affairs. The company's employees had been trading in furs on their own account, instead of attending to their duties and observing the prescribed regulations; smuggling was common, guns and ammunition had been furnished to the Indians, the town was in a disorderly state, through the insurbordination of soldiers and the rioting of sailors and denizens. Against all these irregularities and crimes the Director immediately enacted severe ordinances; a regular guard or police was maintained, and there was every indication that he would administer his office, not only with good judgment, but with a strong hand.

There arose now, in the minds of the States-General grave apprehension of future trouble with the New England settlements and with those of the Swedes, as it was likely that political complications might arise therefrom with their home governments. Since 1630, there was a downward tendency of the fortunes of the West India Company; the rich galleons of Spain no longer supplied wealth to its coffers, and the subsidies promised in its charter were largely in arrears, and so incapable appeared the company of successfully maintaining even its territory along the North River, that a project was set

on foot by the States-General to take control for political purposes, of the entire Province of New Netherland, and to obtain the relinquishment by the company of its rights therein. To this application, the company, having a valuable independent charter, refused to accede. The condition of the Province however, was so unsatisfactory at this time that it was deemed necessary to make some changes of policy, so as to invite a greater immigration. The Amsterdam Chamber consequently, established a new system; and by an ordinance of 1638, yielded in part its monopoly of trade, and sent special orders to the Director to make liberal arrangements with such new colonists as might arrive and desire to acquire land. These concessions were attended with excellent results, and new settlers arrived in great numbers, not only from Europe, but from Virginia and New England.

Among others who arrived (in December, 1638) was David Pietersen De Vries, formerly an officer in the Dutch service, who had visited the colony three times before. He was a native of Hoorn, a man of superior practical knowledge and sagacity, and an experienced soldier and navigator. De Vries immediately transported the people he had brought with him to Staten Island, and began a small colony there, and soon afterwards settled on Manhattan Island, about two Dutch miles above the fort. Two other personages, who were to take active part in the affairs of the settlement, also arrived at New Amsterdam in the year 1639; Joachim Petersen Kuyter, a man of military experience and of active character, and Cornelius Melyn, who came on a visit of inspection in a vessel bringing a cargo of cattle.

Prosperity now seemed assured to New Netherland, and numerous grants to settlers were made, not only on the island, but in surrounding districts. The Company's bouweries were put in order, stocked with cattle and leased; and more than thirty farms came under active cultivation.

In the meanwhile, the English colonists were looking with envious eyes upon the fertile regions of the Connecticut Valley, and they adopted measures for dispossessing the Dutch of their lands, not only on the Connecticut, but to the east of the lower portion of the North River. A settlement had been planted in 1638, at a place called Roodenberg, or Red Hill; and the foundation of the colony of New Haven was laid. De Vries states in his account that, in June, 1639, he anchored at New Haven, where, to his surprise, he found about three hundred houses built and a fine church. Hartford was already a flourishing settlement. Other English emigrants soon after established themselves in the region about what is now known as Norwalk, Stamford and Greenwich, interfering with the lands appertaining to the Dutch settlement at Fort Good Hope, on the Fresh

Water or Connecticut River, and which had been purchased of the Indians in 1632–33, as well as the lands at the mouth of the river.

On account of these continued encroachments, the Director thought it expedient at this time to fortify the title of the company to lands on the East River by purchasing from the aborigines all the mainland and the outlying islands extending northeast of the Great Kill or Harlem River, as far as the inlet at Norwalk.

English settlers in the mean time, had made extensive purchases at the eastern portion of Long Island, and sought to take possession of a portion of the island to the west, which had been granted to the Dutch by the Indians. Against these proceedings the Director took active measures, and sent a small military expedition, which soon drove away, without bloodshed, the English trespassers and maintained the sovereignty of the company over their Long Island possessions. It is to be remarked that Kieft in his instructions, ordered, "Above all things to take care that no blood be shed." In this instance at least, he showed prudence and humanity. The English occupation at the eastern part of the island still continued however, and the towns of Southampton and Southold commenced their career.

In July 1640, some Raritan Indians were falsely accused of taking certain property on Staten Island, and of attacking a trading yacht. Without investigation, and with his usual disregard of consequences, the Director sent an expedition against them. Another of the occurrences that now precipitated hostile feelings between the Dutch and the aborigines was an unprovoked attack by some Raritan Indians on De Vries' plantation on Staten Island, in which four of the settlers were killed. This occurred in September, 1641. Another tribe had also become hostile, through the following occurrence. A wheelwright named Claes Smits, or Switz, who occupied a small house at Deutel Bay, a remote region on the East River, was murdered in cold blood by a Weckquaesgeck savage who had long meditated a bloody revenge against the Dutch, on account of the killing of his uncle, some sixteen years previously, near the Fresh Water pond. As the Weckquaesgecks refused to deliver the murderer, it was proposed to declare open hostilities against them. Before active measures were taken however, the Director resolved to take counsel with prominent members of the community, to avoid assuming the sole responsibility for the result. He accordingly sent out the following notice dated on the 23rd of August, 1641: "The Director-General of New Netherland informs herewith all heads or masters of families living in this vicinity that he wishes them to come to Fort Amsterdam on Thursday, the 29th of August, for the consideration of some important and necessary matters."

In March, 1642, the long-projected expedition against the Weckquaesgecks was sent out. It consisted of eighty men under the command of Ensign Van Dyck, an officer of the fort, the Director prudently refraining from heading the forces. The expedition crossed the Harlem River and entered the Westchester region, with orders to punish the savages with fire and sword, but, owing to a mistake in the route and the darkness of the night, the settlement of the Indians was not reached, and the ensign ordered a retreat to New Amsterdam. The savages were intimidated by these martial measures, peace was concluded, and formally signed at the house of Jonas Bronck, the prosperous colonist on the Bronx river. A new occurrence however, served as a spark in bringing this hostile feeling once more into active play. A Hackingsack Indian, under some small grievance, had deliberately shot a Dutch colonist who was at work at Van der Horst's plantation, near the Hackingsack and North Rivers. Although the chiefs of the tribe to which the savage belonged offered to come to the fort and make compensation in the shape of blood money, the Director demanded, as the sole reparation, that the murderer should be delivered at the fort.

A body of the formidable Mahicans had, in the meantime, appeared from their castles in the north, to collect tribute from the Westchester and River tribes, and drove before them a host of terrified Indian fugitives, who took refuge, some on De Vries' plantation at Vriesendael, some among the Hackingsacks on the west side of the river, and others on different parts of Manhattan Island, particularly at the plantation called Corlaer's or Curler's Hoeck, on the East River. The Director, instead of conciliating and protecting these savages who had taken refuge in his territory—a policy which would have commended itself to a man of better judgment—determined to inflict punishment for the murder of Smits and of Van Voorst, the workman at Pavonia. The expedition which proceeded to the Jersey shore made a murderous midnight attack upon a body of the refugee Tapaens unsuspicious of any danger from the whites, and relentlessly slaughtered, mostly in their sleep, over eighty men, women and children, with attendant circumstances of wanton cruelty. The shrieks of the victims were heard even at the fort. The other expedition attacked the unfortunate cowering refugees at Corlaer's Hoeck, who were surprised in their sleep, and at least forty of them were destroyed—neither women nor infants being spared. These occurrences happened on the nights of the 27th and 28th of February.

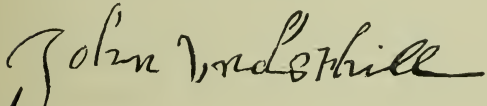
There was much exultation at Fort Amsterdam on the return of the two expeditions with their prisoners and trophies; rewards were conferred on the soldiers and congratulations exchanged for a work in which heroism

bore no part. The dark side of the future was concealed; and a Nemesis stood near, who was to smite the land with desolation and blood for deeds as barbarous and unjust as they were impolitic.

All the savages in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam were now aroused to bitter enmity, and became united against their common foe. Upwards of eleven tribes were soon in combination for the destruction of the whites, both at New Amsterdam and its vicinity. Settlements were attacked and devastated, cattle and crops were destroyed, houses burned, and the families on the farms were slaughtered without mercy, or carried into captivity; and every plantation in New Netherland was exposed to destruction. The affrighted people fled to the fort for safety, and many abandoned the colony for the Fatherland. Roger Williams, who was in New Amsterdam at the time, taking ship for Europe, was a witness to the desolation and havoc that prevailed. "Before we weighed anchor," he records, "mine eyes saw the flames at their towns, and the flights and hurries of men, women, and children, and the present removal of all that could for Holland." In a short time only three bouweries remained entire on the Manhattan Island, and two on Staten Island. All the male colonists at Manhattan were now enrolled as soldiers under pay, and peace was sought to be made with the Long Island Indians, but it was at first scornfully rejected. Later, however, (March. 1643), they showed a disposition towards peace, and sent delegates to the fort. They had acted heretofore in hostility, because some of their tribe had been slaughtered at Corlaer's Hoeck, and others at Amersfoort. The courageous De Vries, who always had the goodwill and confidence of the Indians, and one Jacob Olfertsen volunteered to go to one of their settlements to treat with them, although it was a hazardous duty. The terms of the peace were that all injuries mutually received should be considered forgiven, and no further molestation should be made on either side; and the Indians were to give notice of any plots by other savages not represented in the treaty.

But the troubles of the Province with the aborigines had not ceased. There was still rancor against the Dutch, and a lingering brooding discontent that presaged harm, and kept the Colony in a continual state of alarm. The authorities determined therefore, to put an end to the menacing troubles by earnest and energetic efforts to crush the power of the natives. After one or two vigorous attacks on the Indians of Long Island and Westchester, Captain Underhill and Ensign Van Dyck were now dispatched, in midwinter (1644), on an expedition against the Connecticut Indians, and accomplished the most important undertaking of the war. Landing at Greenwich from three

yachts, the expedition made a difficult and perilous march through a wilderness, impeded by snow and the rocks over which the men were obliged to crawl, and arriving at night at a stronghold of the savages, boldly charged them, sword in hand. The Indians, gathered in large numbers prepared for attack, offered a desperate resistance, and repeatedly made sallies against the Dutch forces from behind their palisades. Nearly two hundred warriors were killed in the encounter, and their village having been fired by Underhill's orders,



upwards of three hundred more of the savages were shot down or driven back into the flames. The next morning the victors marched back over the toilsome route, and passing through Stamford, after a journey of two days and a night in reaching that place, returned to Fort Amsterdam, where they were received with triumphant rejoicing, and the Director issued a proclamation of Thanksgiving for the victory, which, at that critical time, was of great importance to the Colony.

The punishment inflicted upon the Indians by the Dutch settlers and soldiers and their English auxiliaries made a strong impression on the red men. The savages however, seeing no further efforts were made against them, became again insolent and aggressive; and parties, roving day and night over the island of Manhattan, practically confined the inhabitants within the palisades and fort.

The continuance of the troubles at New Amsterdam, which was claimed to be the result of the Director's inability to cope with the situation, or, as some of his enemies spitefully hinted, of connivance with the savages, and his arbitrary action in general, made such an impression on the community and so influenced his eight advisers that they, led by Melyn, forwarded in October, 1644, a memorial to the States-General for his recall, and after narrating the Indian massacres, petitioned, at the same time, for a system of government like that appertaining to the municipalities in Holland. Melyn also sent a letter giving his partial version of affairs. The language of the memorial of the eight men presented a gloomy picture of the state of the Province; it recites the former peaceable condition and friendly disposition of the Indians, under the administration of Van Twiller. They request that a new Governor may be sent out and magistrates appointed, or that they all, with their wives and families, be allowed to return to Holland.

The memorials of Melyn and of the eight men of Kieft's Council of October, 1644, made a strong impression on the directors, and the whole subject was referred to the Amsterdam

chamber, for its further investigation and report. The directors of the company came to the conclusion that the state of the colony was such, and Kieft's incapability so manifest, that either a new director should be sent over, or the colonists be transported to Holland and the Colony abandoned. It was, in the end, determined to recall Kieft, and to appoint, provisionally, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen in his place. The Chamber of Accounts, to whom the affairs of the province were referred for a particular investigation, reported, after a long review of the history of the Colony, that its then ruinous condition was due immediately to the unnecessary Indian wars promoted by Kieft, the separation of the colonists, and the imposition of tribute on the Indians; and concluded that although the Colony, instead of being a source of profit, had cost the Company, from 1626 to 1644 inclusive, a net loss, the Company could not, decently or consistently abandon it. The bureau made certain recommendations for the future government of the Province, and among other things recommended that the fort was in such a state that it should be rebuilt of stone.

The condition of the Colony of New Netherland, in the spring of 1645, was far from prosperous. Instead of fulfilling the promise of development and increase indicated at the commencement of the administration, the settlement of the island had been retarded, the population had declined, immigration had almost ceased, trade had been suspended, farms had been abandoned, cattle destroyed, and the people discontented and mutinuous. All the evils resulting from five years of war, with an interval of only a few months of peace, had been experienced by the unfortunate Colony. During the last two years it was estimated that over sixteen hundred Indians had been killed; and not much over one hundred white men remained on the Island of Manhattan. Some had gone to Fort Orange; many had returned to Holland. All the settlements of the west side of the North River had been destroyed—the Westchester region had been abandoned, and devastated plantations testified to the ruin; and the whole Dutch territory of Long Island bore evidence of the assaults of the savages.

But peace was now again to smile upon distracted New Netherland. The Indians were in trouble from the neglect of their annual crops; and a treaty was made in May, 1645, with some of the neighboring savages of Long Island. Many of the more distant Indians on Long Island soon after came to terms. Then the Director, in July 1645, went with his faithful Councilor, La Montagne, up the river, to Fort Orange; and arrangements for peace were made with the hostile nation of the Mahicans, and other tribes of the upper river. Peace was also concluded with the tribes in the vicinity of the Island of

Manhattan ; and as the terms of the pacification were submitted to the public, the joy was great and the approval general.

On the 25th of August, 1645, Sachems from the various tribes and the magnates of the colony, sitting in the open air within the crumbling walls of the fort, ratified the terms of the general pacification. There were present Mohawk ambassadors, with their interpreter, giving assent for the great Iroquois confederacy. Among the signers to the treaty were Kieft, La Montagne, Underhill, Aepjen, Sachem of the Mahicans, by his mark and also, by their marks, the Sachems Oratary, Auronge, Sespechemis, and Willem of Tapaan. By the terms of the peace all future aggressions or injuries by the Indians or the Dutch were to be referred to their respective rulers for redress. No armed Indian was, in the future, to visit the settlements on the Island ; and the Dutch, on their part, were to refrain from visiting the Indian villages without permission, unless conducted by one of the tribe. Among the pleasing features of the Treaty was a stipulation for the return of a little captive daughter of Anne Hutchinson, for whom a ransom was to be paid.

The settlers on the outlying plantations of the neighborhood and the farmers on Manhattan Island now began to return to their respective locations and to collect such of their stock or other property as could be found. The English minister, Doughty, and his associates repossessed themselves of their plantation at Mespat ; and Lady Moody and her Anabaptist friends received a formal patent of the region which they had planted and valiently defended at "Gravesend," with power to establish a town government.

The directors of the Company in Holland, made fully aware of the unfortunate condition of the Province and the unpopularity of Kieft, had, some time since, determined to make a change in its government. The provisional appointment of Van Dincklagen was revoked and it was resolved to appoint Peter Stuyvesant as the successor of Kieft. The new government did not, however, go immediately into effect, and Kieft remained as Director for a year beyond Stuyvesant's appointment, although his unpopularity continued, and his personal hostility to the principal inhabitants was increased by a knowledge of the communications which had been forwarded to the home Government, as before recited.

In February, 1646, there arrived at New Amsterdam from the Colony at Rensselaerswyck, where he had filled the office of Shout Fiscal, Adrian Van der Donk, who had been educated at Leyden and admitted a doctor both of the civil and canon law. Van der Donk during the early period of Stuyvesant's administration, published an extended pamphlet which he had compiled, commonly called the "Vertoogh ;" being a representa-

tion of the condition of New Netherland, and criticizing unfavorably the Kieft administration. This work is a valuable authority to writers on the Kieft period.

New difficulties now occurred on the South River and on the Schuylkill, where the Swedes and other settlers had almost put a stop to the trade of the West India Company by their encroachments and influence over the Indian tribes. Kieft was in no condition to enforce the rights of the Company in that direction, and the Swedes continued their encroachments and openly defied the Dutch officials. The English of New Haven also made new purchases from Indians of lands between the Naugatuck and the North River, which Kieft claimed was an encroachment on the Company's possessions to the east of the Hudson. The acts of the New Haven people and of the English at Hartford, who were complaining against the action of the Dutch at Fort Good Hope, were sustained by the commissioners of the United New England Colonies, who met in council at New Haven, and no redress was obtained. In the course of the negotiations the Director sent to the Commissioners several protests, in Latin, threatening that at a fit opportunity satisfaction should be exacted; but the New Englanders disregarded these protests and did not even respond to them except to make counter charges; and well might they disregard them and contemn the Director's rule, for at that time the United Colonies had upward of five thousand men capable of bearing arms and a population of upward of forty thousand.

The States-General, in July, 1646, formally approved of the appointment of Stuyvesant as Director over New Netherland, but he did not leave Holland until the following December; and, after landing in the West Indies and at Curacoa, arrived at New Amsterdam on the 11th of May, 1647, and the disastrous administration of Director Kieft came to an end.

At this period the town of New Amsterdam was an attractive object from the bay; with the great rivers bounding it on either side, the waving foliage, and the picturesque hills and vales; while windmills, here and there, gave animation to the peaceful scene. The fort of course, was the central object of the view, the pride and glory of New Amsterdam, emblem of home authority, local manifestation of that sovereign power their High Mightinesses the States-General, around whose walls the early memories of the settlers gathered, on whose bastion floated the flag that recalled the brave Fatherland, under whose protecting power the young hamlet had nestled and spread and grown; that still, even with its few and ancient cannon and crumbling earthworks, bade defiance to both civilized and savage foe. The church within the walls of the fort, with its twin roofs and little belfry,

stood clearly out against the sky; while to the east, rose the "Stadt Herberg," conspicuous above the surrounding cottages with their peaked roofs. Along the shore might be seen, perhaps, some Indian lazily paddling his canoe, laden with tobacco and maize, towards the mouth of the *gracht* (at foot of Broad st.), while out in the bay lies the Hope drying her sails, just arrived from Curacoa, with her cargo of salt, and cattle and slaves—and further out is the Blue Cock, about hoisting sail for Fatherland.

structed of brick or stone. The church, the Company's five warehouses, and the city tavern were substantially built of stone. Director Kieft did much to improve the town, and during his early administration there was much activity in building and in laying out plantations. Most of the houses were clustered about the fort or where the two rivers gave protection and easy approach. They were placed at first in a straggling manner, some on thoroughfares, and some at random, about the quaint little town. The Bouweries were

THE DAMEN HOUSE.

The houses of the settlement were chiefly of wood, with thatched roofs, some of them covered with sods; the chimneys were mostly of wood. Some of the houses, however, especially those on the plantations were somewhat superior, and partially con-

nearly all located on the two rivers, on the great Kill, or on the bays and lagoons of the East River.

A rough palisade, during this period, was constructed as a defense, near the present Wall street, and the outlying plantations were also gener-

ally protected by wooden palings against Indians and wild beasts. At first settlers had located wherever they chose, land being of little value, and the trader population being mainly migratory. In 1642, however, Andreas Hudde was appointed as Surveyor to draw lines and make boundaries; and land thereafter, when conveyed, was confined by rods and feet, and farm-land outside was conveyed by morgens, (a little more than two English acres.) Some of the farms were situated in the neighborhood of the fort; Guleyn Vigne cultivated one, near what is now the corner of Pearl and Wall street; and to Jan Jansen Damen was granted a farm in 1643, extending nearly from river to river north of Wall street. On this he erected a brewery and a stone house, seen in the accompanying illustration.* Cornelius Van Tienhoven's farm extended from Broadway to the strand between present Maiden Lane and part of Ann street.

When the Kieft administration began there was no regulation of streets or paving, and no names except those suggested by the nature of the ground or by natural boundaries. Such roads or lanes as there were, resulted from the convenience afforded in reaching certain localities or in avoiding hills or swamps. Some of them were the paths of cattle. The devious nature of the streets below Wall street in the present city is thus easily accounted for.

The main road, called the "Public road," the "Hoogh Weg," or Highway, and afterwards the "Heeren Straat," extended from the fort north on the line of the present Broadway, to the region of the Park; thence along the present Chatham street and Bowery; and thence, later, along what was subsequently known as the Old Post or Boston road. There was a wagon road from Sapohanican or Greenwich, leading from the shore inland, and probably joining a main wagon road.

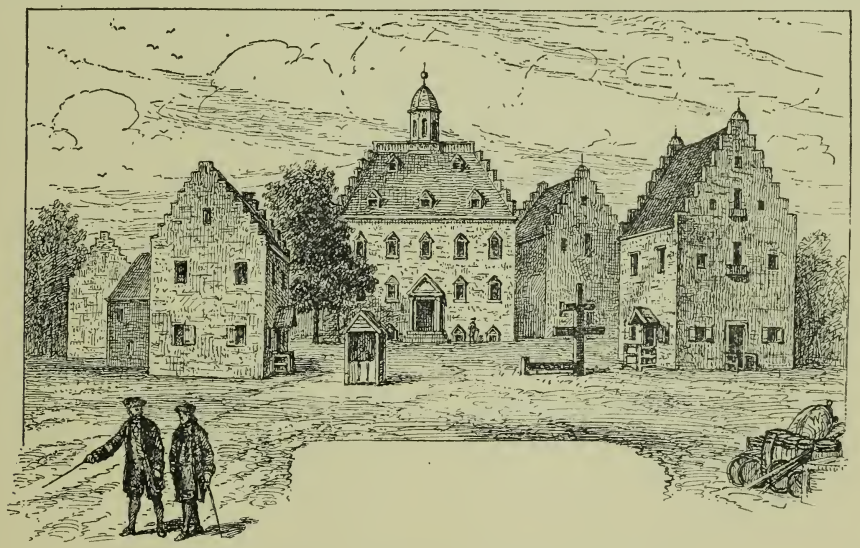
Broad street was then a marshy piece of ground, through the middle of which a drain was made, partially then developed into that pride of the Dutchman's heart, a canal, afterwards called the "Gracht" or the "Heeren Gracht." This was crossed by a small bridge; and hence, the modern Bridge street. Pearl street was the river "strand," and was continuous from the fort to the ferry. Maiden Lane was probably in existence as a cow-path, leading from the strand to the great highway. Lofty hills were on the site of parts of present Beekman and Ferry streets, on both sides of Maiden Lane, and on the site of the present Nassau, Cedar, and Liberty streets. A range of sandy hills traversed the region from about the corner of the present Charlton and Varick to the junction of Eighth and Greene streets; north of them ran the brook or rivulet called by the

*On the site where now stands the Equitable Building on Broadway.

Dutch "Bestevaer's Killetje," or Grandfather's Little Creek, which, coming through the marshes of the present Washington Square, emptied into the North River, at the foot of what is now Charlton street.

On the Highway, just above the present Morris street, was the burying-ground of the settlement, where many of the "rude forefathers of the hamlet" still lie, the sturdy pioneers that bore the toil and battle of the earlier time and carved the way for the empire that those of later generations were to inherit. On the west side of the present Broadway, between Fulton and a line between Chambers and Warren streets and extending to the North River, was the West India Company's farm, afterwards known as the King's farm, and by the Crown ceded to Trinity Church. North of it was the Domine's farm or Bouwery. This was the well-known domain of Anneke Jans, subsequently the wife of Domine Bogardus.

In the year 1642 was erected by the Director for the company the "Stadt Herberg," or City Tavern.* About that time the busy trade that was being carried on between New England and Virginia brought many traders



CITY TAVERN, AFTERWARD THE STADT HUYS.

*Where now are the warehouses Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street, is the site of the old Stadt Herberg. Part of the foundations on that site are still shown as those of the ancient building, and are supposed to be the only remains of this Dutch period now extant.

and visitors to New Amsterdam. The coasting vessels often stopped to repair damages after the perils of the Helle-gat, to break the monotony of the long voyage, to learn the state of trade—mayhap solely to escape from the solemn reign of the blue laws, and to partake of the life and jollity of the little Dutch town; to have a bout at ninepins and a glass of Rosa Solis with mine host Gerrit, the miller, or a draft of new ale and game of backgammon at Snedeker's little tap-room by the water-side. Kieft was able to give the many traders and visitors but slight entertainment in the fort, and was tired of playing the host promiscuously; hence arose the City Tavern.

Behind the Herberg was its neat garden, where grew the cabbage, dear to the Dutchman's heart, and many a flower, caught and tamed from surrounding wilds. Through the garden there was a path and an entrance gate from the ferry road. In front no South or Front street then intervened, but directly to the view shone the bright waters of the river and bay; and the green hills of Breuckelen and the waving foliage on Nooten Island rose in the distance. Of substantial stone or brick was the Herberg, about fifty feet square and three stories high. The row of little windows in the roof, and the gables rising in successive steps, recalled the architecture of Old Amsterdam. A jovial man was Philip Gerritsen, to whom the City Tavern was leased by the Director in 1643, with a right to retail the company's wine, brandy and beer. There was a spirited time in March, 1644, when Gerritsen, proud of his position as the city Boniface, and of the merits of his cook, invited some of his customers to a supper at the tavern. There was Dr. Hans Kierstede from the Strand, then a lively young fellow of thirty-two, and his blooming wife Sara; and Nikolaes Koorn, just appointed "Wacht meester" at Rensselaerswyck, and his substantial *vrouw*, whom he had brought from the Fatherland; and Gysbert Opdyck, with his new wife Catrina, whose cheeks shone rosy through the snow-white skin, and John Jacobsen and his spouse. Things went merrily and bright eyes sparkled; toasts went round and songs were sung—when opens the doors, and insolently and unmannerly break in John Underhill, the famous captain of the Pequod wars, and George Baxter, then the English Secretary at New Amsterdam, accompanied by his drummer. With them was Thomas Willett, a New Plymouth captain, also; thereafter, in his staid days, the first mayor of New York—now a roysterer like the rest.

The English interlopers are far in their cups. With many maudlin bows and scrapes they ask to join the festive party, which is refused them. Then they insist that Gysbert Opdyck shall come out and drink with their party in another room. Opdyck refuses, and tries to get them out.

Whereupon we are informed that they drew their swords, and valorously hacked the cans on the tavern shelf and the posts of the doors, and slashed about in a terribly way, frightening the ladies and uttering boastful words. Then other English soldiers came in, friends of the former, and a fight is imminent, for the Dutch blood is warmed. Whereupon mine host sends for the Fiscal and the guard. This functionary on arriving orders Underhill's party to depart. He refuses, and, with little regard for authority, makes to the Fiscal this severe remark: "If the Director came here, 't is well; I would rather speak to a wise man than to a fool." "Then," says one of the Hollanders in his affidavit before the authorities," in order to prevent further mischief, yea, even bloodshed, we broke up our pleasant party before we intended."

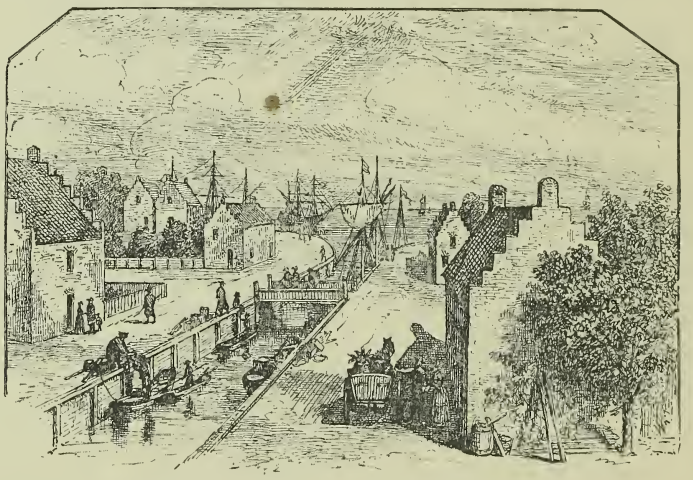
It is related by a chronicler of the time that, at the early period of Kieft's administration, one-fourth part of the city of New Amsterdam consisted "of grog-shops or of houses where nothing is to be got but tobacco and beer." The company also kept up a lively manufacture and sale of beer from its brewery, near its warehouses. This account does not speak well for the average moral and intellectual conditions of the inhabitants, in spite of the exhortations of Domine Bogardus, and of the teachings of Adam Roelantsen, the schoolmaster, who, for two beaver-skins annually paid by each scholar, imparted a modicum of knowledge to the sturdy little people, whose studies were often grievously interrupted by distant whoop or yell, the roll of the drum, or the tramp of armed men, as they marched past to the wars, clad in steel corselets or leather jerkins, and armed with their half pikes and wheel-lock muskets. When Kieft arrived, the population, as stated in a report to the States-General, had been decreasing; but, in 1639, the number became much increased, owing to the fur trade being thrown open, which was a great inducement to immigration. According to Father Jogues in 1642-43, the male population of the region in and about New Amsterdam was estimated at four hundred; and he states that eighteen different languages were spoken there.

To show that there were both intelligence and wealth at this period among some of the rude forefathers of the city, an inventory of the goods and effects of Feuntje, the widow of Jonas Bronck, may be referred to; it was dated in May, 1643. Among other articles there were about forty books, eleven pictures, five guns, one with silver mounting, and other arms; silver cups, spoons, tankards and bowls; about thirty pewter plates; agricultural and brewing implements, and bedding and divers clothing, including satin, cloth and grogram suits and gloves. A stone house covered with tiles, tobacco-house and outhouses, and a large number of horses, cattle and pigs were also enumerated.

Among the books, it may be curious to record the titles of some, showing the serious reading of the day. There were two bibles, Calvin's "Institutes," Luther's "Psalter," Luther's "Complete Catechism," the "Praise of Christ," the "Four Ends of Death," a volume entitled "Fifty Pictures of Death," and also Biblical stories.

In 1641, in the inventory of Dame Ides Van Voorst, widow of Cornelius Kieft's administration the population of the Island was estimated at one thousand.

Traffic with the natives for peltry was the principal business projected by the West India Company through its colony in New Netherland; and its attention to that trade, of which it had a monopoly, and its efforts to extend it were, for a long time, so absorbing that other interests material to the prosperity of the colony re-



VIEW OF CANAL IN BROAD STREET.

Van Voorst and subsequently married to Jacob Stoffelsen, of Ahasimus, we read of gold hoop rings, silver medals and chains, silver spoons, silver brandy-cups and goblets, Spanish leather patterns, a damask furred jacket, linen handkerchiefs with lace, and brass warming-pans. It will be observed that there is no mention of tea-cups or tea-pots. At the end of

ceived but little attention. Owing to the more immediate profit accruing from trade and the lesser capital required, there was a temptation to the colonists to engage in it, and agriculture was comparatively neglected. Settlements in the town were consequently not promoted, population became scattered—and the main settlement at New Amsterdam was thereby

weakened, and less able to withstand attack.

The true basis of a colonial plant to insure permanancy in its settlement, steady increase in its population, and a prosperous progress is agriculture. The possession and cultivation of the soil which has been redeemed from the wilderness, enriched by the industry of the inhabitant and endeared by its associations, give to him a sense of enjoyment and a feeling of repose and security that no other ownership or occupation affords. He daily contemplates with satisfaction the field of his enterprise and toil—a sense of beauty is created by the landscapes presented—his devotional feelings are aroused by gratitude towards the Higher Power that has smiled upon his aims, his children grow up about him with love for their home surroundings, in an atmosphere of simplicity and truth; and their as well as his attachment to their rural abode interests them in the State, and arouses patriotic impulses that tend to develop and maintain a high grade of citizenship.

Commercial adventures and trading speculations in a new country it is true, tend to stimulate enterprise and discovery; but the trader whether successful or otherwise, is apt to be a rover and is tempted to vary the field of his operations. He forms few attachments, and is careless of the fortunes of the land of his residence. Whatever his possessions they are easily moved or changed; he becomes restless, greedy, and often unscrupulous. The agriculturist on the contrary, becomes in character calm, moderate, and just; as his possessions are permanent, and his interests are involved with those of the country of his residence, his aim is to assist in the establishment of good government and good laws for his protection, and of a wise policy for the maintainance of peace. Trade was the chief employment in New Netherland; agriculture in New England. The difference in the progress of the respective colonies was great.

In the year 1638, the directors of the company thinking, wisely, that existing restrictions were retarding the prosperity and development of the colony, opened trade to free competition for all people of the United Provinces and their friends and allies of any nation, on payment of certain duties on imports and exports. Several effects of the opening of trade became manifest. The population of the colony became immediately much increased, while at the same time it became less centralized. Traders spreading themselves far into the interior, in their thirst for gain did not hesitate to barter guns and ammunition with the savages. Smuggling too was frequent, and the company's interests suffered from private competition, especially from its own servants; and an ordinance was consequently promulgated, to the effect that no person should trade without a license, nor export without permis-

sion; and persons sailing to Fort Orange, the South River, or Fort Good Hope were obliged to furnish themselves with passports.

The voyage from Holland at this time, in the little ships of the period, occupied about seven or eight weeks. The course was to the Canary Islands; thence to the West India Islands, and so to the mainland of Virginia, passing the Bahamas on the left and the Bermudas on the right. A flag was raised on a little redoubt built at the Narrows, on Staten Island, to announce the arrival of inward bound vessels in the outer Bay. The exports from New Amsterdam to the mother country were of course of limited variety, and consisted chiefly of skins; while from Holland came all that was necessary for the use of an infant colony, including French and Spanish wines and brandy, and agricultural and domestic implements. To secure a monopoly of certain exportations the manufacture of

KIEFT'S MODE OF PUNISHMENT.

woolen, linen, or cotton in the colony was for a long time prohibited; which prohibition continued in force until the amendment of the Charter in March, 1640.

The solid warehouses of the company and of the opulent traders were filled in prosperous times with produce and merchandise, and attested the busy trade of the colony both with the Indians and the outside world. There was a European trade not only with Holland but with Curaçoa, St. Bartholomew, the Canary Islands, Brazil, and with the coasts of France, Spain and Africa; and even during Kieft's administration, New Amsterdam became an emporium of commerce for the western hemisphere. A coasting trade was carried on with Virginia and the colonies of New England; and the New England coasters to Virginia passing through the East River usually stopped at New Amsterdam, which was of great profit to the colony.

Vessels from New Amsterdam also navigated Delaware Bay, and coasted along Long Island; and the larger vessels made voyages to the West Indies, whence came sugar and other produce, not the least of which was Barbados rum. To the West Indies and to the Dutch Colonies at Curaçoa and Brazil were sent from New Netherland the various kinds of goods received from Holland, and also large quantities of Indian corn, and baked bread and biscuit, dried fish, salt meat, and lumber.

The main monetary medium circulating in trade at this period continued to be the wampum or seawant. But so debased had this currency become, that in 1641 Kieft issued an ordinance reducing the value of the coarse seawant, and fixing its rate at four beads of the polished for one stiver, and five or six of the rough. The people of New Netherlands procured this seawant by exchanging for it with the Long Island and lower tribes their imported knives, hatchets, needles, looking-glasses, cloth and other fabrics, and with it bought furs, skins, corn, and venison from other Indians further inland; and thus the latter were not under the necessity of transporting such goods to New Amsterdam. Seawant was also the circulating medium between all the other colonists of the North American coast. Beaver-skins and Holland guilders and stivers were also used in trade; the first at a fixed valuation.

During the earlier part of Kieft's administration, and before the desolating Indian wars, there was great promise of agricultural prosperity. Laborers came into the colony from New England and Virginia, as well as from Holland; and also slaves from Brazil, of which the company had a number, under charge of a salaried overseer. There was always a deficiency of farm laborers, however, and the Indian wars were of serious disturbance to agricultural industry.

Clearings on a new settlement were made by the trees being cut and

burned in the fields. Corn was ground and boards were sawn by horse or windmills, of which latter the Indians were greatly afraid; and, as one chronicler states, "they durst not come near their long arms and big teeth biting the corn to pieces." There was a large saw-mill on Nooten Island, where oak and pine trees were shaped into planks. Cattle were brought over from Holland, and there were some of English breed. By ordinance of 1641 an annual fair for cattle was directed to be held in October, and one for hogs in November. The latter were plentiful, and sheep and goats were numerous, also geese and above all, ducks—humble reminders of the Fatherland. The woods afforded abundance of wild turkeys, quail, and venison; and the surrounding waters supplied oysters, the "twaelft" or striped bass, the "elft" or shad, sturgeon and salmon, and the water-terrapin, which Van der Donck states in his narrative to be a "luscious food."

The building where religious meetings were at first conducted under Director Kieft continued to be the barn-like structure near the fort, on what would now be the northern side of Pearl street near Whitehall. In 1642, the accomodation afforded by this edifice being found quite insufficient for the wants of the community, a stone church was begun within the inclosure of the fort. The church for a long time remained unfinished, and it was charged against the Director that he applied some of the funds to military uses during the Indian war; which was not improbable, as fighting in those days, was more relied on than praying. The inscription placed by the Director on this church, as translated, was: "Anno Domini 1642; W. Kieft, Director General, hath caused this Temple to be built for the congregation."* This stone was afterwards placed in the belfry of the Reformed Church, in Garden street (Exchange Place), and was destroyed by fire in 1835.

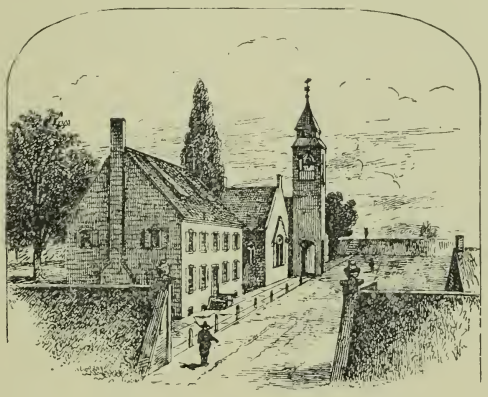
The officiating clergyman under the administration of Director Kieft was the above-named Domine Everardus Bogardus, one of the most remarkable men of the Dutch period. The Domine had come to the colony with Van Twiller in 1633, and his controversies with that Director have been before referred to. He was a man of strong will and fearless against all opposition. As he had been the pronounced public enemy of Van Twiller, so he denounced Kieft with all the energy of his determined and vigorous character. Kieft and Bogardus were, in fact, in continuous opposition; and so violent were the Domine's fulminations against the Director from the pulpit, that the latter for many months, refused to enter the church, and discouraged his officials from so doing. To drown the Domine's vociferations, the Director

*"Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gemeente desen Tempel doen Bouwen.

allowed noisy games to be played outside and drums to be beaten during the church sessions; and even caused cannon to be fired, in order to distract attention from the Domine's discourses, which often tended to stir up the people to insubordination and mutiny against Kieft, whom Bogardus charged with murders, covetousness, and gross excesses.

The outraged Director finally lost all patience with his uncompromising antagonist, and summoned him to appear and answer before the Council for his misconduct. The following was a part of the arraignment, which is a curious document, as illustrating the spirit of the time: "You have no less indulged in scattering abuse, during our administration. Scarcely a person in the entire land have you spared; not even your own wife and your sister; particularly when you were in good company and tipsy. Still mixing up your human passion with the chain of truth, you associated with the greatest criminals of the country, taking their part and defending them. You refused to obey the order to administer the sacrament of the Lord, and did not dare to partake of it yourself. And in order not to plead ignorance, a few out of many instances shall be cited for you."

Then follows a long arraignment, in which the Domine is accused of being intoxicated and slandering the Director; of countenancing Maryn Adriaensen after his attempt to assassinate the Director; of being under the influence of liquor on two occasions in his pulpit; of abusing the Director unjustly from the pulpit; of abusing and libeling the Director, Fiscal, and Secretary when intoxicated, and of refusing to thank God for the peace on the day set apart for thanksgiving. The document con-



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND CHURCH.

cludes with charging that his language against the Director from the pulpit, was so outrageous that the latter had to refrain from church, and he denounced the Domine's sermons as "the rattling of old wives stories drawn out from a distaff." "And inasmuch as all this conduct tends to stir up mutiny and the general ruin of the land," the Domine is summoned to make answer.

To all of which Bogardus made defiant response and challenged the right of the Director to judge him, and he was, therefore, a second time summoned. The charges were finally offered to be submitted to the arbitration of four worthy citizens; but the Domine seemed recalcitrant, and the matter is supposed to have died out. Corroborative records seem to show that neither Kieft nor the Domine was very far wrong in his estimate of the other. The latter although apparently an independent, conscientious preacher, seems to have been rather coarse and quarrelsome as an individual, and was, doubtless, too much addicted to drinking. He is chronicled as being in continual litigation and seemed to delight particularly in slander suits, of which several are related. Soon after his arrival he was smitten by the charms and pecuniary attractions of the widow of Roeloff Jansen, then the possessor of a fine farm on the North River, and since long and favorably known to New York antiquarians and litigants as "Anneke Jans." The Domine led to the altar, in or about the year 1639, that historical personage. He had an antagonist in Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who in 1636, preferred charges against him before the Classis at Amsterdam, where he was defended, singularly enough, by protest in his favor on the part of Director Kieft, in 1638. The directors of the company, in instructing Stuyvesant on his assuming the government, write, "We were sorry to learn of the great disorders which your Honor has found there, principally caused by Domine Bogardus." Take him all in all, he seems to have been rather a turbulent character. His tragic end will be subsequently related.

Although under directions from the Company given in 1640, no other religion "save that then taught and exercised by authority in the Reformed Church in the United Provinces" was to be publicly sanctioned in New Netherland, thus constituting the creed of the Synod of Dort, the established religion of the Colony, one of the most pleasing features of the Kieft administration was the toleration extended to those of other religious persuasions. While, under the insanity of sectarianism, the arm of the civil government in New England was employed in support of the denunciations of the Puritan Church, the island of Manhattan was a refuge for all the persecuted and oppressed for conscience sake, who fled thither from the New England colonies. And yet the New Englanders had ex-

perienced themselves all the rigors of religious persecution. Many of the New England Anabaptists and other denizens of Massachusetts and Connecticut at this period came to New Amsterdam. They were granted patents of land and were allowed free exercise and preaching of their religious opinions. So many, indeed, came that there was a policy contemplated by the Massachusetts authorities of forbidding such emigration.* It was encouraged, however, by Director Kieft, who saw in it additional strength for his colony and the only condition imposed was an oath to the government. Among the religious exiles that profited by his politic liberality was Anne Hutchinson; a woman of gentle breeding and rare mental powers. This remarkable woman had arrived at the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634, from which she was exiled after a sojourn of four years. She at first went to Rhode Island, whence, her husband having died and fearful of further persecution, she came in 1642 to New Amsterdam, and was allowed with her family to settle at what is now called Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, and which for a long time thereafter was known as "Annie's Hoeck." Her sad end has been related on a previous page.

Roger Williams also came for a short time to New Amsterdam. His ideas "on the sanctity of conscience" were too independent for the conformists of Massachusetts, and he had been banished therefrom in 1635. He took refuge among the Narragansetts and laid the foundations of Providence, desiring, he said, "that it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." Rev. Francis Doughty, a refugee from Massachusetts, was also welcomed by Director Kieft and advances were made to him in goods and money. In 1642 a grant was made to him and his associates of a large tract at Mespat (now Newtown) Long Island, with a right of limited jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and, as the

* The following recently discovered letter, if authentic, will serve to illustrate the fact that this expression of the text is none too strong.

EDITOR.

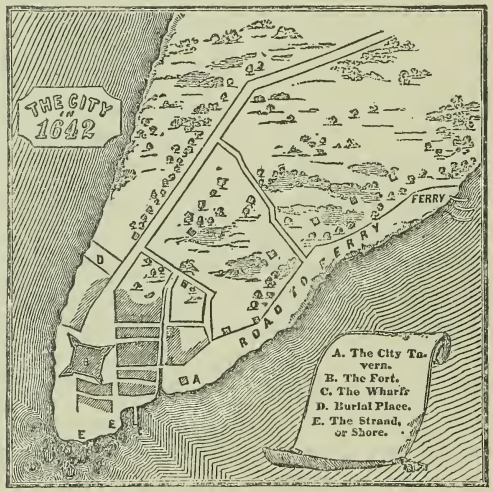
"September 15, 1682.

"To Ye Aged and Beloved, Mr. John Higginson: There be now at sea a ship called Welcome, which has on board 100 or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp at the head of them. The General Court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott, of the brig Porpoise, to way lay the said Welcome slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people. Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for His Minister and people.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,

"COTTON MATHER."

grant states, "with power to erect a church and to exercise the Reformed Christian religion which they profess." When his place at Mespat was burned by the Indians, Doughty came to New Amsterdam and officiated as clergyman to the English inhabitants. After the Indian war his land at Mespat, except his bouwery, was confiscated at the instance of some of his associates who considered



THE EARLIEST MAP OF THE CITY.

that he had ignored their co-proprietary rights. He thereafter settled at Flushing and was so open in his animadversions upon the Director, that Captain John Underhill ordered his church doors to be shut. Finally he removed to the Virginia settlement, leaving behind his daughter who was married to Adriaen Van der Donck. Director Kieft also in July, 1643, gave a deed for a tract on the East River to John Throgmorton and thirty-five families, Anabaptist refugees from Salem. The grant was of land embracing part of the present town of Westchester. Throgmorton had at first gone to Rhode Island, but preferred a settlement without any sectarian supervision. The patent gave license to the settlers "that they were to reside on their tract in peace and were to be favored with the free exercise of their religion." So delighted were the exiles with their new home and the peaceful exercise of their faith, that their settlement was called Vredeland or the land of peace. Part of this land was subsequently known as Throgmorton's Neck. These settlers suffered during the Indian war when Mrs. Hutchinson was

murdered; their houses and cattle were destroyed and eighteen of them were killed.

Another refugee to New Amsterdam from the ecclesiastical discipline of New England was John Underhill, who came in 1643, taking service with the Dutch, and as has been above related, rendering valuable aid to New Amsterdam at the most critical time of Kieft's Indian wars. Underhill had been a man of note in Massachusetts, and as captain of musketeers had performed valiant service there in the Indian wars and expeditions. But although a valuable man to that Colony he was rather too independent and outspoken to please the Puritan fathers. He was also unusually gay and fond of good cheer, and his somewhat irregular life led him into much trouble. He had been disfranchised by the Massachusetts Colony for protesting against the condemnation of Wheelwright, a brother of Anne Hutchinson, as unjust and iniquitous, and for stoutly maintaining the right of free speech; he was consequently removed from his offices and his arms were taken from him. He afterwards, after living in exile at Dover returned to Boston, made profession of his sins and was relieved from banishment. But finding no employment at Boston, and probably not liking the dullness of Puritanic life and the restrictions to which he was subjected, and having married a Dutch woman and speaking that language, he took service under Kieft and became prosperous in the Dutch Colony although something of a roysterer. In 1646 we find that he was rewarded for his various services to the Colony by a patent for a small island in the East River.

The authorities of New Amsterdam also extended welcome to Father Jogues, the Jesuit, who after suffering terrible torture and mutilation at the hands of the Iroquois, was ransomed at Rensselaerswyck from the Mohawks, and in 1643 came to New Amsterdam, where he was kindly received by Director Kieft, who gave him money and clothes and a free passage to France. He subsequently renewed his heroic efforts to Christianize the Iroquois and was murdered by the Mohawks in 1646. Father Jogues in describing New Amsterdam says, that although Calvinism was the prescribed creed there were also in the colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans and Anabaptists. The Quakers were yet to come, fleeing from the scaffold and the scourge prescribed for their reformation in New England. Father Bressani, another Jesuit, was also welcomed to New Amsterdam after being ransomed by Kieft from the Iroquois. The Director's circular in 1644, for Bressani's safe conduct has come down to us and is an interesting document. "We, William Kieft, Director-General and the Council of New Netherlands, to all those who shall see these presents, greeting: Francis Joseph Bressani of the Society of Jesus, for some

time a prisoner among the Iroquois savages, commonly called Maquaas, and daily persecuted by these men, was when about to be burned snatched out of their hands and ransomed by us for a large sum after considerable difficulty. As he now proceeds with our permission to Holland, thence to return to France, Christian charity requires that he be humanely treated by those into whose hands he may happen to fall. Wherefore, we request all governors, viceroys, or their lieutenants and captains, that they would afford him their favor in going and returning, promising to do the same on like occasion. Dated in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland this 20th September, Anno Salutis 1644, stylo novo."

One of the most notable characters of the Kieft period was Lady Deborah Moody, a refugee from the sectarianism both of England and New England. She was the widow of Sir Henry Moody of Wiltshire, who was one of the Baronets created by James I. Her family was connected with that of Cromwell, and her cousin, Sir William Dunch, was a member of Parliament during the troublous times of Charles I. and Cromwell, and was a strenuous advocate of the rights of the subject. Lady Moody was in close sympathy with those who battled for constitutional and natural rights, and drank in, from her family associations those principles of religious freedom that were trampled on in her native land and which caused her to flee from it. The condition of the English subject then being that of slavery to the Crown and Prelacy, and the Lady Moody being a particular object of animadversions to the inquisitorial court of the Star Chamber, she resolved to abandon her native land and decided to settle in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. To this Colony a strong tide of immigration was flowing of those who sought it as a place of repose and religious peace. Lady Moody left England prior to the year 1640 and was warmly welcomed by Pilgrim and Puritan. She at first settled at Saugus (now Lynn) and became a member of the Congregational Church at Salem. The General Court made to her an extensive grant of land and she purchased, stocked and cultivated a large farm at Swampscott. Hardly had she become comfortably settled in her new possessions when she had personal experience that she was not to enjoy that religious freedom which had been the inducement of her exile. In three years after joining the church at Salem, she was admonished by that church for denying the propriety of infant baptism, and was, subsequently, formally excommunicated for denying that the baptism of infants was of divine ordinance. Again harrassed, mortified by her arraignment and presentation before the General Court, still seeking a haven for repose and freedom of religious expression, Lady Moody for a second time became an exile (in the summer of 1643)

reluctantly abandoning the country of her adoption with a number of her friends. They were warmly welcomed at New Amsterdam, although there was some little murmuring as to the possible effect of the reception of so large a number of sectaries in the Dutch settlement. We are led to infer that there was some dissatisfaction or disappointment on her part, from a request that she made for a return to the New England Colony, of which mention is made in a letter written by Deputy-Governor John Endicott to Governor Winthrop in 1644.*

Matters, however, seem to have been amicably arranged with the New Amsterdam authorities, for Lady Moody and her friends were allowed to settle in the same year (1643) upon a large tract of land on Long Island, at that portion of the island known as the town of Gravesend, for which a patent was subsequently given. This place was situated on the southwesterly coast of Long Island, within a few miles of New Amsterdam, the name being given to it by Governor Kieft, after the Dutch village of 's Gravesande, not far from the river Maas. Lady Moody being a person of substance, no doubt had as comfortable a residence built for her as could be erected at that time. It was evidently a large, substantial structure, for it was used as a citadel when the town was attacked by Indians, and three several times did the spirited lady and her friends repulse them.

Shortly after the arrival of the new Director, Stuyvesant; Kuyter and Melyn formulated charges against the ex-Director and demanded that the late members of his Council and others should be examined as to his conduct and policy during his administration of the government, with the view of forwarding the testimony to Holland in support of their charges. But the result of the trial that ensued was that sentence was pronounced against the accusers for daring to attack one in authority over them. Melyn was condemned to be banished for seven years, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and to forfeit all benefits to be derived from the Company, while Kuyter was condemned to three years' banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. Following Kieft's precedent all right of appeal was contemptuously denied by the new director.

On the 16th of August, 1647, ex-director Kieft, now triumphant over

* In the postscript of this letter are the following words: "Sir, since I wrot my Lettre, Mr. Norrice came to mee, to tell mee, that hee heard that the Lady Moody hath written to you to give her advice for her returne. I shall desire that shee may not have advice to returne to this Jurisdiccion, vnless shee will acknowledge her ewill in opposing the Churches, and leave her opinions behinde her, ffor shee is a dangerous woeman. My brother Ludlow writt to mee, that, by meanes of a booke she sent to Mrs. Eaton, shee questions her owne baptisme it is verei doubtefull whither shee will be reclaymed, shee is so farre ingaged. The Lord rebuke Satan, the Aduersarie of our Soules!"

his enemies, and with a fair amount of guilders accumulated during his term of office, much of it from his private still on Staten Island, with the prospect of passing the remainder of his days amid the peaceful scenes of the Fatherland, far from the contentions of a querulous people and the anxieties and responsibilities of government, set sail from New Amsterdam in the ship Princess. His old antagonist, Domine Bogardus, who was returning to explain his version of late public affairs and to set himself right before the Classis at Amsterdam was a fellow-passenger. On board too was Van der Huygens, the late Fiscal of New Amsterdam. Kuyter and Melyn were also on the ship, sent over under restraint, to stand a trial at Amsterdam and to make good their charges against Kieft if they were able so to do.

DUTCH COURTSHIP.

The Princess not taking the usual route of vessels sailing to Holland and mistaking her reckoning, was

navigated into the Bristol Channel and off the perilous coast of Wales struck upon a rock and soon went to pieces. With impending death before him Kieft turned to his adversaries, Melyn and Kuyter, and extending his hand said: "Friends, I have been unjust towards you; can you forgive me?" These are his last recorded words.

Soon came the final catastrophe: Kieft, Bogardus, Van der Huygens, a son of Melyn, and eighty others miserably perished. Kuyter escaped by clinging to a part of the wreck that was washed ashore to which was lashed a small cannon. The thousands of spectators who crowded the shore took off the almost expiring man, and, it is recorded, planted the cannon there as a memorial of the wonderful escape. Melyn also reached the shore, floating to a sand-bank from which he was soon rescued. By dragging in the shoals a small box of Kuyter's valuable papers was recovered and by their aid he procured the revocation of the unjust sentence against himself and fellow-sufferer, and complete restoration to their rights, privileges and property. When news of the tragic event reached New England there was no expression of sympathy or regret from the stern religionists there. Even the wise and godly Winthrop remarked in the Puritan cant of the day that "the shipwreck was considered in New England an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherland and a special mark of the Lord's favor to his poor people here and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured them." The authorities in Holland under the conflicting charges and opinions sent to them in the above matters, had, on a communication sent in August, 1648, to the new director, ascribed the condition of the people at New Amsterdam, whom they represent as "very wild and loose in their morals," to the "weakness of the late director and the neglect of his duties by the preacher." Such was the obituary on Director Kieft and Domine Bogardus by their superiors.

Few proconsuls had a more arduous task in the administration of the government of a province than had Director Kieft. The Roman official had legions at command to sustain his power and to repel attack, and in case of disaster the whole empire was at hand for his support. Kieft, in a far distant province, with a handful of soldiers crowded in a dilapidated fort and a few citizens turbulent and unreliable, surrounded on all sides by savages ever on the alert for rapine and murder, receiving little support from the home government and having a large territory to defend and two civilized races to contend with, passed the eight years of his administration amid turmoil and dissension within, and such hostile attack from without as to keep the province in continuous peril. The New England colonies were always in a state of an-

tagonism and threatening war. As a specimen of the unfriendly spirit that prevailed, Connecticut sent a request to Cromwell asking him to exterminate the Dutch settlement. The Swedes and independent settlers on the South and Schuylkill rivers were constantly making encroachments and threatening the Company's occupancy there, while pretenders under patents and independent settlers, knowing the weakness of the government kept it disturbed and agitated. What wonder that mistakes were made, that policy failed, that misfortunes came, and that Kieft's rule brought no prosperity to the land?

The radical trouble with his administration was that he was under a divided rule—a political governor, with allegiance to the States-General and a commercial director as the representative of a great company of traders. The States-General was too busily occupied in establishing its independence and watching the balance of European power to give supervision to the affairs of a province of small political importance—while the Company, looking upon its colony merely as a medium of commercial gain, drew all the profit it could gather from it, disregarded its true interests, and gave it only occasional and grudging support. The neglect of the Company in promoting the agricultural interests of the colony, its inhibition of manufactures, and the little attention given to promote immigration displayed a narrow policy. Legitimate trade too was kept down for several years by restrictions in favor of the Company's monopoly. Through this the population was constituted, in the main, of the Company's employees, and afterward of roving traders who sought to gather gold and then to leave a country where there was little promise for the future and no proper protection for property or life.

Towards the Indians Kieft's dealings were characterized by a rigid regard for their possessory rights; no title was deemed vested and no right was absolutely claimed until satisfaction was made to the native owner. Historians of the period have been almost universal in their condemnation of him for the various contests and wars engaged in with the Indians, and have put on him all responsibility for the revolts. But this is an ex post facto criticism, which, with a false judgment, condemns a man for the results of his actions rather than for the actions themselves. Indeed, without the energy displayed by the director towards the aborigines, the colony would probably have been annihilated. Besides in Kieft's day the spirit of the age favored and often required arbitrary action, and that spirit impressed on rulers should be a factor in the criticism and interpretation of their conduct. In the middle of the seventeenth century natural rights were little respected, religion was intolerant, tyranny made the laws, and civ-

ilization herself, not yet humane, enforced her progress by the sword. As regards the particular charges of rash, imprudent and inhuman conduct on the part of Kieft much may be urged in extenuation. No military expedition was undertaken from the fort until after consultation with prominent members of the community and their assent obtained, and the director, at times, was even criticized for want of energy in attack. The indiscriminate slaughter perpetrated at times by the leaders of expeditions was, as the records show, not in consequence of any orders given by the director, but of the action of men fighting for their lives and property, and urged by their apprehensions to intimidate if not exterminate pestilential foes, who themselves, as a general rule, spared neither women nor children. Indeed, in case of the slaughter at Pavonia, the orders for attack distinctly contained a provision "to spare, as much as it is possible, their wives and children, and to take the savages prisoners." In the orders given to the expedition sent out to drive away certain English intruders from Dutch possessions on western Long Island in 1640, the orders were, "Above all things take care that no blood be shed." The director's toleration towards sectarianism, in an age of intolerance, and his humanity towards refugees are also commendable features of his administration. Imprudence, rashness, arbitrary action, want of political sagacity may be imputed to Director Kieft, but not excessive inhumanity, nor want of effort, nor unfaithfulness to his employers or to his province. He has been generally condemned, but without sufficient consideration of the trials which he experienced, the anxiety to which he was subject, and the perplexities incident to a government over discontented, ignorant and mutinous subjects, and to the continued apprehension of outside attack. Left mostly to his own resources, and receiving no sympathy and little aid, his motives the subject of attack from both tavern and pulpit, and twice the object of attempted assassination, his rule as a whole, though disastrous, was not dishonorable. It was not deficient in energy, nor was it entirely inglorious; it was certainly dramatic.

A WESTERN HISTORICAL COLLECTOR.

There passed from this life, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1891, at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, one who was no doubt the best informed man of his day in the details of the history of trans-Allegheny pioneering. —Lyman Copeland Draper.

Draper was born in the town of Hamburg (now Evans), Erie county, New York, on the fourth of September, 1815. Five generations back, his ancestors were Puritans in Roxbury, Massachusetts; his paternal grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier and his maternal grandfather fell in the defense of Buffalo against the British in 1813, while his father, Luke, was twice captured by the English during the same war. When Lyman was three years of age the family removed to Lockport, on the Erie canal.

Luke Draper was by turns grocer, tavern-keeper, and farmer, and as soon as his son Lyman could be of use about the house, the store or the land, he was obliged to do his full share of family labor. After having gained all the education possible from the village school, he added to its meagre curriculum the reading of what few books were obtainable by purchase or borrowing in the then frontier settlement, and established something of a local reputation as a youth of letters.

Even at that early age the lad's taste for Revolutionary lore was well developed. He came naturally by it. At Luke Draper's family fireside, the deeds of Revolutionary heroes always formed the chief topic of conversation. There were yet living many veterans of the Continental army, who were always welcome to the hospitality of the Draper household, while the war of 1812–15 was an event of but a few years previous. The boy was early steeped in knowledge of the facts and traditions of Anglo-American fights and western border forays, so that it was in after years impossible for him to remember when he first became inspired with the passion for obtaining information as to the events in which his ancestors took part.

As a boy he never neglected an opportunity to see and converse with distinguished pioneers and patriots. In 1825, when but ten years of age, he feasted his eyes upon La Fayette during the latter's celebrated visit to the United States, and to the last declared he had a vivid recollection of

the lineaments of that noble friend of the Revolutionary cause. Lewis Cass, De Witt Clinton and other celebrities of that day, he also saw and heard at Lockport; while the presence in the village on various occasions, of the noted Seneca chiefs, Tommy Jimmy, Major Henry O'Bail and others, were, to the young enthusiast in border-lore, like visitations from a realm of fancy. La Fayette was the subject of young Draper's first school composition, while his first article for the press, published in the Rochester *Gem* for April 6, 1833, was a sketch of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last of the "signers." One of the first historical works he ever read was Campbell's *Annals of Tyron County; or, Border Warfare of New York*, published in 1831. This and other publications of the time were replete with lurid accounts of border disturbances, well calculated to fire the imagination of youth.

Draper's father was a poor man, and unable either to help his son towards an education or to support him in idleness. Lyman was undersized, not robust, and had tastes which seemed to fit him only for an unprofitable life of letters. He was offered an asylum by Peter A. Remsen, husband of his cousin. Remsen was a cotton factor, sometimes living in Mobile, sometimes in Genessee county, New York, and again in Philadelphia. His *protege* frequently followed him in his wanderings and was put to school, first at Denison University in Granville, Ohio, and later at Hudson River Seminary, in Stockport, New York. While living in Mobile, in 1833–34, Draper chiefly occupied himself in collecting information regarding the career of the famous Creek chief, Weatherford, many of whose contemporaries lived in the neighborhood of the Alabama metropolis. These manuscript notes, laboriously written down fifty-eight years ago, are, like the greater portion of his materials for history, still mere unused literary bricks and stone.

It was in 1838, when twenty-three years of age, that Draper conceived the idea of writing a series of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, in which he should be able by dint of original investigation to fill the gaps and correct the errors which so marred all books then extant upon this fertile specialty. This at once became his controlling thought, and he entered upon its execution with an enthusiasm which never lagged through a half century spent in the assiduous collection of material for what he always deemed the mission of his life; but unfortunately he only collected and investigated, and the biographies were never written.

From the Remsen home, Draper began an extensive and long-continued correspondence with prominent pioneers all along the border line—with Drs. Daniel Drake and S. P. Hildreth; Colonel John McDonald,

of Ohio; William C. Preston, of South Carolina; Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Charles S. Todd, Major Bland W. Ballard, Dr. John Croghan, and Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky; ex-Governor David Campbell, of Virginia; Colonel William Martin and Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, and scores of others of almost equal renown. Correspondence of this character, first with the pioneers and later with their descendants, he actively conducted till within a few days of his death.

In 1840 he commenced the work of supplementing his correspondence with personal interviews with pioneers, and the descendants of pioneers and Revolutionary soldiers, in their homes, because he found that for his purpose the gaining of information through letters was slow and unsatisfactory: the mails being in those days tardy, unreliable and expensive, while many of those who possessed the rarest of the treasures sought were not adepts with the pen. There were no railroads then, and the eager collector of facts traveled on his great errand for many years, far and wide, by foot, by horseback, by stage, by lumber wagon and by steamboat, his constant companion being a knapsack well-laden with note books.

In these journeys of discovery, often through dense wildernesses, Draper traveled, in all, over sixty thousand miles, meeting with hundreds of curious incidents and hair-breadth escapes, by means of runaway horses, frightful storms, swollen streams, tipped-over stages, snagged steamboats, extremities of hunger and the like, yet never once injured nor allowing any untoward circumstance to thwart the particular mission at the time in view. Many of those he sought, especially before 1850, were far removed from taverns and other conveniences of civilization; but pioneer hospitality was generous, and a stranger at the hearth a most welcome diversion to the dull routine of a frontiersman's household. The guest of the interviewed, the inquisitive stranger often stopped weeks together at those crude homes in the New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee backwoods—long enough to extract with the acquired skill of a cross-examiner, every morsel of historical information, every item of valuable reminiscence, stored in the mind of his host; while old diaries or other family documents which might cast side lights on the stirring and romantic story of western settlement, were deemed objects worth obtaining by means of the most astute diplomacy.

It would be wearisome to give a list of those whom Draper visited in the course of these remarkable wanderings, which he made his chief occupation, with but few lapses, through nearly a quarter of a century, and continued at intervals for many years after. Only a few of the most notable can be mentioned. Perhaps the

most important interview he ever had was with Major Bland Ballard, of Kentucky, a noted Indian fighter under General George Rogers Clark in the latter's campaigns against the Ohio Indians. Other distinguished worthies who heaped their treasures at Draper's feet, were Major George M. Bedinger, a noted pioneer and Indian fighter, of Kentucky; General Benjamin Whiteman of Ohio, and Captain James Ward, of Kentucky, two of Kenton's trusted lieutenants; and General William Hall, an officer under Jackson in the Creek war, and afterwards governor of Tennessee. Draper also interviewed fifteen of General Clark's old Indian campaigners and many of the associates and descendants of Boone, Kenton, Sumter, Sevier, Robertson, Pickens, Crawford, Shelby, Brady, Cleveland, and the Wetzels. He also visited and took notes among the aged survivors of several Indian tribes—the Senecas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Chickasaws, Catawbas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares and Pottawattomies. Not the least interesting of these were the venerable Tawanears, or Governor Blacksnake, one of the Seneca war captains at Wyoming, who served as such with the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, and the scholarly Governor William Walker of the Wyandots. The descendants of Brant among the Canada Mohawks, whom Draper interviewed at much length, gave him an Indian name signifying "The Inquirer." Draper once visited Andrew Jackson, at the home of the latter, and had a long conversation with the hero of New Orleans. At another time he was the guest of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who is thought to have killed Tecumseh, and, as I have said before, frequently corresponded with him. He once saw Henry Clay, when in Kentucky on one of his hunts for manuscripts, and General Harrison in Ohio, but had no opportunity to speak to either of them.

The period of Draper's greatest activity in the direction of personal interviews was between 1840 and 1879, but upon occasion he frequently resorted to that method of obtaining materials for history in his later years; while the period of his active correspondence in that direction was ended only by his death. The result of this half century of rare toil and drudgery, was a rich harvest of collections. Upon the shelves of his large private library, now the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society, were, besides a still greater mass of loose papers, a hundred and fifty portly volumes of manuscripts, the greater part made up of wholly original matter, nearly all of it as yet unpublished, covering the entire history of the fight for the Northwest, from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Virginia valley to 1813–14, when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated. He himself computed, in 1857, that his material comprised "some 10,000

foolscap pages of notes of the recollections of warrior-pioneers, either written by themselves, or taken down from their own lips; and well-nigh 5,000 pages more of original manuscript journals, memorandum books and old letters written by nearly all the leading border heroes of the West."

In 1841–42 we find Draper editing a small weekly paper at Pontotoc, Mississippi, but it was a financial failure; and in 1842 he was back again in New York State, moving to Philadelphia with the Remsens two or three years later. For eight years thereafter, Draper's principal occupation was the prosecution of his search for historical data, always collecting and seldom writing up any of his material, for he was not willing to commence until he had to his own satisfaction exhausted every possibility of finding more. If the truth must be told, our collector had already become so imbued with the zeal of collecting, that he had come to look upon the digestion of his material as of secondary consideration.

During this life in Philadelphia he added miscellaneous Americana to the objects of his collection, and particularly old newspaper files, for he found that these latter were among the most valuable sources of contemporaneous information on any given topic in history. He thus collected a unique library at the Remsen home, which came to attract almost as much attention among scholars as had his manuscript possessions. It was a time when there were few historical students or writers in America engaged in original research; as a specialist in the trans-Alleghany field, Draper practically stood alone. Geo. Bancroft, Hildreth, S. G. Drake, Parkman, Sparks, Lossing, and others, displayed much interest in the Draper collections, which several of them personally examined and publicly praised. They sent him encouraging letters urging him to enter upon his proposed task of writing up the heroes of the border.

In 1854 Lossing went so far as to enter upon a literary co-partnership with Draper, for the joint production of a series of border biographies: Boone, Clark, Sevier, Robertson, Brady, Kenton, Martin, Crawford, Whitley, the Wetzels, Harmar, St. Clair, Wayne, and others, being selected. The titles of the several biographies were agreed upon at a meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, between Lossing and Draper; but while as a collector Draper was ever in the field, eager, enterprising and shrewd, as a writer he was a procrastinator, and nothing was done at the time. In 1857 he displayed renewed interest in the scheme, and sent broadcast over the country a circular informing the public that the long-promised work was at last to be performed, and yet nothing came of it.

Nineteen years had now elapsed since Draper had entered fully upon

his career as a collector. He had, up to that time, made a collection of material perhaps nearly as valuable in all essential points as it was at his death. His accumulations in after years were more in the direction of details, and much of this class of matter, in the getting of which he spent the last thirty-five years of his life, would doubtless be considered as unimportant by most historical writers imbued with the modern philosophizing spirit. Draper, however, considered no detail regarding his heroes as too trivial for collection and preservation. His design was to be encyclopædic; he would have his biographies embrace every scrap of attainable information, regardless of its relative merit. He has confessed to me with some sadness, more than once, that he felt himself quite lacking in the sense of proportion; could not understand the principles of historical perspective or historical philosophy, and as for generalization he abhorred it. Yet his literary style was incisive, and he sometimes shone in controversy.

"I have wasted my life in puttering," he once lamented, "but I see no help for it; I can write nothing so long as I fear there is a fact, no matter how small, as yet ungarnered." It was as if he were a newspaper editor, fearing to put his journal to press because something else might happen when too late to insert it in that day's issue. Draper not only feared to go to press, but even refrained from writing up his notes, literally from an apprehension that the next mail might bring information which would necessitate a recasting of his matter. At the time of his contract with Lossing, he had completed some twenty chapters of his proposed *Life of Boone*—perhaps a half of the number contemplated. It is likely that this manuscript was written before he came to Madison; it seems certain, from its present appearance, that he added nothing to it during the succeeding thirty-four years of his life. Upon his other projected biographies, I cannot find that he had written more than a few scattering skeleton chapters.

On the 29th of January, 1849, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin had been organized at Madison. It had at first but a sickly existence, for there was no person at its service with the technical skill necessary to the advancement of an undertaking of this character. Draper was invited to take charge of the work, and, as the Society's corresponding secretary, became its executive officer on the 18th of January, 1854. Then for the first time the institution began to move. The new secretary entered with joyous enthusiasm upon the business of accumulating books for the library, relics and curiosities for the museum, portraits of pioneers for the gallery and documents for publication in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. His administration opened with a library of but fifty volumes,

contained in a small case with glass doors that is to-day exhibited in the Society's museum as a suggestive relic. The library has now grown to nearly one hundred thousand priceless volumes and rich stores of pamphlets and manuscripts; its museum and art gallery annually attract over thirty-five thousand visitors; its possessions are probably marketable at nearly a million dollars, and in usefulness to the people of Wisconsin and the West are beyond price.

The story of the Society's remarkable progress, I have elsewhere related,* and need here say no more than is necessary to emphasize the great debt which it owes to Secretary Draper. During the years 1858 and 1859, Draper served Wisconsin as State superintendent of public instruction. He was quite as efficient in this role as in that of antiquarian collector, and won a national reputation among educators, for his enterprise and originality. It was, however, thought by his friends that he was neglecting his true sphere, and heeding their urgent calls the year 1860 found him back at his work in behalf of the Historical Society, in the prosecution of which he never again lagged so long as he remained corresponding secretary.

In 1869, we rather oddly find Draper—now an LL.D.—preparing and publishing, in partnership with W. A. Croffut, a well-known writer, a book of 800 pages entitled, *The Helping Hand: An American Home Book for Town and Country.* It was a compilation, culled from newspapers and magazines, of suggestions and recipes appertaining to stock and fruit raising, domestic economy, agricultural economics, cookery, household medical remedies, etc.—a singular digression for an historical specialist. The publication came eventually into the toils of a law-suit, and the authors never realized anything from their labors. It was Dr. Draper's first book.

His next work was *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, an octavo volume of 612 pages, published in 1881 by Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati. Unfortunately for the publisher and author, the greater part of the edition was consumed by fire soon after its issue, so that few copies are now extant, although the stereotype plates are in existence. Aside from the border forays of whites and Indians, the really romantic portion of the history of the Revolution in the South is confined to the whig and tory warfare of the Carolinas, which was first fully treated in *King's Mountain.* The book was well-received at the time; but in later years, Winsor and others have criticized it as possessing the faults which have ever been conspicuous in Dr. Draper's treatment of his material, a desire to be encyclopædic and a lack of proper historical per-

* *Magazine of Western History*, Jan., 1887, article on "Lyman C. Draper;" and *Library Journal*, July, 1891, article on "The Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society."

spective. But even with these faults, *King's Mountain* is, as a bulky storehouse of information obtained at first hand, regarding the Revolutionary War in the South, a permanently valuable contribution to American historical literature.

Dr. Draper rode many hobbies in his day. One of them was the collection of autographs of notable people, both for himself and for the Wisconsin Historical Society. In 1887 appeared his *Essay on the Autographic Collections of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution* (New York; pp. 117). In the preparation of this monograph, which first appeared in Vol. X. of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, he expended remarkable patience and industry, and the result is a treatise so exhaustive that probably none other will care to enter the field with him.

The following year (Cincinnati, 1888), he appeared as editor of Forman's *Narrative of a Journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in* 1789–90. In this pamphlet of sixty-seven pages he did much good work, bringing to bear upon the subject a quantity of illustrative material garnered from his own stores. This was Dr. Draper's last appearance in the book market.

I have spoken of the progress he had made upon his long-projected *Life of Boone*, and the few scattering chapters on other border heroes. He had also completed the manuscript for a volume on the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, of May, 1775—a painstaking and most exhaustive monograph.

For some time he was engaged with Consul W. Butterfield, now of Omaha, in the preparation of a work to be entitled, *Border Forays and Adventures;* the manuscript appears to have been completed, but was never published. His last weeks of work were spent in preparing notes for a proposed republication by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, of Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, Va., 1831); he had annotated about one-third of the volume, and prepared a preface and memoir. He frequently contributed biographical articles to encyclopædias; some of the sketches of noted border heroes in Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography* are from his pen.

Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties under which Dr. Draper labored, was that in his desire to inform the public he attempted too much. The variety of plans for historical works which for the last forty years of his life he had in various stages of preparation, is quite astonishing. Instead of completing these enterprises one at a time, he continually added to them all, never pausing in his zealous search for fresh details, ever hesitating in an excess of conscientious caution to construct his proposed edifices, for fear that there might yet be found new and better quarries.

Despite his ambition to work in a broader field, Dr. Draper's chief work as an historian was the editing and publication of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. Ten large octavo volumes of 500 pages each, were issued under his editorship. These constitute a vast mass of original material bearing upon the history of the State, particularly the pre-territorial epoch: all of it gathered by Dr. Draper, either through personal solicitation of manuscripts from prominent early pioneers, or by means of interviews with old-time celebrities, white and red, by the doctor himself. In the garnering of these materials for the early history of Wisconsin, the busy corresponding secretary traveled thousands of miles, wrote thousands of letters, and interviewed hundreds of individuals. Each paper in the ten volumes was carefully edited and annotated by this untiring worker, who brought to bear upon every important point a wealth of correlative illustration or needed correction. These volumes, a storehouse of original data bearing upon Wisconsin history, are enough of themselves fully to establish his reputation as an historical specialist. Their incalculable value to western historians has been frequently attested by the best of authority—Bancroft, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Lossing, and others of lesser note, having frequently complimented Dr. Draper upon their excellence and practical importance, and emphasized the debt which students of American history will always owe to him for them.

Recognizing that his physical vigor was waning, yet as ambitious to complete his greater works as in his earlier years, and quite as confident that he would succeed in the task, Dr. Draper retired from the service of his Society at the close of the year 1886. Unfortunately for himself, he had accumulated so vast a flood of material that at last it was beyond his control, and although ever hopeful of soon commencing in earnest, he could but contemplate his work with awe. He thenceforth made no important progress.

"Still puttering," he would often mournfully reply, when I would enquire as to what he was doing; but his countenance at once lightened as he cheerfully continued, "Well, I'm really going to commence on George Rogers Clark in a few days, as soon as I hear from the letters I sent to Kentucky this morning; but I am yet in doubt whether I ought to have a Boston or a New York publisher; what is your judgment?" It was ever the same story—always planning, never doing. For his Society he was one of the most practical of men, and his persistent energy was rewarded by almost phenomenal success: but that work was pressing; in his own enterprises he could wait, till at last he waited too long.

On the 15th of August, 1891, the doctor suffered a paralytic stroke, which was the beginning of the end. Nevertheless, when partially recov-

ered, he bravely returned to his desk, still confident that his projected series of a dozen huge biographies would yet leap from his pen when he was at last ready. So, full of hope though physically feeble, he toiled on until again paralysis laid him low; and on the 26th of August he passed quietly to the hereafter, his great ambition unattained, his Carcasonne unreached. Death had rung down the curtain on this tragedy of a life's desire.

Short and slight of stature, Dr. Draper was a bundle of nervous activity. Almost to the last, his seventy-six years sat easily on his shoulders. Light and rapid of step, he was yet as agile as many a youth, despite the fact that he was seldom in perfect health. His delicately-cut features, which exhibited great firmness of character and the powers of intense mental concentration, readily brightened with the most winning of smiles. By nature and by habit, he was a recluse. His existence had largely been passed among his books and manuscripts, and he cared nothing for those social alliances and gatherings which delight the average man. Long abstension from general intercourse with men with whom he had no business to transact, made him in his later years shy of forming acquaintances, and wrongly gained for him a reputation of being unapproachable. To him who had a legitimate errand thither, the latch-string of the fire-proof library and working "den"— which was hidden in a dense tangle of lilacs and crab trees in the rear of the bibliophile's residence— was always out; and the literary hermit was found to be a most amiable gentleman and a charming and often merry conversationalist, for few kept better informed on current events, or had at command a richer fund of entertaining reminiscence. To know Dr. Draper, was to admire him as a man of generous impulses, who wore his heart upon his sleeve, was the soul of purity and honor, did not understand what duplicity meant, and was sympathetic to a fault.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

VERRAZANO AND GOMEZ IN NEW YORK BAY.

In the year 1524, John (or Giovanni) Verrazano, a native of Florence, sailing in the service of Francis I, King of France, is supposed to have entered the Bay of New York, and to have caught a glimpse of the great river that empties itself into it. This supposition is based upon a description or descriptions, found in a letter which it is claimed the explorer himself addressed to Francis on his return to France, being dated at Dieppe, on July 8, 1524. This interesting letter as printed in English works, is a translation of the Italian copy preserved by Ramusio in his "Navigazioni e Viaggi," first published in 1556. But it seems that all along there existed another copy, also Italian, purported to have been sent by a young man named Carli, living at Lyons, France, to his father in Florence, enclosed in a letter, dated less than a month after Verrazano's to the King. This was preserved in manuscript in a library at Florence, until, in or about the year 1839, it was presented to the New York Historical Society. In the first volume of the second series of the Society's collections, this Carli copy was printed, accompanied by an English translation. Comparing the two copies thus placed within easy reach of all, we find some slight differences, mainly in the matter of phraseology; the most serious difference being that Carli's has an appendix, entirely omitted by Ramusio, yet referred to in the latter's copy, having for its subject the "Cosmography" of the voyage. To account for the changes in phraseology or style, some writers suggest that Carli's copy is more like the unpolished composition of a sea-captain, which the scholarly Ramusio imagined he must somewhat improve upon in transcribing it for his publication. But this theory, advanced in support of its genuineness, loses some of its force when it is considered that it is highly probable, and actually asserted by some authorities, that the letter was written originally in French; so that Ramusio's and Carli's copies were both translations. Once more it has been urged against the trustworthiness of Carli's copy, that it is decidedly improbable that a letter written at Dieppe on July 8, addressed to the King of France, should have so soon become public property that an ob-

scure young man residing at Lyons could have sent a translation of it to his father, enclosed in a letter dated August 4. But it is easier to suppose there was some subsequent juggling with dates, than that such an account as Carli's enclosure contains could have been manufactured out of whole cloth.

For in spite of the fact that review articles and even whole books have been written to prove this letter genuine or a forgery we are inclined to the belief, after impartially weighing both sides of the question, that it bears too many internal evidences of having been written by a person who actually made such a voyage, and personally saw the things he describes, to permit us to accept the rather severe conjecture that it was a complete fabrication. Possessing then considerable title to our credence, its account of the spots on our coast visited by this navigator, becomes of extreme interest to us. For, although at best, the application to any definite portion of our Atlantic border is somewhat uncertain, still it has always been supposed that among the harbors or bays described in this letter, the bay of New York is included. We subjoin the two descriptions, either of which has been claimed by various writers to designate it.

Having sighted land for the first time about the latitude of 34 degrees north, and followed our coast line northward for some three hundred miles, or one hundred leagues, Verrazano goes on to say, (we cite from New York Historical Society collections, 2d Ser. Vol. I, pp. 37–67): "We found a very pleasant situation among some steep* hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea. We took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its bank well peopled. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit. All of a sudden a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor we sailed fifty† leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it: at length we discovered an island of a triangular form about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees. We gave it the name of your Majesty's illustrious mother.

We did not land here as the weather was unfavorable, but proceeded to

*Hakluyt's version reads "*small* steep hills;" Ramusio has *piccioli*, very small; Carli has *piccoli*, small.

†Ramusio has *cinguanta*, fifty; Carli has *ottanta*, *eighty*; and thus the translation we are citing should read *eighty*, instead of *fifty* leagues.

another place fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour."

Here the explorer spent a fortnight* (becoming acquainted with two native kings), and was thus enabled to give a minute account of the surroundings. This second description is also supposed by some to have reference to the harbor of New York; Verrazano says of it: "It looks towards the south, on which side the harbor is half a league broad; afterwards upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north† is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely without fear of tempest or other dangers. Turning to the south, at the entrance of the harbor, on both sides there are very pleasant hills and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance there is a rock of free-stone formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor.

Now the question is, which of these two descriptions must be applied to the bay and river of New York? Some authors see a delineation of our bay only in the second account, and they have no explanations of the former. Others however, find an identification for each of them. They apply the first to New York Bay; and refer the second to Newport Harbor and Narragansett Bay. This theory has the advantage of giving a place to both descriptions; the course of the voyage, too, and the distance traversed from the one bay to the other, bear out its correctness. Again, the dimensions given in the second case, the circumference of sixty miles, and the distance from the entrance to the head of the bay of thirty-six miles, are all astray with regard to our Bay, within the Narrows, but may be nearly enough true of Narragansett. But, then on the other hand, the latter is not narrowed down to a mile and a half at the entrance. That same feature is attributed to both of Verrazano's bays: of New York this, of course, is true; and here too may then have been something like a rock or bar, such as might accommodate a structure like Fort Lafayette. It is more than likely that Verrazano, writing from recollection after his arrival at the port of Dieppe, was confusing some of the minor characteristics of the two places that evidently had made the deepest impression upon his mind. We, at least, of New York can understand what was that "very large river" which he saw "forcing its way into the sea." His boat

*"Fifteen days' in our text evidently is a literal translation of the French word for fortnight, "*quinze jours*"

†Evidently a "*lapsis plumae*;" Hakluyt's version has *east*; both Ramusio and Carli read *oriente*, east

passed through the Narrows, its headlands not very high, "small" in that sense, but steep and bold. Penetrating a mile and a half into the inner Bay, the situation must indeed have seemed "very pleasant." In their hasty retreat, a circuit of nine miles might have been roughly estimated. From where they turned, and from their position low by the water in a small boat, Governor's Island would have been confounded with Manhattan or Long Island; and it was impossible for them there to perceive the character of these, or of Staten Island. Even the small bits of Ellis and Bedloe's Islands would not have appeared as separated from the background of the New Jersey shore. Hence it was not *here* that "five small islands" could have been discerned. But the fortnight in Narragansett Bay would have given ample time for such a discovery there.

Accepting then Verrazano's disputed letter as on the whole genuine, we must conclude that in 1524, New York Bay was discovered and visited, and the existence of the Hudson River at least suspected. Yet that hardly takes away from Henry Hudson the character of a discoverer, for to him it was doubtless quite the same as if Verrazano had never been here, even if he had read that navigator's letter in Hakluyt. If in our day, with that interesting document in more than one version before us, familiar with every spot on our coast to which it may possibly have reference, we are still left in uncertainty as to what Verrazano really saw, and learned men can diametrically oppose one another in their conjectures as to whether he ever wrote such a letter at all—it could not have been of much use in guiding Hudson to the delectable situation of our city in the year 1609.

It has been claimed in the second place that New York Bay and the Hudson River were discovered in 1525 by Stephen Gomez, a Pilot of Spain. This navigator was a native of Portugal, and he first appears in history as accompanying Magellan in his voyage to the Straits that bear his name. After reaching the latter, Gomez had either deserted his commander or had been sent back with tidings of the discovery. Only the death of Magellan released Gomez from proceedings instituted against him on the suspicion of desertion. Then he was immediately appointed to the honorable post of Pilot of Spain, with an annual stipend.* In 1524 Gomez was one of a Commission with Sebastian Cabot, then Pilot Major of Spain, Diego Ribero, Cosmographer to the King and some other eminent personages, to decide upon the relative claims to the New World of Spain and Portugal.† He was therefore esteemed a fit man to be entrusted with an enterprize, of which

*Navarrete, "Colleccion de los Viages," III p. 179.

†Herrera, "Historia de las Indias," dec. VIII. lib. VI., cap. VI.

much was expected, which it was hoped indeed, might match in importance the discovery of Magellan.

Cortes, after his conquest of Mexico, had suggested to the Emperor Charles V, who was at the same time King of Spain, that an opening or strait, corresponding to the Straits of Magellan in the Southern Hemisphere, might possibly exist somewhere between Florida and Newfoundland, affording direct communication with the Empire of Cathay, or China.* Cortes, still bent on glory, offered to conduct an expedition himself to discover this convenient passage to those regions of precious stones and fragrant spices. But the Emperor did not close with the offer, at least did not propose to carry out the scheme upon the magnificent basis suggested. At his cost a rather insignificant outfit consisting of a single small vessel, a simple caravel, was provided and placed under the command of Stephen Gomez. Bancroft seems to intimate that there was a sinister motive back of this expedition; that envy of Sebastian Cabot, whose great triumphs in the career of discovery had been achieved while in the service of England and principally on the extreme northeastern coasts of North America, prompted his enemies to try and diminish his glory by disproving some of his accounts of those regions. But on the other hand, it is stated that Cabot, who had been associated with Gomez in the Commission mentioned above, was in entire sympathy with the proposed undertaking of his friend, was deeply interested in what its issue might prove, and aided Gomez to the full extent of his experience, and of his acquaintance with the regions to be explored.* Thus fortified, but otherwise with very slender and inadequate material means at his disposal, Gomez sailed from the port of Corunna, in Spain, early in February, 1525, directing his course far to the northwest.

According to Bancroft, this voyage of Gomez was attended with what must be considered, for our present purposes, as a most startling result. "He discovered the Hudson, probably on the 13th of June, for that is the day of St. Anthony, whose name he gave to the river."

Great as is our esteem for our distinguished and learned historian, we

*"Verrazano drew a somewhat fanciful chart of North America, and especially of the shores near the mouth of the river Hudson. This chart contributed to create the belief that about the 40th degree, a northwest passage to Asia could be discovered." (G. M. Asher's "Bibliographical and Historical Essay on New Netherland." Introduction p. xxv.)

*Dr. J. G. Kohl, the eminent geographer, remarks: "Some authors affirm that the expedition of Gomez was proposed in opposition to Cabot, and by his rivals and enemies. I find no allusions to such an enmity in any Spanish author. It only appears that there were two parties in Spain, entertaining different views on the usefulness and success of the undertaking of Gomez." (Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. I, Discovery, p. 275—Note.)

naturally find it impossible to read so positive and circumstantial a statement, without challenging his authorities or instituting a diligent search for every light that can be thrown upon the matter. Bancroft may be pardoned for passing somewhat lightly over such an assertion in a general history of the United States; but the reader will equally pardon us if we detain him with a careful presentation of the case, not for the sake of disproving the statement, but in order to weigh whatever objections may lie against it, as well as to give due force to whatever inclines towards its support, leaving to its own conclusion every impartial mind.

We look in vain for Bancroft's authorities in the edition from which we have cited. But in an earlier one (1841) we are led indirectly to a passage in Herrera's History, and more directly to the "Summary of Oviedo." The latter work, however, (as distinguished from the same author's "Historia General de las Indias,") simply mentions the *return* of Gomez, stating that he did not explore the coast *below* the 40th or 41st degree of latitude north. And Herrera, after referring to the suggestion by Cortes of a northwest passage to Cathay,* says no more than the following: "Then Stephen Gomez departed with the purpose of ascending far to the north, and ran along all that coast as far as Florida, a great extent of land, the which until then had not been explored by other Spanish navigators, although Sebastian Cabot and John Verrazano and others had explored it."*

Surely this account is meagre enough, and would hardly warrant any conclusion regarding the discovery of the Hudson River. But how is it with regard to other historians? Perhaps no one has given more painstaking and exhaustive study to the subject of the early explorations of this portion of our Atlantic coast, than the late Prof. Johan Georg Kohl, of Bremen, Germany, who was employed by both the U. S. Government and the State of Maine to conduct and publish investigations upon this subject. His comments on the voyage of Gomez are therefore of especial value. He says: "We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved, and the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition, although it had a particular interest for Spain,

*It is in this connection that Bancroft cites Herrera.

*"Partio pues Esteuan Gomez, con determinacion de subir mucho al norte, y corrio por toda aquella costa hasta la Florida, gran trecho de tierra, lo que hasta entonces por otros nauios Castellanos no estaua nauegado, aun que Sebastian Gaboto, Juan Verrazano, y otros lo auian nauegado." (Herrara, "Historia de las Indias," dec. III. lib. VIII. cap. VIII.; Ano. 1601.

being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast." This complaint against the historians Dr. Kohl repeats in language that has a very material bearing upon our present investigation. "The reports given by Spanish historians of the discoveries of Gomez along our coast are lamentably short. They determine neither his northern landfall nor the southern end of his cruise, nor the gulfs, ports, and inlets which he entered. In respect to all the particulars of his voyage we are left to probabilities."*

We cannot suppose therefore, that Mr. Bancroft would feel warranted in making his definite assertion regarding the discovery of the Hudson, on the strength of such accounts. But there are other sources of information at hand, somewhat less direct and satisfactory than a report or journal by Gomez himself would have been, but still of sufficient suggestiveness to throw considerable light upon his discoveries. He was fortunate in having the results of his explorations delineated upon maps, so that as Dr. Kohl observes, besides being left to probabilities, we possess "the official Spanish charts which were executed soon after the time of Gomez, and which speak more precisely than the Spanish authors." In 1527, or less than two years after his return, a map was prepared on the basis of his representations by an unknown cosmographer. This proving unsatisfactory, the royal cosmographer, Diego Ribero, was ordered to make a map, which was published in 1529, and was considered authoritative and official.

But it will be found that even a diligent study of these and other maps, still leaves us far from absolute certainty as to the discovery of the Hudson by Gomez. It is evident, however, that Bancroft relied upon their testimony when he made his confident assertion in regard to it, for immediately preceding it he mentions the fact that "on old Spanish maps," the territory embraced in our New England States and New York, is designated the "Land of Gomez." Did he then find a St. Anthony's River, on such maps? Not on Ribero's, for where we would look for such a river we read only of a "*Baia*" (Bay) not a "*Rio de San Antonio.*" Yet Ribero was avowedly guided in his preparation by information either derived from Gomez orally, or from some written report now lost. Perhaps therefore, the latter, like Verrazano, only saw New York Bay, and contented himself with merely guessing at the river. But was even this "Baia de San Antonio," *our* bay? Adjoining it upon the map of Ribero appears the "Cabo de Arenas," or Sandy Cape. If this were our Sandy Hook, then the close juxtaposition of these two natural features, must determine us at once to accept the the-

*Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. I., Discovery, pp. 274, 276.

ory that Gomez explored New York Bay and, perhaps, saw our river. But the learned Prof. Kohl calls attention to the fact that the prominence of the "Cabo de Arenas," upon a map on so small a scale, forbids us to suppose that so comparatively inconspicuous an object as Sandy Hook can be meant by it. He insists it must be Cape Cod; for as he says, "it is scarcely credible that a navigator, sailing like Gomez along our coast from Newfoundland and in a direction from north-east to south-west, and following the coast line as he did in search of an open passage, could have overlooked so prominent a headland as Cape Cod."* In this case then, Ribero's "Baia de San Antonio," would be Massachusetts Bay!

But there were "old Spanish maps" upon which occured the name "Rio de San Antonio." One is Sebastian Cabot's Map of the World (*Mappemonde*), preserved by Jomard,† and marked by him as of "the first half of the 16th century:" other authorities giving it the more precise date 1544. Another is the map of Chaves, published in 1536, but now lost to the world, except as two Spanish historians, Oviedo and Gomara very minutely follow it in their writings, taking up point after point by name, giving a brief description of its location or latitude, and the direction of the coast line from one to the other. For this very reason however, its details are really more intelligible, or more indicative of the actual state of geographical information in regard to our coast, than that of Cabot or Ribero which speak to us only by delineation.

Chaves then, has marked a St. Anthony's river; but is it the Hudson? In the first place we are all at sea again as to Sandy Hook. Both Oviedo and Gomara separate the Rio de San Antonio and the Cabo de Arenas, by a very great distance; the latter places eighty leagues, or two hundred and forty miles between them, the cape being that much to the south of the river; so that Dr. Kohl is inclined to think that Cape Henlopen is meant, at the entrance of Delaware Bay. But our esteemed geographer is fully convinced that the Rio de San Antonio is the Hudson River. He observes: "Oviedo* now proceeds to

*Maine Historical Society Collections Vol. I., Discovery p. 305.

†"Monumens de la Geographie," nos, 64, 65.

*The reference is to Oviedo's "Historia General de las Indias," parte II., tom I. p. 146 (ed. Madrid, 1852; the work having been originally published about 1539 or 1540). Dr. Kohl's translation of the passage is rather free, and while not at all unfaithful, yet it may be proper, in view of the importance of the subject, to give the original; "Desde aquella vuelta [at 39 degrees] que hage la tierra torna al norte, · · · e va discurriendo treynta leguas hasta el rio de Sanct Antonio, que esta Norte Sur con dicha rinconada de esta bahia; y el rio de Sanct Antonio esta en quarenta e un grados · · · Desde el rio de Sanct Antonio se corre la costa al nordeste quarta al Leste quarenta leguas hasta una punta," which Dr. Kohl supposes to be our Montauk Point.

say: 'The Rio de San Antonio is in 41 degress north. This river stands on the coast in a line directly from north to south. And whilst the coast runs north to the mouth of this river, it then begins to trend to the north-east quarter east, for more than forty leagues.' It is impossible to give a more accurate description of Hudson River* which therefore I believe to be the San Antonio of Oviedo. As Oviedo never mentions Verrazano, nor any of the names given by him, but often cites Gomez as his authority, I infer that the name Rio de San Antonio must have been derived from the account of Gomez. And this view is confirmed by Gomara who gives to a chapter of his 'Historia de las Indias,' in which he reports the expedition of Gomez, the title 'Rio de San Antonio,' as if this river had been one of the most important discoveries of Gomez."†

Now we seem at last to have reached some solid ground, quite beyond the insecure foundation of conjecture, were it not for the misleading appeal to Gomara's chapter which looks, at first so conclusive. These titles of Gomara's are not at all indicative of the subject matter treated of in the chapter which they head. They are simply waymarks for the reader. The points on the map of Chaves (as before stated) are taken up one by one, and first rapidly indicated in a summary running through some of the earlier chapters; the Rio de San Antonio with its immediately adjoining localities being thus enumerated in chapter XII. Then later commence the more extended accounts. Chapter XXXIX is headed "Los Bacallaos."

No mention whatever is made of Gomez, but we know that it is meant to trace his voyage, and at or somewhere near this extreme northeastern part his explorations began. Chapter XL, is then headed "Rio de San Antonio." Under this mention is made of Gomez, in almost the same language as Herrera's, with not a word more of information than he gives concerning the explorations of inlets or rivers; and the river of St. Anthony is not once mentioned in this chapter, much less described, after the name is placed in the heading. The reason it was chosen even as a waymark is obviously because of the conspicuous change in the direction of the coast here, as already noticed in Oviedo's account by Dr. Kohl. But there is absolutely nothing in all this to add the least confirmation to the conjecture as to the Hudson River,

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*Yet this is true rather of the *location* of the river, than of the river itself; for nothing is said of the *river* running north and south, but only of the *coast* up to its mouth; turning after that in the direction indicated.

†Dr. J. G. Kohl, Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. I., Discovery, p. 310.

or rather New York Bay, warranted by the description of the coast at this point.*

To what conclusion then are we brought by these various considerations, *pro* and *con*? It would seem that we must again concede the discovery of New York Bay, and possibly of the *mouth* of our noble river; but we need something more positive in the way of evidence to convince us that Gomez actually sailed up the Hudson, or that he even went as far as Verrazano, into the upper bay, within the Narrows. And even as regards the lower bay, Gomez as little as Verrazano, robs Hudson of the character of a discoverer. In the words of a diligent student of this subject "Although some kind of knowledge of the district explored by Hudson in 1609, might have been gathered long before this time from descriptions of voyages, maps, charts and *routiers*, the results of the investigations undertaken by him and by his Dutch successors, must yet be considered as entirely new discoveries. For Hudson's own voyage of 1609, proves beyond doubt that all the vague anterior notions were of no real value to seamen and geographers."*

*We will cite the close of the chapter (which occupies less than two pages of a small 18mo. edition of the history) to illustrate the manner of the writer in heading his chapters, and to show that it is a convenient device for attracting the eye: "y aun algunos que fauorecieron al Esteuan Gomez para el viage, que daron

¶ *Las yslas Lucayos.*"

These words are thus made to form the heading of the next chapter. (Gomara, cap. 40, fol. 31 b 32 a, Antwerp, 1554.)

*G. M. Asher, "Bibliographical and Historical Essay on New Netherland." Introduction, p. xliii.

DANIEL VAN PELT.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY HISTORY.

THE pride of western Methodism is the Great Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, the richest, and all things considered, the most prosperous of the many splendid educational institutions which have been built up in the United States, under the auspices of the Methodist Church. It is not yet two score years since the university was established, and yet within that time, it has developed into an institution which takes rank among the leading colleges of the United States in all that constitutes a great institution of learning. Few colleges are better equipped than the Northwestern University in all its departments; few have greater resources to draw upon and still fewer send out each year so large a number of young men and women fitted for the active duties of life.

On the 31st day of May, 1850, half a dozen men, interested in the educational advancement of the masses and especially in the educational work of the Methodist Church, met in the law office of Hon. Grant Goodrich, one of the early lawyers of Chicago, to consider the matter of establishing a Methodist College in the city. The gentlemen who had assembled for this purpose, discussed the question in all its bearings, and finally adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, the interests of sanctified learning require the immediate establishment of a university in the northwest, under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church: be it

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a draft of a charter, to incorporate a literary university—to be located at Chicago, to be under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church—to be submitted to the next general assembly of Illinois.

Resolved, That said committee memorialize the Rock River, Wisconsin, Michigan and Northern Indiana Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to mutually take part in the government and patronage of said university.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to ascertain what amount can be obtained for the erection and endowment of said institution.

The adoption of this series of resolutions and the appointment of the committees provided for therein, were the first steps taken toward

founding the Northwestern University. Governor John Evans, then of Chicago, but for many years past a distinguished citizen of Colorado, reported at the next meeting the draft of a charter for the proposed institution, which was adopted, and in due time received the official sanction of the general Assembly of Illinois.

By the 1st of June, 1851, sufficient progress had been made to warrant the organization of the university, and a meeting was held at the Clark Street M. E. Church in Chicago for that purpose, on the 14th of the same month. At that meeting the first board of trustees was chosen, the presidency of the institution was provided for, and the professorships of mathematics, natural sciences, and ancient and modern languages were established. The president of the university was to become professor of moral philosophy and belles-letters, and the faculty thus provided was by no means a body of high salaried teachers.

At the same meeting of the Board of Trustees it was decided that a preparatory school should be established, which should constitute the basis of the proposed university, and a committee was appointed to secure grounds upon which to build such an institution. As a result of the negotiations of this committee, the university acquired the ground now occupied by the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago, thereby becoming possessed of realty, which has contributed enormously to the revenues of the institution. During the next two years earnest efforts were made, not only by the friends of the proposed university in Chicago, but by the Methodist Churches of the northwest to promote the enterprise.

Rev. Clark T. Hinman, a graduate of Wesleyan University, became the first president of the college in 1853. He was in favor of establishing a university proper and this plan was finally agreed upon, although it was not until November, 1855, that the university was opened. The idea of starting a preparatory school having been abandoned, the land purchased for that purpose was wisely held as an investment.

President Hinman's term of service was brief, terminating with his death in 1854, and in 1856, Randolph S. Foster, now Bishop Foster, became his successor. In 1859 Dr. Foster resigned the presidency, and for nine years thereafter, Prof. Henry S. Noyes, a gifted and able man, was acting president of the institution. He was succeeded in 1869 by Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven, who was famous at that time as a minister, educator, and editor, and later as one of the ablest of the American Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1872, Dr. Haven resigned and Rev. Dr. Chas. H. Fowler, now Bishop Fowler, filled the presidency from that date until 1876. Dr. Oliver Marcy was acting president from 1876 until

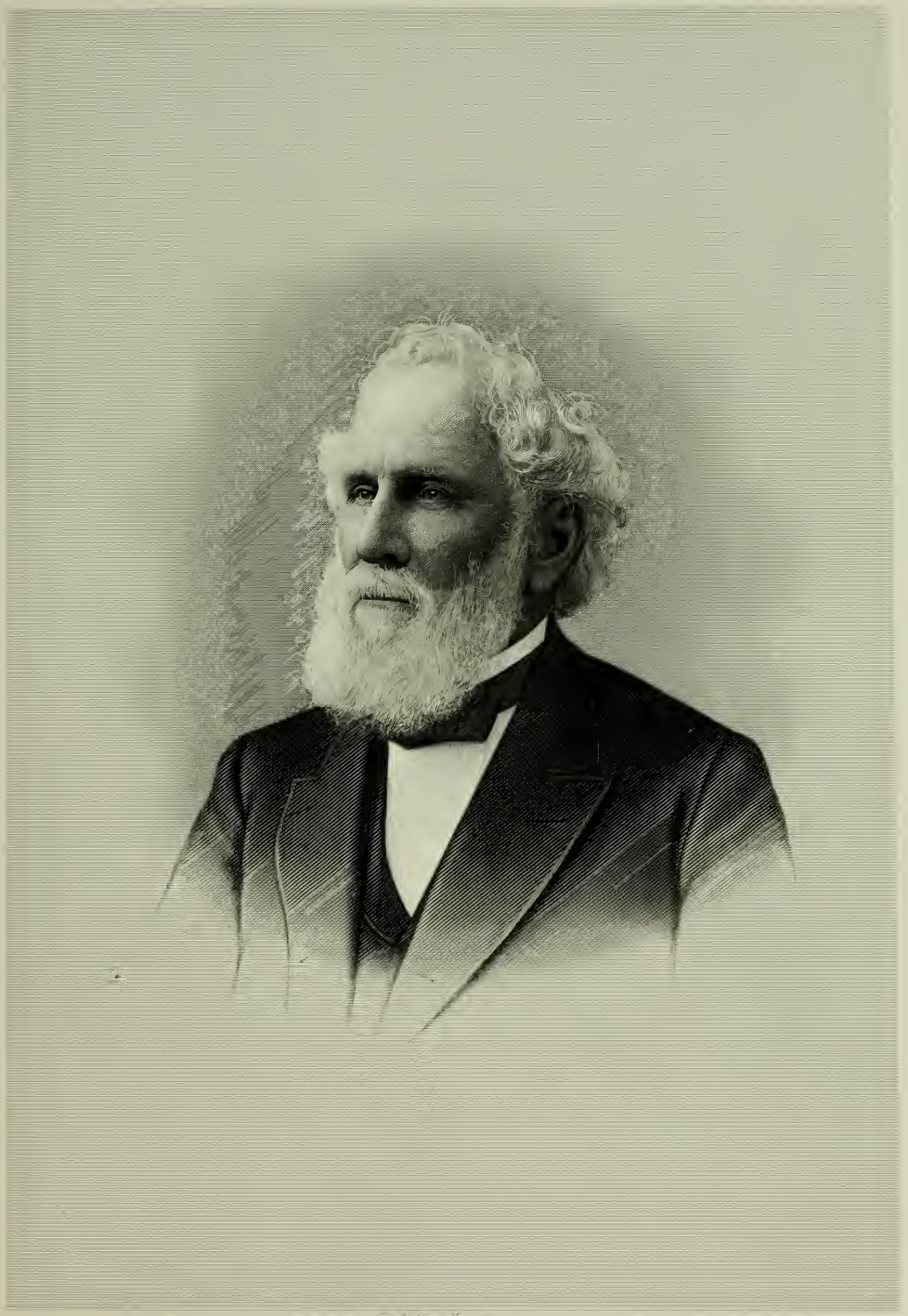
1881, when Rev. Dr. Joseph Cummings was made president serving in that capacity until his death in 1890. Dr. Henry Wade Rogers, the present head of the university, succeded Dr. Cummings.

When the founders of the university had taken the first step toward the inauguration of their enterprise, the next thing to do was to select its location. After giving this subject much careful consideration, a location was selected on the shore of Lake Michigan, twelve miles north of Chicago. In the tract of land purchased at that time, were about three hundred and fifty (350) acres, and after the university grounds had been plotted, a village was laid out, which took the name of Evanston, in honor of Dr. John Evans, who had been one of the principal promoters of the enterprise. From the date of the opening of the university, up to the present time, its growth has been uninterrupted. The little city which has grown up about the college, is a centre of culture and intelligence, popular as an educational centre, and also as a residence suburb of Chicago. Its attractiveness as a place of residence has filled the coffers of the university with funds derived from the sale of its realty, and this, together with the generous support of the Methodist Churches of the Northwest, and the liberal benefactions of certain individuals has made the Northwestern the great institution that it is to-day, with its colleges of theology, law, medicine, chemistry, pharmacy, liberal arts, fine arts, music and oratory. Its School of Theology, the Garrett Biblical Institute, is one of the most noted institutions of its kind in the country. It is situated on the University grounds, but has a distinct corporate government.

According to a statement recently made public, the Northwestern University now has an endowment of nearly $3,000,000, most of which yields a regular income. It has an attendance of nearly 1,700 students with 157 professors and instructors. It has handsome and well arranged buildings, situated in a beautiful campus of fifty acres, shaded by splendid forest trees, and its present appearance and environment are those of the ideal university.

ORRINGTON LUNT.

Among the men who founded the Northwestern University, who are still living, is one who is generally spoken of as the discoverer of Evanston, and the father of the town. The gentleman upon whom this honor is conferred is Orrington Lunt, who has been identified with the university from its inception. He was one of the party of gentlemen who met in



Orrington Lunt

the offices of Judge Grant Goodrich in 1851 and "resolved" that a Methodist University should be established in the northwest. He was a member of the first Board of Trustees organized, has been continuously a member of the Board, always on its executive committee and vice president and acting president of the Board since 1875. He has been a trustee, secretary and treasurer of the Garrett Biblical Institute from the date of its foundation, and his best efforts have, for forty years, been given to the upbuilding of the institutions at Evanston. He has been generous in his gifts, has superintended the erection of buildings and looked after the financial affairs of the university with as much care as he could have given to his own most cherished private interests. Indeed, when the city lay in ashes after the disastrous fire of 1871, though his home was swept away and his property shared largely in the destruction, his first act was to hasten to the Conferences, then in session, to secure aid for the Garrett Biblical Institute. It is, therefore, not strange that friends of the Northwestern University should feel that they owe to him a lasting debt of gratitude. He is styled the discoverer of Evanston, because as a member of the first Board of Trustees and of the committee appointed to select a location for the college, he sought out the site which has been found so admirably adapted to its purpose.

Mr. Lunt was born in Bowdoinham, Maine, December 24th, 1815. He was a son of William Lunt, prominent as a merchant of Bowdoinham, who served as a member of the State Legislature at one time, and was generally recognized as an enterprising man of affairs. The family to which he belongs, traces its ancestry back to Henry Lunt of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who immigrated to the United States from England in 1635, and his grandmother was a daughter of that distinguished Revolutionary hero, General Vose, an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a direct descendent of a noble family noted for its courage and prowess. Orrington Lunt's mother came of the Sumner family of Massachusetts, of which Charles Sumner was certainly one of the most distinguished representatives. Educated in the schools of his native village, he was called upon at an early age to turn his attention to business pursuits, beginning as a clerk in his father's store. He soon became thoroughly conversant with all branches of the business. Remaining in the store as a clerk until he attained his majority, he then became a partner with his father. When the father retired Mr. Lunt and his brother continued the business until 1842.

At that time, business being much depressed in Bowdoinham, Mr. Lunt sold out his merchantile interests and came west, Chicago being his objective point. He reached the city in November of 1842, with very little

available capital, having disposed of his business in the East at a great sacrifice. In Chicago he found a condition of affairs which rendered it practically impossible for him to engage in any business during the winter, as navigation was closed, and there were then no railways in existence in the Western States. After waiting patiently until Spring, whatever prospects he may have had were blighted by the serious illness of his wife, with whom he was compelled to return to the East.

It was not until July of 1843, that he was able to return to the city, his only capital being letters of commendation from eastern friends and business men. Purchasing a set of books on credit, he began his business career in Chicago as a commission merchant. He at once began making shipments of such produce as he could obtain, and by the summer of 1844, was fairly started in the grain trade. In 1845 he leased a lot on the river front and erected a warehouse, which he soon filled with grain after the harvest.

In those days grain was delivered by the western farmers entirely by wagon. Having accumulated something like ten thousand dollars, about this time he launched out upon a speculative enterprise in the grain trade. The result of this was that he lost all he had made. He had however, been taught the valuable lesson of conservatism, and, during his subsequent business career, met with no reverses of consequence. He became a member of the Board of Trade upon its organization, and is one of the few men now living in Chicago who were identified with it during the pioneer period of its history.

In 1853, when the entry of railroads into Chicago had changed materially the condition of trade, Mr. Lunt retired temporarily from commercial life, leasing his warehouse at that time. In 1859 he was again called upon to take charge of the business and continued in the trade until 1862, handling sometimes as much as three and a half millions of bushels of grain annually.

In 1855 he was elected water commissioner for the south division of Chicago, and in this capacity served the city six years. He became a director of the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company in 1855, and was connected with the road in this capacity, and a portion of the time also as its vice president, until it became a part of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company's system. Eminently successful as a business man, Mr. Lunt has always contributed generously for charitable, benevolent and educational work.

When he was twenty years of age, he became a member of the Methodist Church, to which he has ever since been devotedly attached. This attachment has made him a conspicuous figure in Western Methodism for more than forty years. In Chicago

he has been identified with every movement of consequence designed to advance the interests of the church. During the pioneer era of Methodism in Chicago, when lands had to be acquired and churches built, his business sagacity and unselfish devotion to the church interest secured for it much valuable property, while his direct gifts amounted to many thousands of dollars. Whenever a struggling church organization has applied to Mr. Lunt for assistance, the applicant has not gone away empty handed, although many of the churches thus assisted have been of denominations other than that with which he was affiliated.

Under all circumstances, he has been recognized as one of those public spirited citizens who could be relied upon to aid every worthy enterprise. He was one of the builders of the Chicago Orphan Asylum, and served as a member of the War Finance Committee of Chicago, spending the first Sabbath after the fall of Fort Sumter in obtaining supplies and arranging to start the first regiment of troops sent out of the city to the front.

Of the Northwestern University, Mr. Lunt has been one of the most generous benefactors. In addition to numerous smaller gifts, he bestowed upon the University at one time, a direct gift of fifty thousand dollars, and at another time realty now valued at more than one hundred thousand dollars. The gift last mentioned has been set apart by the university authorities as the "Orrington Lunt Library Fund." These munificent donations, valuable as they have been and are to the Northwestern University, have been less valuable to it than the personal services, the business sagacity, and the persistent effort of Mr. Lunt, as one of the principal officials and patrons of the institutions.

In 1842, Cornelia A. Gray, daughter of Hon. Samuel Gray of Bowdoinham—prominent in the State of Maine as lawyer and legislator—became the wife of Mr. Lunt. One daughter and two sons, the children of Mr. and Mrs. Lunt, have gladdened and honored their home. The daughter, Miss Cornelia G. Lunt, an earnest, cultivated woman of rare intellectual and social gifts, is noted for her philanthropic spirit and her efficient services in behalf of the advancement of religious, educational and charitable work. The eldest son is a lawyer of fine attainments, and the second a business man of high character and sterling integrity. On the sixteenth day of January of the present year, Mr. and Mrs. Lunt celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. On that occasion there came to the much beloved benefactor of Western Methodism and its institutions, and to his equally beloved wife, the congratulations of friends from all parts of the United States. Telegrams and letters from many of the bishops and leading

ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who have been more or less intimately associated with Mr. Lunt in church and educational work, bore abundant testimony of their appreciation of his labors and to the depth of their regard for him. Nor were those tributes confined to those whose church affiliations are the same as his.

Prof. David Swing, the scholarly and eloquent Chicago divine, gave expression to his regard in a happily written letter, while other clergymen, not of the Methodist faith, were no less fervent and sincere in their testimonials to the beneficence of his life.

At his home on the evening of the 16th of January, the presence of a large number of friends, together with University officials, members of the Faculty and church dignitaries, bore added testimony to the esteem in which he is held in the community, with which he has been so long identified and which he has done so much to build up. Dr. Henry Wade Rogers, president of the Northwestern University, said on that occasion:

> "Life has its regal natures yet,
> True, tender, brave and sweet!"

"Yours is one of them. No man hath ever seen in you anything but that which becometh a brave, pure and gentle nature. And no man lives who does not wish you well."

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE BLOODLESS DUEL BETWEEN CLAY AND RANDOLPH.

CORRESPONDENCE HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

COLTON in his "Life of Clay," perhaps from motives of delicacy, makes only slight reference to the famous bloodless duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph, while he elaborates at great length the story of what he terms the "Great Conspiracy" with which this most dramatic incident was closely connected. Garland's "Life of Randolph," devotes a chapter to the combat, but does not present the documentary evidence.

A fresh interest has been given to the story of this most extraordinary encounter by the recent sale in Philadelphia of the original correspondence which passed between the principals and their seconds on that memorable occasion. For nearly seventy years these old letters have remained in the possession of a Virginia family, hidden from the world, the former owner being a maternal descendant of John Randolph. While this most interesting correspondence was in Philadelphia, the writer had permission to make copies, and obtain a facsimile of Mr. Clay's brief note of challenge, for publication.

These old letters take us back to the events of the first year of the presidency of John Quincy Adams, who had been made President by the vote and influence of Henry Clay. The Spanish-American republics had conceived the idea of a grand Amphictyonic council to be held on the Isthmus of Panama. The United States was invited to become a member of this Congress. This scheme, with its largeness of idea and far-reaching possibilities, strongly enlisted the enthusiasm of Clay, and indeed for a time filled the whole public mind with its fascinations. It is now altogether forgotten and even at that time, when the dispassionate judgment of the people themselves had a fair opportunity to work on its illusions, they were rapidly dissipated.

In the course of a long debate which began on Jan. 15, 1826, on a resolution about the propriety of discussing with open doors a confidential communication from the President in connection with the proposed Panama congress, John Randolph made the famous reference to Adams and Clay as "the Puritan and blackleg," which precipitated the historic encounter. The exact language used is somewhat in doubt, as the daily re-

ports of Congress had not then been begun, but according to Mr. Garland, Randolph said, "I am defeated, horse, foot and dragoons—cut up and clean broke down by the coalition of Blifil and Black George—by the combination unheard of till now, of the Puritan and the blackleg—" Joined with this were insinuations that invitations to the Panama Congress had been forged by the Secretary of State—and it is said he even went to much greater lengths, and referred to Clay as "this being, so brilliant, yet so corrupt, which like a rotten mackerel in the moonlight, shined and stunk."

This language of inconceivable abuse, even for the unlicensed tongue of John Randolph, was reported to Clay, who promptly sent a challenge. His autograph note reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, 31 MARCH 1826.

SIR:

Your unprovoked attack of [on] my character, in the Senate of the U. States, on yesterday, allows me no other alternative than that of demanding personal satisfaction. The necessity of any preliminary discussions or explanations being superseded by the notoriety and the indisputable existence of the injury to which I refer, my friend General Jessup, who will present you this note, [and who] is fully authorized by me forthwith to agree to the arrangements suited to the interview proposed.

I am your obedient servant

H. CLAY.

The Honorable

JOHN RANDOLPH.

Randolph had been elected to the Senate to fill a vacancy, under unusual circumstances, and had taken his seat in December. Contemporary evidence shows that during this whole session he had been distinguished by more than ordinary eccentricity of manner and license of speech. He saw an opportunity now to break the broadening political influence of Clay and to strike a blow as well at the "American House of Stuart," as he called the Adamses.

It is doubtful if Randolph expected Clay would send a challenge, but having done so he could not refuse to meet him. Virginia in those days would not have tolorated such a course in her representative. He had, it is true, refused to meet General Wilkinson in 1807, saying "I cannot sink to your level," but with Clay as the challenger, the case was far different, and it is not easy to see how he could avoid accepting without losing caste among his constituents.

Jr

Washington 31 March 1826

Your unprovoked attack of my character, in the Senate of the U. States, on yesterday, allows me no other alternative than that of demanding personal satisfaction. The necessity of any preliminary discussions or explanations being superseded by the notoriety and the indisputable existence of the cause to which I refer, my friend General Jessup, who will present you this note, is fully authorized by me forthwith to agree to the arrangements suited to the occasion proposed

I am Your Obed. Servt

H. Clay

The Honorable John Randolph

The next day Randolph sent the following formal acceptance.

KERNARD'S, NEAR THE 7 BUILDINGS
Saturday, April 1st.

Mr. Randolph accepts the challenge of Mr. Clay: at the same time that he protests against the right of any minister or the Executive Government to hold him responsible for words spoken in debate as a Senator of Virginia in crimination of such minister, or of the administration under which he shall have taken office; however honorable the manner of his induction may have been. Mr. Randolph also protests against Mr. Clay's right as a private man to hold him responsible in a court of honour, until Mr. Clay himself shall stand *rectus in curia*, and in that court; until Mr. Clay shall have redeemed his publick pledge under his own proper signature to call out to the field of honour any member of the House of Representatives, who shall acknowledge himself to be the author of a certain letter; which avowal was publickly made, and on the floor of that house, by Mr. Kremer, then and now a member of that body from the State of Pennsylvania. Col. Tattnall of Georgia, the bearer of this letter, is authorized to arrange with General Jesup, the bearer of Mr. Clay's challenge, the terms of that meeting to which Mr. Randolph is invited by note.

TO HENRY CLAY ESQ.
Secretary of State.

This old letter which is well preserved, has every appearance of having been a rough draft from which a more perfect copy was taken, for it has many words erased and several additions, interlineations and corrections. The reference in the note to the Kremer incident was a thrust which Clay must have felt deeply. This whole affair is a bit of curious history which is so closely interwoven with the circumstances leading to the duel, that it is pertinent to give it here.

On January 25, 1825, when the disputed contest for the presidency was pending in Congress, and Clay was speaker of the House of Representatives, and when it was well understood that he was intending to vote for Mr. Adams for President, an unsigned letter, dated at Washington, was published in the "Columbian

Observer" in Philadelphia, in which the writer used the following language: "I proceed to give a brief account of a bargain as can only be equaled by the famous Burr conspiracy of 1801. * * Henry Clay has transferred his interests to John Quincy Adams. * * Should this unholy coalition prevail, Clay is to be appointed Secretary of State."

This was the origin of the famous charge of "bargain and corruption"—a political battle-cry which was used against Clay with merciless persistency, and which perhaps more than any other one thing prevented him from entering into the "promised land" of the presidency which he looked at with eager eyes for thirty years—but which was always hopelessly beyond him. He found himself in a crisis, and must meet it. He promptly published a card in the National Intelligence of February 1, in which he answers the author of the letter and which closes with these words: "If he dare unveil himself and avow his name, I will hold him responsible, as I here admit myself to be, to all the laws which govern and regulate men of honor." There was no mistaking the meaning of this language, and indeed Clay afterwards acknowledged that its defiant construction was intended.

It is interesting to note here that Clay, in an address to his constituents a few weeks after the election of Adams, regrets this final paragraph of the card in the "Intelligencer," and utters the following language in regard to duelling: "No man holds in deeper horror that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgment and philosophy of every thinking man, its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription." Only a year from the time Mr. Clay uttered this noble sentiment, so thoroughly reflecting the advanced modern judgment, he stood pistol in hand awaiting the word to fire at Randolph.

George Kremer, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, at once issues a card and avows himself the author of the letter in the *Observer*, and declares that he holds himself ready to prove to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced minds, the accuracy of the statements concerning the course and conduct of "H. Clay."

The moment Mr. Clay discovered who his antagonist was, he saw that the real authors of the letter were in concealment behind the eccentric and simple-minded Kremer. To hold him responsible was, as Mr. Clay afterwards said, to have exposed himself to universal ridicule. He wisely decided to present the matter to the House, which in his opinion was the proper place to institute the inquiry, as it would be the proper place to apply the punishment, if he was guilty. This action and attitude of Clay was an unquestioned surprise to those who were pulling the strings of the puppet Kremer, and it was at once

seen that it operated as a practical and dignified withdrawal of the defiant meaning of his card. Having confessed to several in private that he was not the author of the letter, having written a disclaimer to Clay, which he withdrew under pressure of his friends; Kremer finally assented to the inquiry on being assured that the charges would be substantiated. In a long letter he afterwards declined to appear before the committee as either accuser or witness, and the official phase of the incident came to this lame conclusion. Mr. Clay's enemies thus shrewdly kept the charge from the authoritative refutation it should have received.

In the light of historical evidence and the proper adjustment of facts, it stands to-day as a bold intrigue to break down the influence of Clay and Adams, to advance the political fortunes of Jackson. It kept the minds of men for a long time in an intense partisan excitement. The evil effect of the bargain and corruption cry was never quite overcome. Clay met what seemed to him and his friends an important crisis in a manner at once dignified and courageous. After anxious consultation and against the advice of some whose counsel he valued very highly, he determined to accept the portfolio of Secretary of State which Mr. Adams offered him. "They have yet to learn my character," said Clay in a letter to Brooks, his life-long friend, "if they suppose it possible to make me swerve from my duty by any species of intimidation."

Kremer seems to have been an ignorant, commonplace, characterless man; one of a class who, to the surprise of themselves as well as others, find themselves in responsible public place through some unexpected turn in the fickle wheel of political fortune. His eccentricity is well illustrated by the fact, as stated by one writer, that he attracted great attention in Washington by wearing on all occasions a leopardskin overcoat of curious cut. Webster, writing to his brother Ezekiel in New Hampshire, gives this most humorous characterization; "Kremer is a man with whom one would as soon think of having a shot, as with your neighbor Mr. Simeon Atkinson, whom he much resembles."

Such was Kremer and such the incident to which Randolph refers with characteristic sarcasm in his letter of acceptance, and which illustrates as well the force and meaning of the protest against Clay's right in his character of private citizen to hold him responsible "until Mr. Clay himself shall stand *rectus in curia* and in that court." In this way, Randolph sought, while positively accepting, to break the moral effect (so to term it) of the challenge.

Following the exchange of the formal notes of challenge and acceptance, the chosen friends of the parties, General Jesup and Col. Tattnall take up the correspondence. This is con-

ducted by them with a punctilious regard for all those niceties which in those days invested an "affair of honor."

WASHINGTON CITY, 2d. April, 1826.

SIR :

Mr. Clay has this moment put into my hands the note of Mr. Randolph, dated yesterday, in reply to his of the 31st, ult. As that note necessarily closes the correspondence between these gentlemen, it only remains for us to make the necessary arrangements preparatory to the meeting. It is my anxious wish that they be placed in all respects on the most perfect equality, in which I am confident you concur with me. I have therefor to ask of you to state the condition of the meeting as to time, distance, arms, place, and manner of proceeding.

In regard to the protest with which Mr. Randolph's note concludes, it is due to Mr. Clay to say that he had been informed Mr. Randolph did and would hold himself responsible to him for any observations he might make in relation to him, and that I distinctly understood from Mr. Randolph, before I delivered the note of Mr. Clay's, that he waived his privilege as a senator.

I am with great respect and esteem, Sir

Y'r ob't s't

Th. S. JESUP.

The reply to this note is interesting, as showing some inclination on the part of Mr. Randolph's friend to open an opportunity for compromise on the ground of a misunderstanding of the report upon which Mr. Clay had formulated his general and peremptory challenge which in its terms had closed the door against any adjustment. It is indeed very evident that the friends of both parties continued the interchange of notes as long as possible, in the hope that some happy chance might introduce a basis of amicable and honorable settlement.

MRS. HOMAN'S, April, 3, 1826.

SIR :

To your note of the 2d. inst, received last night. I have to reply that I shall be happy to see you at my lodgings at 10 o'clock for the purpose of arranging with

you the terms of the contemplated meeting between Messrs. Randolph and Clay. The anxious wish which you express that they be placed in all respects on the most perfect equality is most sincerely reciprocated by me. Upon no other principle could I consent to act.

You state that in regard to the protest with which Mr. Randolph's note concludes, it is due to Mr. Clay to say that he had been informed Mr. Randolph did and would hold himself responsible to him for any observations he might make in relation to him. As this expression may be construed to mean that Mr. Randolph had given this intimation not only before called upon, but in such a manner as to throw out to Mr. C. something like an invitation to make such a call, I have on the part of Mr. Randolph, to disavow any disposition, when expressing a readiness to waive his privilege as a Senator from Virginia, to invite, in any case, a call upon his personal satisfaction.

The concluding paragraph of your note I presume, is intended to show merely that you did not present a note (such as that of Mr. Clay) to Mr. Randolph until you had ascertained his willingness to waive his privilege as a Senator. This I infer, as it will be in your recollection that the expression of such readiness on the part of Mr. R. was in reply to an inquiry on that point made by yourself. I am, dear Sir, with cordial and most respectful esteem, yours truly,

EDW. F. TATTNALL.

The seconds met at Col. Tattnall's lodgings and the Colonel framed the cartel of the combat which subsequently is accepted and signed by Gen. Jesup. This was its form.

MEMORANDUM OF THE TERMS OF THE CONTEMPLATED MEETING BETWEEN MESSRS. RANDOLPH AND CLAY.

The weapons shall be pistols, each party to have one; the pistols to be smooth bore. The distance shall be ten paces or thirty feet.

The time of meeting shall be Saturday April 8th. 1826 at half-past four o'clock P. M.

The place of meeting shall be immediately out of the District of Columbia and the first private spot after passing the toll bridge on the new turnpike road leading from Alexandria.

The manner of holding pistols shall be perpendicularly up or down, the word "perpendicular" to be understood in its strictest sense.

The word will be "are you ready?" "Fire!"—"One"—"Two"—"Three"—"Stop"

The pistols are not to be raised or dropped until the word "Fire" At the word "Fire" the parties may fire as quickly as either may please. At the word "Stop," should either party have not fired, he shall be deemed to have lost his fire.

The right of giving the word and the "choice of stands" shall be determined by lot, it being, however, understood that he who wins the one shall be considered as losing the other. The posture of each party shall be such as the convenience of either may dictate.

The persons who shall be present at the meeting shall be two friends and a surgeon with each party.

TH. S. JESUP
EDWARD F. TATTNALL.

Note—The place of meeting was, subsequently to the above arrangement, altered, having in view the convenience of both parties.

E. F. T.

Gen. Jesup was the author of the next note—a brief one. This is dated two days before the encounter, and introduces a new element in the correspondence—a suggestion to vary the cartel by adding the word "four." Perhaps its only intention is to feel the pulse of the other side.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 6, 1826.

DEAR SIR:

Since I received your note yesterday I have not seen Mr. C.—and I am so much indisposed that it is possible I may not see him to-day; before I return the paper I wish to see him. He expressed to me yesterday morning a wish that the word "four" should be added, to

precede the word "stop." Will you inform me by note whether it can be added?

It would be equally agreeable to me to go down in a gig to-morrow, provided you can drive. I have neither hands nor eyes to enable me to do so without danger to to our limbs. Yours most cordially

COL. TATTNALL. TH. S. JESUP.

The purpose of Gen. Jesup had apparently been successful, for the reply of Col. Tatnall is written on the same day and shows traces of some anxiety.

[DUPLICATE.]

4 P. M. MRS. HOMAN'S
6th. April 1826.

DEAR GENERAL,

The proposition to add the word "four" if intended to be official, I accede to it, and in such case feel it my duty to say I am willing to extend it, if desired, still more—if however, I am to regard it as unofficial (and it must rest with you to say which), I am disposed, for the reasons which have influenced that part of the contract which has been unofficial, to suggest the propriety of rejecting the alteration. This rejection is, however, to be a matter between you and myself. I have not consulted with Mr. R. on this matter and shall not. Acting in an unofficial character I am not inclined to accept the alteration, but when acting in the official one I am compelled to do so, for the proposition contains in itself necessarily, an intimation to place the matter on a more serious footing, which proposition we therefore could not decline.

I regret that you did not endeavor to overrule the proposed alteration as it would be competent for you alone to do it. Is it yet too late? Could you not urge upon Mr. C. that these are the usual words, and that a further extension of them might subject us all to severe animadversion?

I am a very good driver and will thank you to say when and where I shall join you.

With high esteem, yours &c.

GENL. JESUP. EDWARD F. TATTNALL.

From the first Randolph had insisted that he would not fire at Mr. Clay. Benton states that Mr. Randolph made this declaration to him on the same day of his letter of acceptance, enjoining secrecy until the duel was over. It is asserted by his friends that the determination was based not only on his wish not to hurt Clay, for Randolph's reputation as a fine shot was well known, but still more on the emphasis it would give to his denial of the right of any person to question him out of the Senate, for any words spoken in it. It was however only on the night before the duel that this intention became known to Col. Tattnall, who went to Mr. Randolph's lodgings shortly before midnight to make a protest. Gen. Hamilton, who had been joined with Col. Tattnall under the terms of the cartel, accompanied him and gives an account of this interview, which is only one of many picturesque scenes which surrounded this remarkable affair. They found Mr. Randolph reading Milton, one of his favorite poets, and without giving them any opportunity to discuss the subject of the duel, entered on an elaborate criticism of some passage in Paradise Lost. When this was finished, the question of his intention not to fire at Clay was discussed. Tattnall expostulated and finally declared that he would withdraw at the last moment unless Clay's fire was to be returned. Neither party would yield their positions, and the matter was finally adjusted, on a somewhat Pickwickian theory, by Randolph's agreeing that he would fire in case it should seem to him necessary for self-defence. The story of what actually occurred, step by step, in the duel, becomes doubly interesting from this circumstance.

In the closing letter of the correspondence, Gen. Jesup seems to indicate that whatever the force of adding the word "four" may have been —a strategy to gain time—an endeavor to win some foothold for a reconciliation, or an audacious "bluff"— its usefulness had ended and he hastens to assure Col. Tattnall that his letter was unofficial.

WASHINGTON, 7th. Apl., 1826.

DEAR SIR:

When I wrote you yesterday I had not seen Mr. C., and merely mentioned to you unofficially a suggestion made by him the day preceeding. On presenting to him yesterday evening the articles agreed on by us, he said he was perfectly satisfied. I shall therefore sign the papers, and when we meet hand one of them to you.

Were you to call for me at my house it would, perhaps, excite less suspicion—say 10 o'clock.

Y'rs sincerely

COL. TATTNALL. TH. S. JESUP.

The duel took place on the afternoon of April 8th, above the Little Falls bridge on the right bank of the Potomac, within the State of Virginia. It had been a part of Randolph's determination, and another expression of the very dramatic side of his character, if he fell, to fall on Virginia soil. In its progress the duel was in many ways as absurd and romantic as it could well be and only the terrible earnestness of Mr. Clay lent it real dignity. The story of the combat is told at great length by Benton in his Thirty Years View, with all the gusto of the connoisseur. By comparing the various accounts, the main incidents are fairly well established. Having taken their places Randolph's pistol is accidentally discharged with the muzzle down, much to his mortification, while Gen. Jesup was rehearsing the word in accordance with the cartel. This incident caused some discussion among the seconds, and Clay is reported to have said "this is child's play."

They take positions again, and from some impulse that crystallized at the moment, possibly inspired by the premature discharge of his pistol, Randolph, when the word is given, fires at the same time with Clay, both parties escaping injury, but both bullets going so true, according to Benton, that it is a marvel how they missed. A third time they face each other, the Kentuckian firing first, and the Virginian firing in the air, thus carrying out his original intention.

Garland states that Randolph did not fire at Clay, but this does not agree with the narration of Benton, who came on the field as a "mutual friend," or with that of Gen. Jesup. It is certain that the most trustworthy account is that contained in a letter written by Gen. Jesup in 1853. It was in answer to an inquiry made by Jas. B. Clay and as it was written nearly thirty years after the event, its statements would seem to be sufficiently dispassionate to be accepted.

"I have never seen Garland's book," runs this letter, "but the statement that Randolph, in the duel with your father, did not fire at him is incorrect. . . . In that affair Col. Tattnall won the choice of positions, and I placed your father opposite, distant ten paces. Randolph desired to know how I would give the word when ready. I repeated it. He desired to hear it again. While I was repeating it the second time his pistol was discharged. . . . Your father called to me, 'It was an accident. I saw it.' The parties resumed their stations and exchanged shots. Mr. Randolph's ball striking a small stump in rear of, and in line with your father, his ball passing through Randolph's coat. The parties again took their stations and the word was given by Col. Tatnall—your father fired at Randolph—the latter fired in the air, exclaiming at the moment, 'Mr. Clay, I came on this ground determined not to fire at you, but the unfortunate discharge of my pistol

(and I think he said 'with the circumstances attending it') for a moment changed my mind.' They sprang forward as if by a common impulse and grasped each other by the hand, each expressing the pleasure he felt that the other was unhurt." According to another account Randolph said, as he advanced and offered his hand to Mr. Clay who met him half way, "I did not fire at you, Mr. Clay," adding jocosely "You owe me a coat," to which Clay replied, "I am glad the debt is no greater."

On the following Monday the parties exchanged cards and social relations were formally and courteously restored. The reconciliation was not made complete, however, until afterwards in a notable scene in the Senate. Randolph is carried to his seat though very feeble, and when Clay began to speak said to his friends, "Help me up, I came to hear that voice." In a letter to Judge Brooke, and referring without doubt, to the same occasion, Clay stated that he crossed the Senate Chamber to offer his hand to Randolph, whom he describes as, at that time, very feeble.

Owing probably to the partisan feeling, which was at that time intense, the story of the duel—its antecedent circumstances as well as the encounter itself—became embroidered with many curious and fantastic incidents, some of which have been gravely regarded as historical. One biographer states that Randolph wore a huge buckskin glove on his pistol hand, which accounted for the premature discharge of his pistol. The most curious, as well as the most improbable of all, is the story to which another biographer gives authority,* that Randolph appeared on the field in a dressing-gown, and so careful an historian as Mr. Adams in his recent Life of John Randolph accepts the incident as historical, while Morse in his Life of John Quincy Adams, lately issued, speaks of Randolph's "long flannel coat" and evidently gives credence to the same story, notwithstanding its inherent improbability. It may be assumed that it was too nice a bit of dramatic coloring to be passed by. There was never any question of Mr. Randolph's eccentricities, but it is inconceivable that with so many witnesses actually on the field, no one of them has referred to what would have been, in any formal meeting of gentlemen for a less serious purpose, a most extraordinary circumstance.

Benton's elaborate and lively ac-

* Prentice's Life of Clay. (Appendix, Note 9.) "In defiance of established usage Mr. Randolph went on the field in a huge dressing-gown, and had not Clay interfered, the seconds would have made this singular conduct the occasion of a quarrel. In due time the parties fired and Mr. Randolph's life was saved by his gown. The unseemly garment constituted such a vast circumference that the locality of 'the thin and swarthy Senator' was at least a matter of very vague conjecture. Mr. C. might as well have fired into the outspread top of an oak, in the hope of hitting a bird that he supposed to be snugly perched somewhere among the branches."

count of the whole affair, in which his own role of "My Best Friend" to both parties is given full prominence, contains some very curious and interesting circumstances. Benton states that he sought Randolph at his lodgings at noon on the day of the duel, to discover if possible if he was still fixed in his determination not to fire at Clay. He found him engaged in making changes in his will. He accomplished his mission by telling him of a visit he made to Clay the night before, and drew a picture of his child asleep on the sofa, and the unconscious tranquility of Mrs. Clay. "I shall do nothing to disturb the sleep of the child or the repose of the mother," said Randolph when he had finished, which seemed to satisfy Benton of Randolph's unchanged purpose. Benton also reports Randolph as saying to him on the field after shots had been exchanged, "I would not have seen him fall mortally, or even doubtfully wounded for all the land that is watered by the King of Floods and all his tributary streams." This seems strangely grandiloquent language to have been really spoken under the circumstances. Benton relates with keen relish that Mr. Randolph had provided some gold pieces, which in case he fell "were to be found in his left trousers pocket," and were to be made into seals for the seconds and himself, in commemoration of the meeting. Mr. Randolph said after the duel, that Clay's bad shooting should not rob them of these tokens. The seals were made in London, on Randolph's next visit. Benton's was inscribed with an heraldic device and a motto was added by Randolph, "Factis non Verbis." Benton repeats Randolph's pleasantry, that the *non* should have been *et*, a witticism which Benton's contemporaries must have keenly appreciated.

Benton closes his account with these words, which are very characteristic of the man and his "point of view:" "It was about the last high-toned duel that I have witnessed, and among the highest toned that I have ever witnessed, and so happily conducted to a fortunate issue, a result due to the noble character of the seconds as well as to the generous and heroic spirit of the principals."

This is said to be the last duel in which a high government official was one of the contestants. Randolph died a few years afterwards in 1833, in Philadelphia. The circumstances of his death had a certain dramatic fitness in correspondence with his whole life. Clay lived many years afterwards, but his eager pursuit of the Presidency did not permit the incident, and the circumstances out of which it grew, to be forgotten. The integrity of his public character however, which remained unblemished, his ardent Americanism and pure patriotism, made him at his death the best-beloved of the statesmen of his time.

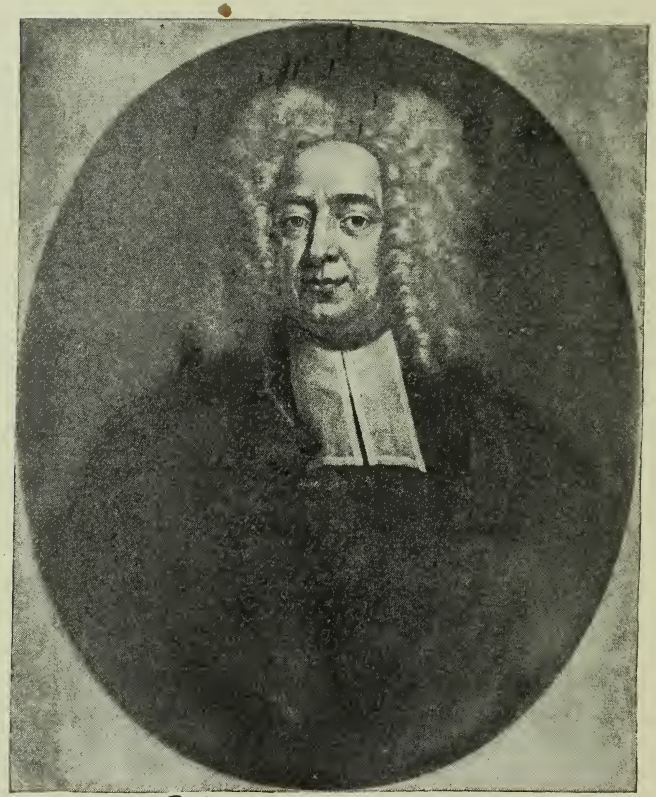
E. Leslie Gilliams.

"A PURITAN PRIEST."*

A MORE incongruous combination of terms than this of our caption, would seem hardly possible. Of course we are aware that there were Puritans before the days of Protestantism; of course there were abstemious, woe-inflicting, self-afflicting, pleasure-denouncing and renouncing priests in the ranks of Monasticism and Jesuitism, Loyola was perhaps the strictest Puritan that ever lived. But when we mean Puritan in the American sense, we mean a class of people anything but Popish, the very quintessence of English Protestantism. And should there have been a priest among them? Could there have been anything like the system represented by priestcraft possible among such a race as this? Doctrinally, theoretically, theologically, far from it. But practically, actually, the course of early New England history would hardly allow us to draw any other conclusion.

The book under review seeks to make out this somewhat novel point, and commends to our attention the well-known name and figure of Cotton Mather, as answering in every way to this apparently anomalous description. Well, the priestly character in the oldest times was a matter of heredity, a question of family, of descent from father to son, of tribal concern, as witness the Levites, and especially the Aaronitic line among the Levites. On this ground Cotton Mather was decidedly of a priestly caste. As the President of Harvard said at his graduation: "How notable a name! I am wrong my friends; I should rather have said what notable names!" His grandfathers were John Cotton and Richard Mather, notable preachers among the first settlers of Massachusetts. His father was Increase Mather, "the ablest and most eminent minister in America." If at his graduation he was not permitted to forget this descent, we may be sure the thought or consciousness of such forefathers was ever alive within him, stimulating the conviction that he was set apart by Providence and nature unto the godly office. True, he began the study of medicine after graduating; but there was an impediment of speech that momentarily diverted him from the sacred calling; and so strong was the

*Cotton Mather, The Puritan Priest, by Barrett Wendell (Makers of America series, New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1891.)



Cottonus Matherus
S. Theologiæ Doctor, Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Socius,
et Ecclesiæ apud Bostonum Nov-Anglorum Primarius.
Ætatis Suæ LXV, MDCCXVII.

pressure of the very blood within him, that we find him preaching ere the impediment was gone. So again, when sons are born to him there is no thought but of their being destined for the pulpit; and it is one of his most poignant griefs that the brighter and more beloved of the two that lived to man's estate did not take to religious pursuits at all, much less to the ministry. But the other, whose education "puzzled" him, as he expresses it in his diary, a dull youth, did manage, puzzling as it was, to get through college and university, and became a preacher, albeit his abilities were of such moderate order, that Prof. Wendell has reason to observe that his "biography of his father is probably the most colorless book in the English language." If birth, heredity, family tradition, have anything to do with establishing a caste (and they have everything to do with that) and have under other circumstances or countries established a priestly caste, then we need not violently stretch the truth to say that Cotton Mather was a priest by caste.

But yet not necessarily a priest by this alone; nor would we be warranted in classifying him as a priest, if there were no other qualities or sentiments, or acts, which would justify us in fixing this designation upon him. Prof. Wendell by an admirably skillful and judicious use of the many diaries (for various years) Cotton Mather has left, makes us very intimately acquainted with the man. We enter with him into his closet, where in awful and awe inspiring secrecy he is alone with God, and prays and thinks there, analyzing his motives, questioning the happenings of the days as they come and go. We might be standing by the side of a Thomas a Kempis in his cell on Mount St. Agnes, or beside Luther in his soul-struggles before the spirit that created Protestantism had come to illuminate his path and to clear his reasoning powers. Even in the matter of angelic visits to the cells of the devout in the middle ages, fit food for the poet's pen to-day, we find this evangelical, practical, Puritan akin with priests of another denomination. He records in Latin, as a thing too sacred for the common eye.

"A strange and memorable thing. After outpourings of prayer, with the utmost fervor and fasting, there appeared an angel, whose face shone like the noonday sun. His features were as those of a man, and beardless; his head was encircled by a splendid tiara; on his shoulders were wings [thus correctly traditional in all things, in spite of the fact that Cotton Mather had studied medicine, and presumably anatomy]. Many things this angel said which it is not fit to set down here. Lord Jesus! What is the meaning of this marvel? From the wiles of the devil, I beseech thee, deliver and defend thy most unworthy servant."

This was but the earliest of these ecstatic visions. He was expecting them all the time. A man thus favored by heaven, thus visited by heavenly denizens, was a man by himself, something above the crowd,

standing between God and those moving on a lower plane of spiritual privilege. A man in this frame of mind, or habit of thinking or feeling, in spite of himself, in spite of his theology, unconsciously to himself it may be, and in defiance of the most pronounced external Protestantism, was a priest.

And if he was, though unconsciously so in principle, the priestly character must break forth into action. A true priest, though he may live amid the realities of an unseen world, and hold familiar intercourse with forms invisible to other men,—a true priest cannot leave the world around him alone, nor refrain from meddling with the affairs of men of flesh and blood. And here the Puritan priest by birth and of the secret cell of rapturous meditation, stands revealed at the bar of historic judgment. The craft, the force, the lust for temporal power that attaches to every priesthood, characterized that of grandfather Cotton and the two Mathers. A priesthood cannot exist without a theocracy. Cotton escaped from the theocracy of Anglican prelacy; he could not endure it in England, he fled from it to Boston. But he showed how much he relished and shared the spirit of it by forthwith establishing a prelacy, with himself and brother ministers the spiritual aristocracy, in America. This is what the qualification of church membership for citizenship meant. The ministers with their church officers, (who deferred immensely to their preachers) held the key to the political situation. They were the judges of regeneration; they held the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; they bound or loosed the souls; upon their verdict hung the admission to the church. But now admission to the church was made to mean admission to the State. Through the church, to the State: the church the training-school for citizenship; the church the ruler of the State, and her ministers more than secular magistrates. This was priestcraft all the way through. Cotton, the originator of the system, was the would-be Aaron of an American theocracy, and to the third generation his expectation was fulfilled.

A bolder mixing with political affairs was undertaken by Increase Mather. The troublous times of James II. were upon England and her colonies. New England was chafing under Sir Edmund Andros, who, whatever else may have been rightly or wrongly said of him, had small regard for dissenting ministers *per se.* To most New England governors that character had been something very considerable *per se.* In this difference of attitude alone—without the need of calling into the witness-chair a single act of Governor Andros,—lay his condemnation, and New England historians have awarded it without stint. But James II., the worst and blindest of bigots, had to play a game of tolerance, even a lit-

tle after he ascended the throne. For this all New England blessed him, and Increase Mather drew up an address of thanks, and he must needs be sent over to present it in person. Now began a career of politics for the Boston pastor, and he played his part as well as any Cardinal Wolsey, or Archbishop or Bishop of later times. Here sprang forth at once full-grown the innate priestliness of the Puritan minister. He was in his element, and he accomplished much. James became an impossibility and fled from throne and country. William III. reigned in his stead, and still Increase Mather staid and labored in England. He made and unmade governors; Sir William Phipps, a convert and disciple of father and son came back with Mather, and assumed the government; a self-made man, but ignorant, unlettered, ready to be guided by the godly counsels of men to whom he owed his position; and to whom he humbly deferred as towering far above him in intellectual and spiritual power. Even after his death, when the black tempest of the witchcraft craze had wrecked much of the Mather influence, a brief note of commendation by Cotton Mather, made the objectionable and unworthy Joseph Dudley governor of Massachusetts.

Alas! that the career of Increase and Cotton Mather should have furnished another unfailing test of the priestly spirit or character! We mean persecution even unto blood. The witchcraft executions bring us face to face with this sad test. But first of all in this connection we must take occasion to observe that Prof. Wendell's little book is as fine a piece of biography as it has been our fortune to meet with. A prime requisite of a biographer is that he be able to sympathize with his subject, to put himself emphatically and fairly in his place, and so judge his actions or character. An enemy cannot write a biography of the man he detests; detests often because he misapprehends. Yet a friend cannot always be trusted with a biography either, if we want a real one and not a mere panegyric. A man to write a biography of another, need not be of his party or opinions; if he can but fairly weigh the opinions and appreciate their value in his opponent's mind, from his point of view. But in this case the more commendable is the biographer who is such truly and yet is diametrically opposite in his views and sentiments. We take it that Prof. Wendell is not afflicted with that ancient orthodoxy which oppresses the visitors of Andover Seminary. Yet when he places Cotton Mather before us lamenting that tendency at Harvard College, so offensive to that ancient orthodoxy, yet so inevitable if there be any progress in human thought,—we respect and appreciate the distress and horror of the alarmed theologian of the last century. From his standpoint it *was* a calamity; he was again the *priest* standing by a fac-

titious authority, a tradition discovered and cherished by a church which did not understand its own Protestantism, which had gone a little way into it and then stopped to erect a hierarchy of creeds. Having done this justice to his subject, however, with a firm hand, the writer depicts the glorious advance of true Protestantism, which has made the regions of New England as fitly and logically the home of the later liberalism as of the earlier orthodoxy. The Puritans (and Calvin before them) were the liberals in theology of their day, only they did not know it; but the spirit of culture was more easily molded to the run of God's providence, and Harvard early became and naturally continued to be the exponent of this law of nature and religion.

But a more difficult task was before the biographer in bringing his subject safely through the fiery ordeal of the witchcraft episode. Here we have evidence, of course and again of the correctness of the biographer's characterization, that Cotton Mather was a priest. He and his father were now a political power; they could wield at will the secular arm, for Sir William Phipps was their devoted servant. At this juncture arose the delusion of witchcraft; the Mathers insisted on its being a reality, and that they who harbored its evil powers were worthy of death. In that conviction they urged it upon magistrates that it was their duty to destroy life for its extirpation. Even if the laws of evidence and of criminal judicature must be violated or altered to suit the case, and to insure not justice but conviction—that must be done. And such is the "craft" *i. e.*, the power, the political influence of these priests, father and son, that *it is done.* And then they are present at the executions and exult in them; it may be with a holy, spiritual exultation, with nothing brutally vindictive about it, but still it is exultation. And when injured innocence from the very gallows, as in the person of a condemned preacher, moves a multitude almost to pity by its eloquence, Cotton Mather coolly turns the sympathy of the crowd, and warns them against the rise of better feelings as an additional evidence of the devil's work. Now all this shows the priest. We seem to be present at an *auto-da-fe* in Spain. Thus the inquisition debauched courts of justice, put the laws to defiance or made them bear a part in its enginery of persecution. Thus did popes and prelates, and priests know of no remedy to cast out the devil of heresy,—*i. e.* opposition to their own opinions,—but by the death of the victims. It would be too nice to inquire whether we would be quite safe to-day from the danger of this priestly sentiment in any branch of the church, were we not protected by the failure of opportunity for the display of it.

Now then here is a serious task for our biographer of Cotton Mather. Can Professor Wendell treat of

Witchcraft sympathetically? Can he bring his subject through this dark yet lurid valley of obloquy, and yet leave unscathed his character for honesty, sincerity, mere decent manhood, to say nothing of Christian piety and charity. If Cotton Mather is to remain worthy of a place among "Makers of America," among the respectable figures of our early history, he must be brought through this dark thing somehow. Yet Prof. Wendell, accomplishes this difficult biographical task. He does it first, by giving us an unique original view of witchcraft, which itself is worthy of study. That view, whether tenable or not (and that *biographically* is not really the question), achieves the object of enabling us to see that the witchcraft-scare was not one necessarily or consciously manufactured for purposes of malice and cruelty by a man of Mather's times and convictions, and secondly, this possibility of sincerity as to the facts, raises the persistent pursuit of their extermination even at the price of blood, into a holy duty for Mather himself, and a beneficent act for the generation in which he lived, and for all posterity; to him the eternal salvation of multitudes was involved in the destruction of the sporadic cases, few comparatively to all the rest of humanity. Some details will here be excusable.

1. The view taken of the witchcraft craze by Prof. Wendell is based on science and history. We can not refrain from quoting him fully on this point:

"At various periods of history, epidemics of superstition have appeared, sometimes in madly tragic forms, sometimes, as in modern spiritualism, in grotesquely comic ones. These are generally classed as pure delusions based on no external facts. But for my part, though I may claim none of the authority which would come from special study of the subject, I am strongly inclined to believe that from the earliest recorded times a certain pretty definite group of mysterious phenomena has under various names. really shown itself throughout human society. Oracles, magic, witchcraft, animal magnetism, spiritualism—call the phenomena what you will—seem to me a fact. Certain phases of it are beginning to be understood under the name of hypnotism. Other phases, after the best study that has been given them, seem to be little else than deliberate fraud and falsehood; but they are fraud and falsehood, if this be all they are, of a specific kind, unchanged for centuries. . . . With no sort of pretension to scientific knowledge, I have found that a guess I made in talk some years ago, throws what may be a little light on many of the mysterious phenomena that in Cotton Mather's times, were deemed indisputably diabolical. I shall venture then to state it here, to be taken for no more than a layman's guess may be worth. If as modern science tends to show, human beings are the result of a process of evolution from lower forms of life, there must have been in our ancestral history a period when the intelligence of our progenitors was as different from the modern human mind as were their remote aquatic bodies from the human form we know to day . . . It seems wholly conceivable that in the remote psychologic past of our race, there may have been in our ancestors certain powers of perception, which countless centuries of disuse have made so rudimentary, that in our nor-

mal condition we are not conscious of them. But if such there were, it would not be strange that, in abnormal states, the rudimentary vestiges of these disused powers of perception might sometimes be revived. If this were the case, we might naturally expect two phenomena to accompany such a revival; in the first place, as such powers of perception, from my very hypothesis, belong normally to a period in the development of our race when human society, and what we call moral law, have not yet appeared, we should expect them to be intimately connected with a state of emotion that ignores what we call the moral sense, and so to be accompanied by various forms of misconduct; in the second place, as an articulate language. belongs . . . to human intelligence [in] its present form, we should expect an impotent inaccuracy of statement, which would soon shade into something indistinguishable from deliberate falsehood. In other words, such phenomena would naturally involve in whoever abandons himself to them a mental and moral degeneracy, which any one who believes in a personal devil would not hesitate to ascribe to the direct intervention of Satan."

Now this is an exceedingly ingenious theory, a reasonably successful attempt to throw light upon the dark delusive subject of witchcraft from the modern speculations of evolution. It may not commend itself as convincing to every one. We confess that its seems a little fine-spun—literally somewhat "far-fetched." But as a matter of biography, it is splendid: for we can now put ourselves into the place of Cotton Mather and those whom he succeeded in bringing into his views of the subject. We can now cordially second Prof. Wendell's own conclusion. "If this be true, witchcraft is not a delusion: it is a thing more subtly dangerous still. . . I have said enough I think, to show why I heartily sympathize with those, who in 1692, did their utmost to suppress it."

2. Now then,there being a scientific basis for the facts of witchcraft appreciable even to us to-day, it being therefore a legitimate object of belief or contemplation, and not a deliberate fabrication, to the Mathers, Prof. Wendell once more places us in a position to judge of the righteousness of the motives wherewith they might enter upon a crusade against it. This view, too, is somewhat novel in the presentation or emphasis of it, if not in the conception, and deserves again a detailed citation in the author's own words.

"In the view of the Puritans, the continent of America, whither they came to live in accordance with no laws but those of Scripture, had been until their coming, the special territory of the Devil. Here he had ruled for centuries, unmolested by the opposing power of the Gospel: Whoever doubted this had only to look at the degradation of his miserable subjects, the native Indians, to be pretty well convinced. The landing of the Puritans was a direct invasion of his territories. He fought it in all manner of ways—material and spiritual. The physical hardships of the earlier years of the settlement were largely his work; so were the disturbances raised within the Colonies by heretics and malcontents; so, more palpably still, were the Indian wars in which his subjects rose in arms against the servants of Christ; so, too, were certain phenomena that every one at the present day would instantly recognize as natural; more than once

Cotton Mather remarks as clearly diabolical the fact that the steeples of churches are oftener struck by lightning than any other structures. And from the very earliest days of the settlement, the Devil had waged his unholy war in a more subtle way still: appearing in person, or in the person of direct emissaries from the invisible world, to more than a few hapless Christians, he had constantly striven with bribes and threats to seduce them to his service. Whoever yielded to him was rewarded by the possession of supernatural power, which was secretly exerted for all manner of malicious purposes; these were the witches. Whoever withstood him was tortured in mind and body, almost beyond the power of men to bear; these were the bewitched. There was no phase of the Devil's warfare so insidious, so impalpable, so dangerous as this; in the very heart of the churches, in the pulpits themselves, witches might lurk. Their crime was the darkest of all—deliberate treason to the Lord; but it was the hardest of all to detect and to prove—the most horrible, both in its nature and in its possibility of evil-doing. Mysterious, horrible, inevitable, it demanded every effort of christians to withstand its subtle power."

Yes, such was the aspect of the case to Cotton Mather, and if so, was he not justified in taking the stand against it that he did? Carrying even to bitter death the fight against individuals who were guilty of treason to his Lord, and treason to New England's highest mission on the American continent! We may still disapprove, condemn the fanaticism, the cruelty, the invincible obstinacy that would or could only perceive this aspect, when his intellect was keen enough to appreciate other lights. But such was the man, such was the age; we can put ourselves in his place, appreciate his standpoint, and end with respecting the man instead of detesting or despising him for a hardened, insincere, bloodthirsty persecutor. A priest in that worst and most diabolical sense, Cotton Mather was not.

We take a last look at him as a man, and here we can not fail to be moved to pity for him. Surely he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. He was a "much-married" man, in this resembling the great John Winthrop, the Elder. He was happily married to his first wife, and growingly fond of her, when at the end of fifteen years she was taken away from his side. It was a terrible blow, and the habit of introspection, so characteristic of Puritan piety, makes him wonder and search for the reason of the blow. His diary admits us to his secret thoughts, and his biographer makes a skillful use of it to enable us to weigh the man in these ponderings. A second happy marriage is again interrupted by death. A third time, a good and attractive woman becomes his partner; but she is rent from him by a worse thing than death—insanity. It comes on slowly, and visits her by intervals when the dread thing is known in its real character. She works him woe and mortification by her violent acts and words. How sad, how deeply, deplorably sad, was this three-fold affliction of this good man! Then his children: there were fifteen

born to him; he was called upon to follow thirteen to the grave. Some in infancy; some in tender, appealing childhood or youth; two daughters who were still young mothers. There were two sons who grew to maturity; the brighter one was a sad failure morally; a poignant, heartbreaking grief to his pious father, and in the midst of his roving perished by the foundering of his vessel which went forth upon the sea and was never heard of more. His diary fairly sobs with the anguish of his soul: "My son Increase is lost, is dead, is gone. . . . Ah! My son Increase! My son! My son! My head is warm, and my eyes are a fountain of tears. I am overwhelmed. And this at a time when the domestic inhumanities and diabolisms which I am treated withal, are so insupportable!" In these words he refers to the fearful calamity of his wife's mental derangement. What a sorrow-laden, grief-stricken old age, to be sure, was upon him. Why was it?

Yes, why? There are many questionings, and doubts and misgivings brought to our notice by Prof. Wendell's judicious extracts from the diaries. Doubts as to his regeneration; perhaps, whether he were indeed a child of God. Misgivings as to the propriety of his conduct in controversy with fellow preachers; as to his temper, his spirit, whether it were truly Christian. Questionings, strange to say—but recorded in almost every eminent gospel minister's life-story—about the reality of Christian truth, the existence of God, the immortality of the soul; as if some grim intimation of a real nothingness beyond the seen, came to even the most devout of minds to rebuke a faith in the unseen which contradicts nature and its instincts. All these we find in Cotton Mather's frank and candid diaries. But what of these woes of life? It was of the very nature of the Puritan mind to attribute the minutest things to Divine agency; to Divine retribution if they were things of evil. The Master had indeed rebuked the ignobler Puritans of his day—the Pharisees, harsh doctrinarians—by reminding them that the tower of Siloam destroyed the eighteen victims not necessarily because they were more wicked than other people. But the Puritan mind was apt to connect calamity with retribution, nevertheless. Why then is there not a trace in these diaries of Mather to suggest the fear that his sorrows might have come upon him for the awful and unmerited woes brought upon so many hearts and hearths during the witchcraft craze? We may adopt the theory that these diaries were written with a view to future perusal by other eyes, and many eyes; that as there are traces of eliminations in many of them, these may apply to all of them in a degree, and that therefore, care was taken, if such misgivings about witchcraft entered into his soul and made his cup of woe more bitter, that they should not be read by cur-

ious eyes of later generations. This is not a generous theory, but it is a tenable one; we must confess it in all fairness. Yet what is the gain in insisting upon a fellow mortal's blackness of soul, if it be possible to entertain the conviction of a lighter hue. We prefer another theory. We see in this complete absence of any suspicions of remorse, this utter unconsciousness of any connection between the witchcraft episodes and his terrible and continual afflictions subsequently,—we see in this how entirely Cotton Mather stood exonerated in the most secret and sacred and profoundly searching musings of his own soul—naked and open before God—of any wrong-doing in the matter of those horrible persecutions! Yet at the bar of history he does not stand perfectly acquitted; the jury of his contemporaries and of posterity cannot agree on a verdict, and so the trial keeps going on and on from generation to generation. As to this great "tragedy of witchcraft," Prof. Wendell observes:

"It was almost surely the part Cotton Mather played in it that made his life, for the five and thirty years that were left him, a life—at least publicly—of constant, crescent failure. Before Cotton Mather's tomb was fairly closed, men who had known him best were whispering among themselves other than good things concerning the dead. Posterity has held them right. A subtle priest, self-seeking, vain, arrogant, inconsistent, mischievous in his external business, many have called him."

But Prof. Wendell has made us more intimately acquainted with him. He needlessly apologizes for telling his story too much in his own words. But "by no other means," as he truly remarks, "could I show so simply what seems to me the truth; that with a depth of human nature which makes him above most men who have lived, a brother man to all of us, he never ceased striving, amid endless stumblings and errors, to do his duty." It is the triumph of this little book, but excellent biography, that we can be convinced of this great redeeming trait in Cotton Mather, which like charity, "covereth a multitude of sins." As the great reader of human hearts and lives has said:

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

So it was with Cæsar; so it was with Cotton Mather. Let us be wiser, then, than the generality of men, who make this maxim true. Let us weigh the evil, but also seek for and remember and honor the good. To close with Prof. Wendell's own words:

"The life he lived—with all its grotesque pettiness—was the life which had in it the seeds of that great continental life in which lies the chief hope of the modern world. To understand the America of to-day, we must know the New England of the fathers; to know the first New England of the fathers, there is no better way than to study this man,—its last, its most typical incarnation. And as we study him, and then look back at the figure that emerges from the dusty books and manuscripts of two centuries ago, the final trait of him that hides the rest, is this: strenuously, devoutly, he did what he deemed his duty."

LEONARD IRVING.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

When a vast and cosmopolitan population is brought together in such a city as New York, a bond of sympathy inevitably develops between those of one nationality and one especial region of country, and common interests and a love and veneration for the same traditions produce a species of social affinity. This tendency finds its most frequent expression in social organizations and thus we have such bodies as the "New England Society," the "St. Patrick's Alliance," the "Ohio Society," the "Holland Society," the "French Society," and others too numerous to mention, which have come into recent existence, and are to-day thoroughly established and flourishing institutions.

In the long list of such organizations which New York now furnishes, none is more prominent in present prosperity or more promising of permanent usefulness than the "Southern Society." It is the youngest of them all, and as progressive in the attainment of its ends as any. Possibly the timeliness of its organization, and the real need of its existence, gave it that strong impetus in the very day of its beginning that has resulted in its extraordinary growth and conspicuous success. It is just six years old, and its enterprising founders, in contemplating its splendid proportions to-day, may justly feel proud of the "tall oak that has from their little acorn grown."

About six years ago, John Marshall of Virginia, Percy Mallett of Louisiana, and Walter McCorkle of Virginia, three young southerners who had come to New York to live, were dining together at a restaurant. While they lingered over their coffee and cigars, exchanging reminiscences of bygone days, and warming their hearts in sympathetic companionship, Marshall was moved by a sudden inspiration which voiced itself substantially as follows: "Boys, what we need here in our adopted home is more fraternal fellowship. We need, and must have, a Southern club or society; an organization that will encourage acquaintance and friendship among the multitude of southerners in New York."

In that spontaneous suggestion John Marshall "builded more wisely than he knew." His idea instantly fired his companions with enthusiasm, and when the three friends parted that night they had agreed to dine

together again one week hence, and each one of them promised to bring another man with him, with the understanding that the six would discuss thoroughly the feasibility of founding a Southern Society.

At the second meeting there were only two new comers, namely Charles A. Deshon of Alabama, and Howard R. Bayne of Virginia. When that meeting adjourned, the Southern Society may be said to have been founded. Another dinner was planned, and the five gentlemen constituted themselves a committee of invitation to the next feast. This programme proved a brilliant success. About forty were present at the third dinner, and plans for organization of the Southern Society were adopted. On November 9th, 1886, the first formal meeting was held, at which a Constitution and By-Laws were submitted and approved, and officers elected for the ensuing year. That distinguished lawyer and "golden-hearted gentleman," the late Algernon S. Sullivan, was elected the first president. He served in that capacity until his death, giving to the society the stamp of his aristocratic personality, and leaving it the honored heritage of his enthusiastic approval. The society's success and progress from the very day of organization to the present time, has been uninterrupted and vigorous. It literally leaped into prominence, and its membership increased with phenomenal rapidity. It is too young to have much history. The years of its real existence are still to be counted on the fingers of one hand, and yet it has made for itself an honorable place in the catalogue of kindred organizations, and ranks with the foremost of them. It is absolutely non-political in its purposes, and altogether unsectional, save in its name. That is to say, while the prevailing political faith of the club is pronouncedly democratic, it chances to be so through the personal predilection of the individual members, and not by reason of any fundamental principles of the society, or restrictions in the code of eligibility to membership.

To further illustrate this idea, I need only say, that the late Algernon S. Sullivan was none the less acceptable as the first president, by reason of the fact that he had been previously counted worthy, and made president of the Ohio Society. What a beautiful demonstration of Catholic patriotism, as contra-distinguished from narrow, sectional prejudice! The objects of the society are essentially social. Every member is committed to the Scriptural doctrine of its being "good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity," and they all strive for the promotion of that end.

A unity of ambition is encouraged, which covets success in all honorable undertakings, and pre-eminence in good citizenship. Unity of character is cultivated, and the acknowledged standard is one of uncom-

promising integrity and chivalrous manhood. Unity of heart is perfected through the hallowed memories of sayings and doings "way down South in Dixie." The social functions of the society consist of an elaborate annual banquet, four family or quarterly reunions, one ladies' reception day each year, and fortnightly dinners on Saturday nights during the winter months.

The annual banquet is always a splendid affair. At the last two of these entertainments a decided departure was made from the customary rule of such occasions, and ladies were invited to be present as lookers-on. One of these two memorable banquets was given at the Lenox Lyceum Hall, and the other in the Assembly Room of the Madison Square Garden. Both halls have spacious galleries divided into private boxes. The ladies who graced the occasions referred to, came in full evening dress, and occupied the boxes, thus adding uncommon beauty and brilliancy to the scene. The success of this innovation was pronounced, and won for the society the credit of having added a new charm to such entertainments. The quarterly reunions are informal gatherings of the members at the home of the society for an evening of hearty fun, frolic, and genial companionship, and every man who goes usually gets a full share of what the entertainment professes to give. The "Ladies' Reception" held once a year at the home of the society, is now regarded as a social event in New York. The attendance is invariably very large, and New York gives no similar entertainment that can boast greater elegance or more genuine refinement. Representative Southern women are always appointed on the Reception Committee, and their proverbial beauty of person and grace of manner always lend an inexpressible charm to the affair.

One of the most attractive features of the society is its library. The collection of books (now numbering about two thousand volumes) is exclusively of Southern authorship. Some of the works are very rare, being long ago out of print. The entire library as it now stands was the generous gift of Hon. Hugh R. Garden, who has been twice elected to the presidency of the society, and who is one of its most enthusiastic and devoted members. This is probably one of the best collections of Southern literature extant, and was made by Mr. Garden personally, with great care and at considerable cost. It is an honor to him, and is esteemed by the society as a priceless possession. For three years or more after the society was founded, it was without a definite abiding place. The members felt that this homelessness would curtail the usefulness of the organization and nullify its primary objects. Accordingly all hearts became enlisted in the effort to get a suitable habitation, and under the energetic leader-

ship of Captain John C. Calhoun, who was then president, the present home —No. 18 West 25th street—was secured. It is in all respects admirably adapted to the required purposes. From the very day of the housewarming, the society became stronger in its success, and more established in permanency. One year of home life demonstrated so conclusively the wisdom of the experiment that the Board of Managers determined to lease the adjoining house and convert the two into one. This has recently been done so that the present quarters of the society are twice as large as heretofore, and yet there is none too much room for the needs of the greatly increased membership.

The roll of resident members now bears about six hundred names, and the list of non-resident members is over nine hundred. The society offers special and peculiar attractions to non-resident members. They have all the privileges of resident members except that of voting and holding office. At the home of the society there are a dozen commodious sleeping-rooms, tastefully and comfortably furnished with all desirable conveniences, and they are primarily for the use and benefit of non-resident members, and the cuisine of the society which is most excellent, is likewise open to their patronage. These accommodations are given at very reasonable prices, the main object being to attract non-resident Southerners to the society for their company, rather than for their cash. The annual dues of non-resident members are only ten dollars, and any Southern man who visits New York even once a year will find non-resident membership of the Southern Society a pecuniary saving to him, to say nothing of the social privileges and pleasures vouchsafed to him through that relationship. Although the comforts of its present domicile are many and great, the society does not acknowledge itself to be even yet permanently settled. On the contrary, there is a commendable ambition, and a resolute determination among the members to occupy a much more pretentious home some day, and not only to occupy but to *own* it.

The representative Southerners in New York have worked wonders for themselves during the last decade, and when they put their heads and hearts to the accomplishment of a purpose, success is very sure to crown the effort. If the readers of this article could hear the occasional talk at the "fortnightly dinners," of how the society can raise a million of dollars if necessary, to build a home that will be an honor to itself, and in every sense worthy of both the old and the new South, there would be many a convert to the belief that sooner or later it will surely be done. There are several programmes already under consideration, and no doubt the best features of each, can and will be combined into some wise plan of action that will result in the achieve-

ment of the desired end. It is confidently claimed by many, that the society can be built up somewhat after the character of the Cosmopoliton Club of London, which has its substantial support almost entirely from non-resident members. It is not at all unreasonable to believe that if the objects and aims of the society be thoroughly promulgated throughout the South that a non-resident membership of at least five thousand can be secured. This would mean, provided the annual dues were continued at ten dollars, a yearly income of fifty thousand dollars, or in other words a fair rate of interest on a round million. With this assured influx to the treasury the society could safely afford to contract for a home splendid enough to satisfy the most ambitious, which could be bonded for its full value, in view of the fact that the interest on the bonds would be guaranteed by the fixed income from the dues of non-resident members as above explained.

It is farther claimed by the advocates of this plan that the resident membership can with proper effort, be easily increased to a thousand. This is seemingly a conservative estimate when it is remembered that over fifty thousand Southerners are living to-day within a radius of twenty miles from the society's present home. If this resident membership should be raised to a thousand and the annual dues should be continued as they now are, at thirty dollars, there would be an additional income from this source of thirty thousand dollars a year. It is safe to say that this amount, together with the profits that would accrue from the restaurant, sleeping apartments, and other money-making features of the society, would fully meet all the running expenses of the establishment. This is a business proposition which seems to be based on reasonable expectations and conservative estimates. Unless some flaw can be picked in it, it should certainly appeal to every Southern man throughout the whole country, and make the plan quickly operative.

There are some members of the society, chief among whom is Captain John C. Calhoun, who believe that there are ten thousand men to be found in the South who would cheerfully contribute a hundred dollars each toward building, and presenting to the society, in fee simple, a million dollar home. It must be confessed, however, that by the majority this is considered an optimistic view. At the same time, every one who knows Captain Calhoun, appreciates the breadth and power of his personal influence, and it is easy to believe that if he, himself, should undertake to carry out the idea he suggests, it would be far more likely to succeed than to fail.

This cursory outline of the two foregoing plans, will serve to show that the mind of the society is carefully digesting various ways and

means to attain the one specific end, namely, a home worthy of its highest aspirations, and commensurate with its greatest possible usefulness. Owing to its extreme youth, it has made little or no history as yet, beyond the interesting details of its organization and its phenomenal development. Each succeeding year will no doubt add materially to the record of its achievements, and the honor of its existence. There have been but four presidents thus far, and they were elected to that office in the following order: the late Honorable Algernon S. Sullivan, the late Honorable Francis R. Rives, Captain John C. Calhoun, and the present incumbent, Honorable Hugh R. Garden. The annual election is close at hand, and it is a foregone conclusion, according to current talk among the members, that Dr. James H. Parker, president of the United States National Bank, and one of the foremost Southerners in New York, will be the next official head of the society. He has always been a devoted member, and has contributed largely in various ways to the success and support of the organization. The chaplain of the society is the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Deems, pastor of the Church of the Strangers. Dr. Deems is so inseparably identified with all the best Southern interests in New York, and has made for himself such enviable reputation, ecclesiastically and otherwise, that the society does itself great honor in honoring him with the office he holds.

MARION J. VERDERY.

ALGERNON SYDNEY SULLIVAN.

ON Sunday evening, December 4th, 1887, there died at his home in New York a man of such versatile genius and grace of character as seldom has moved in the social circles of the cosmopolitan Metropolis. He occupied a unique position which none had occupied before him, and in which he has had no successor. It could be said of him with the greatest fitness,

> "He bore without abuse
> The grand old name of gentleman."

and at the same time, he was a man of pre-eminent strength of character, and commanding force and influence in public affairs.

By birth or adoption, Mr. Sullivan became in turn the son of three States. Indiana was his birth place, but by virtue of a residence of eight or nine years in Ohio, and of thirty years in New York, each of these States secured the right to indulge a special pride and interest in his distinguished career, and experienced a special sense of loss at his death.

Mr. Sullivan's grandfather, Thomas Lyttleton Sullivan, son of an Irish

barrister, emigrated from Charleville, County Cork, Ireland, to Augusta County, Virginia, in March 1791. He married Margaret Irwin, a lady of Scotch descent, and one son, Jeremiah, was born to them in 1794. This lad was educated by his father for the priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church, but after graduating from William and Mary College he decided for himself to study law. His legal preparation was interrupted by the war of 1812, during which he served in two volunteer expeditions, and for "bravery and good conduct," at the close of the war was offered a commission in the United States Army. He declined the honor and returned to the study of law, receiving license to practice in 1816. During this year he journeyed on horseback to southern Indiana, selected the town of Madison as his future home, and in 1817 removed thither with his parents and his young bride, Charlotte Rudesel Cutler, of Virginia.

Judge Jeremiah Sullivan became a man of considerable prominence in Indiana, and held for years the office of Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. He had eleven children, and of these the seeond son, Algernon Sydney Sullivan, was born in Madison, April 5, 1826. The boy was rather delicate in health. He early evinced literary tastes and tendencies, and his father sedulously cultivated these instincts, directing the lad's reading to the best authors, and providing a private tutor of unusual abilities for that region, who instructed him in the English studies and the languages. He also enjoyed the stimulus and culture imparted by contact with the eminent and polished gentlemen who frequently visited his father's home.

He began his college course at Hanover College, in Indiana, and graduated from Miami University, of Oxford, Ohio, in 1845. This change of institutions was due to the change made by Dr. McMasters from the presidency of Hanover College to that of Miami University, the young man following his teacher. The purity and earnestness of purpose which inspired him about this time is illustrated by a few lines written during his last year at college, upon a letter in which his father had expressed anxiety for his health. Touched by this solicitude he wrote: "A father once wrote on the back of his son's portrait, 'He never caused me to sigh except when he left home. May God bless him.' I would give a right eye if the same could be said of me. My constant endeavor shall be, henceforth, to live worthy of such a father as my own, by practising obedience to what I know to be my duty, and particularly by exercising a prudent and cautious self-control and avoiding all disingenuousness."

During the four years following his graduation he lived at his home, studying law in his father's office. But this interval offered the occasion of one of the most remarkable epis-

odes in his life, and at the age of twenty we find him stumping Indiana, urging the people to consent to the necessary taxation to establish an adequate public school system in the State. His heart and soul were in his theme, and despite his youth, he presented his case with such power and eloquence that he was popularly styled the "young Demosthenes."

In the spring of 1849, soon after his admission to the bar, he removed to Cincinnati, and almost immediately secured social position and a standing in the community similar to that which he enjoyed later in New York. It is difficult to analyze the grace and charm of person and whole-souled participation in public affairs which commanded this instant recognition; but the fact is well attested by his selection by the people and authorities of Cincinnati in December, 1851, not two years since his advent among them, to greet the Hungarian patriot Kossuth and his fellow exiles in New York, and convey to them the proffer of hospitality from the Queen City.

Although then so young a man, he performed this act for Cincinnati as gracefully as afterwards he performed a similar service for the City of New York, upon the arrival of the Grand Duke Alexis in this country. A sentence from his exquisite address to Kossuth, for which alone we have space, fairly illustrates the nobility of thought, spirited movement, and purity of diction, which characterized his eloquence. "The Government," said he, "that intermeddles to assist one nation to oppress another is as much the enemy of liberty and happiness as the pirate on the high seas Every man's hand and every nation's hand should be against her, and there should be no sanctuary of precedent or policy whither she could fly for safety."

In January, 1851, Mr. Sullivan had married Mary Slocum Groesbeck of Cincinnati, but in September of the same year, he was bereaved by her death. He sought to allay his grief by directing his energies with renewed zeal to the conduct of public affairs and the discussion of public questions. He became a working member of the School Board, a member of the Common Council, one of the Board of Directors of the House of Refuge, a corporate member of the Historical Society, and an active member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati.

From 1851 to 1856 he co-operated actively with the Whig party, but upon the dismemberment of that organization, and formation of the new Republican party in Ohio, under Salmon P. Chase, he joined the ranks of the Democratic party, in the belief that the new organization was sectional, and therefore pernicious in its aims. From this time he remained through life a consistent Democrat.

In December, 1855, he married Mary Mildred Hammond, daughter of George W. Hammond of Winchester, Virginia. In the following year

heavy financial losses dwindled the small fortune which he had accumulated. The business depression which grew out of the uncertain political situation of 1856, was especially severe in the new cities of the Northwestern States, and it was in these communities that Mr. Sullivan had made his investments. This collapse of fortune, however, as reverses not infrequently have proven to be, was a fortunate turning point. Feeling that he must begin life over again, he determined to do so in New York, and accordingly removed to the metropolis in May, 1857.

The same qualities of mind and person, and public spirit, which had characterized him in Cincinnati, led to a similar recognition, and almost as speedily in New York. In 1858 he was one of the most active of the committee which arranged the ceremonies in connection with the removal of the remains of ex-President Monroe from New York to their resting place in Richmond, Virginia, and he was identified with unnumbered enterprises of public interest and concern to the city from this time forward.

He remained a Democrat throughout the Rebellion. No one surpassed him in the desire for the abolition of slavery and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the nation, but he clung to the hope that these ends might be secured without the horrors of an internecine war. Nor in this crisis did he ever sacrifice duty for popularity. In 1861, the officers and crew of the Confederate Schooner "Savannah," were detained as prisoners in New York on a charge of piracy. In July, 1861, Mr. Sullivan appeared in the Circuit Court as counsel for Captain Baker of the vessel. The illness of one of the judges caused the postponement of the hearing until the following October; and in the interval Mr. Sullivan was arrested, charged with treason, and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette. But the indignant protest of lawyers and judges throughout the country compelled the Government at Washington to consent to his release. Two days later he appeared in court and won the case.

Another incident, told by Dr. Thomas Ward, occurred during the Draft Riots in 1863. The infuriated mob were marching up Fifth Avenue, when, attracted by its elegant appearance, they attacked Dr. Ward's house. One of the ladies of the family immediately sent for Mr. Sullivan who lived a few blocks away. The lawyer found Dr. Ward defending his front entrance single handed, and stepping out upon the porch, the eloquent young man addressed the rabble. His persuasive words calmed the madness of the rioters, and appealing to their leaders he induced them, at length, to withdraw.

Mr. Sullivan was appointed Assistant District Attorney of New York City in 1870, and held the office for three years, when he resigned to re-

turn to his professional duties. In 1875, he was appointed Public Administrator of the same city, and after ten continuous years of service, he again resigned in 1885, and refused to accept any other public office.

In no man was the sense stronger of the brotherhood of the human race; Jew or Gentile, bond or free, all were children of the same father. It has been the privilege of the present writer to see some of the memoranda written on scraps of paper found in his desk after his death. On one of them he had written: "The realization of the Ideal Life is the great design of God, and the great work of man. The advancement and elevation of humanity is most surely promoted by whatever best and permanently develops the individual man. It is by the enlightened and disinterested service of his fellow beings that he most surely strengthens and idealizes his own nature. The hero has here a field of conquest assigned to him in which he need fear no defeat and will not have to weep over tarnished or dear bought victory. He is a fellow worker with God." In these thoughts is seen the source of Mr. Sullivan's ennobling influence over his fellow men.

With a large number of tributes of respect before us from numerous newspapers and eminent citizens of the country, it is difficult to choose two or three for the limited space we have at our disposal. The following from a Memorial issued by the American Bar Association is especially interesting as describing his legal character. "The law was his life work and life love as well. Not a lawyer in the commonplace acceptation, he was a legal guide, practical, wise, judicial, with exquisite tact, with infinite patience, with a sense of equity almost intuitive. The law was a great mother to him, and he studied its philosophy, he pictured its principles with such love, wisdom and fairness that no lawyer envied the preeminent rank which he attained and so easily held. No lawyer equalled him in the affection and admiration of the Bar. He was ever the obliging friend, the fair adversary, or the alert coadjutor."

Most lawyers justify themselves in pressing the claims of clients irrespective of true equity involved, resting upon the judge the responsibility for any resulting miscarriage of justice. But Mr. Sullivan had the remarkable reputation of never urging a claim in court which he did not believe to be just. Coming from a judge on the bench concerning the advocate who was wont to appear before him, Judge Bookstaver's testimonial is perhaps as remarkable as any tribute ever elicited from one man by the character of another. "He was always welcomed by the Court in any case in which he appeared, because it was felt that his learning, ability, and absolute truth-

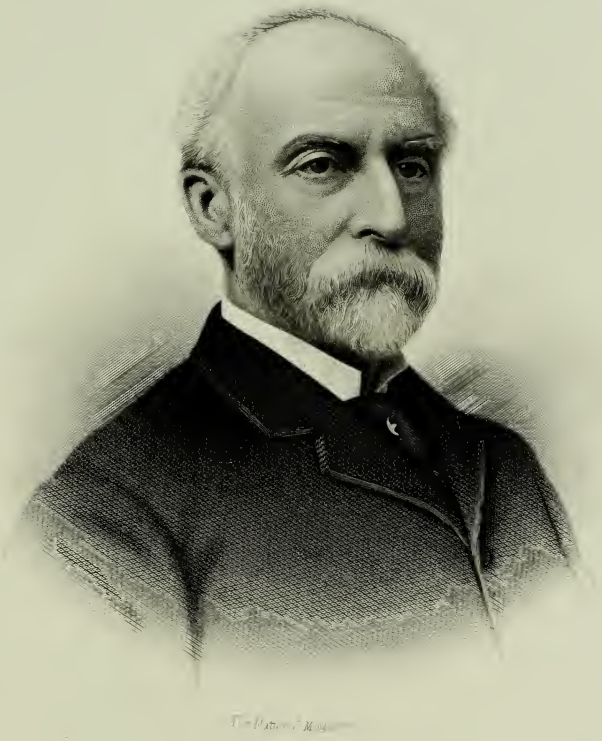
fulness would assist the Court in the trial of any question of law and fact with which it had to deal."

The "Times" of Dec. 5th 1887, said "He was looked upon as a man of great ability, of a kindness of heart that could not be measured, of a never ending desire to promote such projects as were for the benefit of the people, and more than all, he was considered a politician who was absolutely pure."

Said Mr. William Winter: "Although his heart was warm, his judgment was devoid of passion. He was aware of the infirmities of human nature, yet no one could pass beyond the pale of his charity. He always saw the redeeming trait and the extenuating circumstances. He met the world with sympathy. His learning was varied and exact. His eloquence was natural, fluent, sweet, persuasive, often impassioned, always guided by pure taste, harmonious with reason, and directed upon noble objects. His veneration for the law and his high sense of moral responsibility invested his manner with a peculiar grace of splendid distinction; and this combined with accuracy of legal knowledge, lucidity of statement, felicity of illustration, and copiousness of vocabulary made him one of the most impressive orators of the American Bar. In literature he had ample resources, a light and gracious touch, and the rare faculty of taste."

Said Gen. Henry L. Burnett: "Few men whom I have ever known in our profession of the law or in any other, possessed such roundness or completeness of culture, or such equal and well adjusted intellectual powers. On the platform he was peculiarly attractive and effective. He was tall, well proportioned in form, handsome of face, graceful in movement and gesture, and of a most winning manner and presence. His voice was full, penetrating and musical, and had in it that sympathetic and magnetic quality without which no man can be truly eloquent. He very soon made his place in the front rank of the profession, and was quickly recognized as among the ablest of the great lawyers of the State. There was no organized movement in this great city for the alleviation of suffering, for help and succor to earth's unfortunates, which did not receive his warm, strong sympathy and efficient aid. He kept himself poor by his giving, and he wore his life away in thus striving to help his fellow man. His great powers of mind and heart were at their best in this work."

One of Mr. Sullivan's partners in writing of him says, "For more than fifteen years I have been looking daily into his heart, and during all those years and under the thousand temptations of a busy life, professional, social, political, I never found there even the remotest approach to sin. Not an unkind or harsh word to any human being, not a falsehood, not a bitter thing, not a profane or



Peter Mallett

indelicate thought ever passed his lips."

Said Dr. Norvin Green: "I assume that he was not a man rich in this world's goods, but he had a wealth of brilliant intellect and of nobility of character that money cannot purchase, and that nothing but death can take away. It is a pity that such men should die; it is a public calamity that they should be striken down in the very strength of their manhood and in the highest pinnacle of their usefulness."

At the time of his death Mr. Sullivan was President of the Southern Society of New York, Vice President of the Ohio Society, member of the Lawyers' Down Town Club and of the Manhattan Club, honorary President of the New York College of Music, Director of the Presbyterian Hospital and Trustee of the First Presbyterian Church, and a teacher in the Sunday School. For many years it was his custom each Sunday afternoon to visit one of the city hospitals and administer consolation and encouragement to the weary sufferers. Like so many of his acts of benevolence this practice was scarcely known beyond his own family and a small circle of intimate friends.

L. A. Bond.

COLONEL PETER MALLETT.

In the list of members of the New York Southern Society, there is no one more deservedly popular, or a greater pillar of strength to the organization than Colonel Peter Mallett, one of its vice presidents. And this is not to be wondered at, for he is a fine example of that old type of genuine southern chivalry, which Thackeray idealized in "Esmond," and "The Virginians."

Colonel Mallett of New York City, was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina, on May 25, 1825. He comes of ancestry not only notable in the history of his native State, but his ancestors who immigrated to this country in the seventeenth century, had made their mark in Huguenot times, and even before then in the annals of France.

The Malletts belonged to the old French aristocracy. We are informed in an ancient chronicle that—"the Malletts and the Cardeaux are the most noble of Caux." There are, today, in France, the Marquises De Graville, who are Malletts, as well as Baron de Mallete, who was a colonel in the French army, in the time of Napoleon the Third. An old silver cup brought from France and now in the possession of Percy S. Mallett, of New York, bears the shield—"azure, three escallop shells, or"—this is surmounted by the crest

—"a tiger's head, ermine, issuing from a ducal coronet, or"—the motto is—"Perseverando," which seems to have been a Mallett watchword, carried out into action on both sides of the Atlantic.

Shortly after the Reformation, the branch of the family to which Colonel Mallett belongs, embraced Protestantism and played a stirring part in the wars between the Catholics and the Huguenots. Like others of that creed they saw themselves practically expatriated by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We find, however, in the manuscript history of Colonel Peter Mallett's great grandfather, that although heretics, they held important offices in the French army. This old worthy states that his great grandfather resided at Rochelle in France, and had considerable command in the army in the time of Louis the Fourteenth. He was in pleasant personal correspondence with the King's famous Minister of War, Le Tellier, Marquis De Louvois. In one letter the great Statesman requested the ancestor of the American Malletts "to recant and draw off his followers," further telling him—"his son, the Marquis de Louvois, shall meet him at some private place and arrange matters;" but the old Huguenot was obdurate and "he and his five sons led many thousands, after the siege of Rochelle into the country where they made a stand for some time." Later, in 1687, the ancestor of the American Malletts fled to England with considerable wealth and numerous servants, and purchased some ships in which he brought many of his countrymen to Santee in South Carolina and made a settlement there. Still later, after a visit to Europe, the annalist's great grandfather became one of the principal founders of New Rochelle in Westchester County, New York, where he bought 3,000 acres of land. It is impossible to detail in this place the experiences of the Mallett family from the time of their subsequent settlement in Connecticut, and afterwards, for the second time, in the Carolinas. But they always seemed to be both adventurous and successful.

Colonel Mallett's great grandfather's manuscript memoirs, in parts, read like a novel. His given name was Peter, like that of the subject of the present sketch, and he held a most responsible position in the Continental army during our Revolution. One of his grandsons was General Edward Jones Mallett, United States Minister to Italy, and the friend of Cavour. Peter Mallett settled at Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1769, and was one of the founders of Fayetteville. He was educated by Roger Sherman, and upon his father's death inherited his portion of the property, which included some £30,000 sterling. He devoted himself to the commissariat department of the Continental Army, and bought most of the supplies for it. Peter Mallett was also a large ship owner, occasionally commanding

his own vessels, and founded, among other speculations, a trading station on the Peedee River. He was twice wounded in battle, in the years 1758-1759, and again in a duel, as well as in the Revolutionary War.

Like his sire, the grandfather of Colonel Mallett was commissary for North Carolina during the Revolution. The Colonel's father, Charles Peter Mallett of Fayetteville, had at one time seven sons serving in the Confederate Army. two of whom died on the field for the "Lost Cause." He had been a strong Unionist until President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, and he then turned secessionist. His wife, the mother of Colonel Mallett, was Sophia Beatty, a daughter of William H. Beatty, Esq., who owned nearly one half of Bladen County, North Carolina. The Beattys are of Scotch descent. The founder of the family in this country was the Rev. Charles Beatty, a Presbyterian minister from the North of Ireland, and who accompanied Franklin, as chaplain, in an expedition against the Indians in 1755.

Colonel Peter Mallett received the rudiments of education at the High School, Fayetteville. But his scholastic studies were completed under the Rev. C. W. Everest, then the private tutor in his father's family, and afterwards a distinguished educator in Connecticut. Energetic, ambitious and adventurous, he expressed the intention to his father of making his fortune in New York City, where he recognized there were better opportunities than in a Southern State. His father, who had a large cotton manufactory, and who had introduced the first cotton mill into North Carolina, thereupon helped him in his desires to come to the great metropolis, and consigned him to his agents at 9 Old Slip, New York City. This occurred in the year 1845, and with the interval of a few years during the Civil War, he has remained in that locality ever since. His present offices are on the quaint and interesting Old Slip, for which he seems to have a singular affection.

Colonel Mallett remained with his father's New York representatives for two years, learning all the intricacies of their business, which principally included the shipping out West of cotton goods by canal. Then he started out for himself and commenced a brokerage business in an office on the corner of Front street and Old Slip. His firm name was Krider & Mallett. His partner and he had not more than money enough between them to buy desks and chairs, and they had to borrow for such incidental expenses as rent and other commercial necessaries. This was in the year of his marriage, 1848. In the first twelve months they did a business of $75,000, mostly on goods for North Carolina, from which State his partner also came. Before two years had passed, Mr. Krider had his interest bought out by Colonel Mallett, who started a new brokerage

house with Mr. Paulmier under the title of Mallett & Paulmier. This partnership continued successfully up to the time of the disastrous panic of 1857.

Colonel Mallett then entered into business arrangements with Mr. D. Colden Murray of 62 South street. The two between them controlled most of the shipping running to Charleston, Wilmington and Savannah, and they had a fleet of twelve schooners, four brigs and two barks; all that kind of business was carried on in those days by sailing vessels. The Colonel declares nothing could have been more propitious than the condition of his affairs in 1861, but the Civil War broke out and the result was—ruin.

Now begins a deeply interesting portion of Colonel Mallett's career. When the first shot was fired at Sumter, he was a veteran of the Seventh Regiment of New York State Militia. The Colonel did not, however, accompany the command to Washington, but made his way to the South and obtained a commission in the Confederate service. He raised a company which formed part of the North Carolina State Troops and of which he was captain. He served in the Army of the Confederate States from 1861 until the close of the War, being promoted to Major in 1862 and Colonel in 1863, when, after being Commandant of Conscription of North Carolina, and opening a Camp of Instruction at Raleigh, he was ordered to the field with a regiment of raw conscripts who had never smelt powder.

Before Colonel Mallett took command of the Camp of Instruction, he had been in the field for six months on the Potomac, and was eager for active service. He heard of many battles, but was not a participant and accordingly, when ordered to take charge of the Conscription Department of his native State, he at first refused, as the strongest desire of his heart was to be at the front. But military obedience prevailed. After two years waiting, he was ordered with the regiments he had formed in camp—the camp guard—to meet the Federal General Foster, who was coming up from Newbern, N. C., 20,000 strong. Colonel Mallett duly joined, as instructed, the South Carolina troops of General Evans. Then the Battle of Kinston, N. C., which was a three day's fight, took place, and the Colonel was severely wounded by a minnie ball in the left leg. He surrendered and was paroled, remaining confined to his bed for nine weary months.

General Foster, he declares, treated him most courteously, had two surgeons in attendance on him, and in other ways made much of him, notwithstanding the Colonel's remark to General Foster at the time—"If Evans, with his inferior numbers, had only had your equipment and artillery —there would have been a different conclusion to the Battle of Kinston."

Colonel Mallett remained in camp at Raleigh, until Sherman's "March to the Sea." Then came the surrender of Lee, and he was ordered with Gen. Holmes to follow President Davis across the Missippippi with cavalry. He was with the fallen chieftain of the Confederacy when the news came of the assassination of Lincoln and will never forget, he states, the speech of Davis at Charlotte, to the officers accompanying him, in which he bitterly denounced Booth's crime as the greatest calamity that could have happened, and his personal detestation of it. Col. Mallett's personal attendance on President Davis ended with the surrender of Johnston.

No one could have been more highly complimented for his services than was Col. Mallett by letters from Gen. Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Secretary of War Seddon, who always followed his suggestions relative to his command. Gov. Vance asserted that Col. Mallett's honor was unimpeachable while Commandant of Conscription, as he might have made millions of dollars, and that North Carolina, through his efforts, put more men into the field than any other Southern State.

The war over, Col. Mallett returned to his native town of Fayettville, N. C., and joined the members of his family who had been in refuge at Chapel Hill. As an incident of that trying period, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, his sons once gathered for their mother in an oak grove, near the house, the scattered grain left behind by Yankee cavalry, to be made into bread. Then he took to the wood business, having two horses and a negro helper. But this did not last long, and he went into farming on a small scale, but threw that overboard to enter into the commission business at Wilmington in 1865.

Col. Mallett remained there until 1868, when at the request of the President and Vice-President of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, he accepted the representation of that corporation in New York City; and as he humorously puts it: "Having done all the harm I could down South, I returned to New York, with all my bag and baggage, a wife and six children, for the purpose of getting back some of the fortune I left behind me on Manhattan Island, at the breaking out of the war." Upon his return he met with a warm and gratifying reception at the hands of his former comrades and friends. In conjunction with the firm of Washington & Co., (the head of the house was George Washington, a native of North Carolina), he took charge of the interests of the Virginia Steamship Co., a rival of the Old Dominion Line, with which it was afterwards amalgamated.

About 1872 a friend suggested that with his knowledge of shipping, merchandise and its related interests, Colonel Mallett should go into the storage business, which he did in

connection with Bartlett and Greene, and has continued ever since. He was the first warehouseman to store cotton in Brooklyn. Now he has huge storage warehouses filled with cotton, sisal and other Mexican fibres. When the Colonel started in this business he was astonished at the way in which cotton was handled while in transit to the warehouse, and how easy it was for dishonest people to steal cotton and other goods in their care. The handlers of cotton were then unlicensed and it is largely due to his persistent efforts that the present admirable system for the protection of owners is now in vogue.

No one could have been happier in his domestic life than Colonel Mallett. His wife was Annabella Gibbs, daughter of Robert Gibbs of Wilmington, a large Carolina rice planter. The Gibbs family are of English descent. Major General Sir Samuel Gibbs, K.C.B., who was killed at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, Major General Alfred Gibbs, one of Sherman's generals, and George Gibbs, the literary grandson of Oliver Wolcott, were her relatives. Colonel Mallett has five sons, Charles Edward and Robert Gibbs, who are successful miners in Kentucky and Alabama; James Flemming who is in the storage business with his father, and Eugene Pierre and George Hooper, both of whom are Brooklyn physicians. His only daughter, Susan Gibbs, is Mrs. Gabriel Holmes, of Wilmington, N. C.

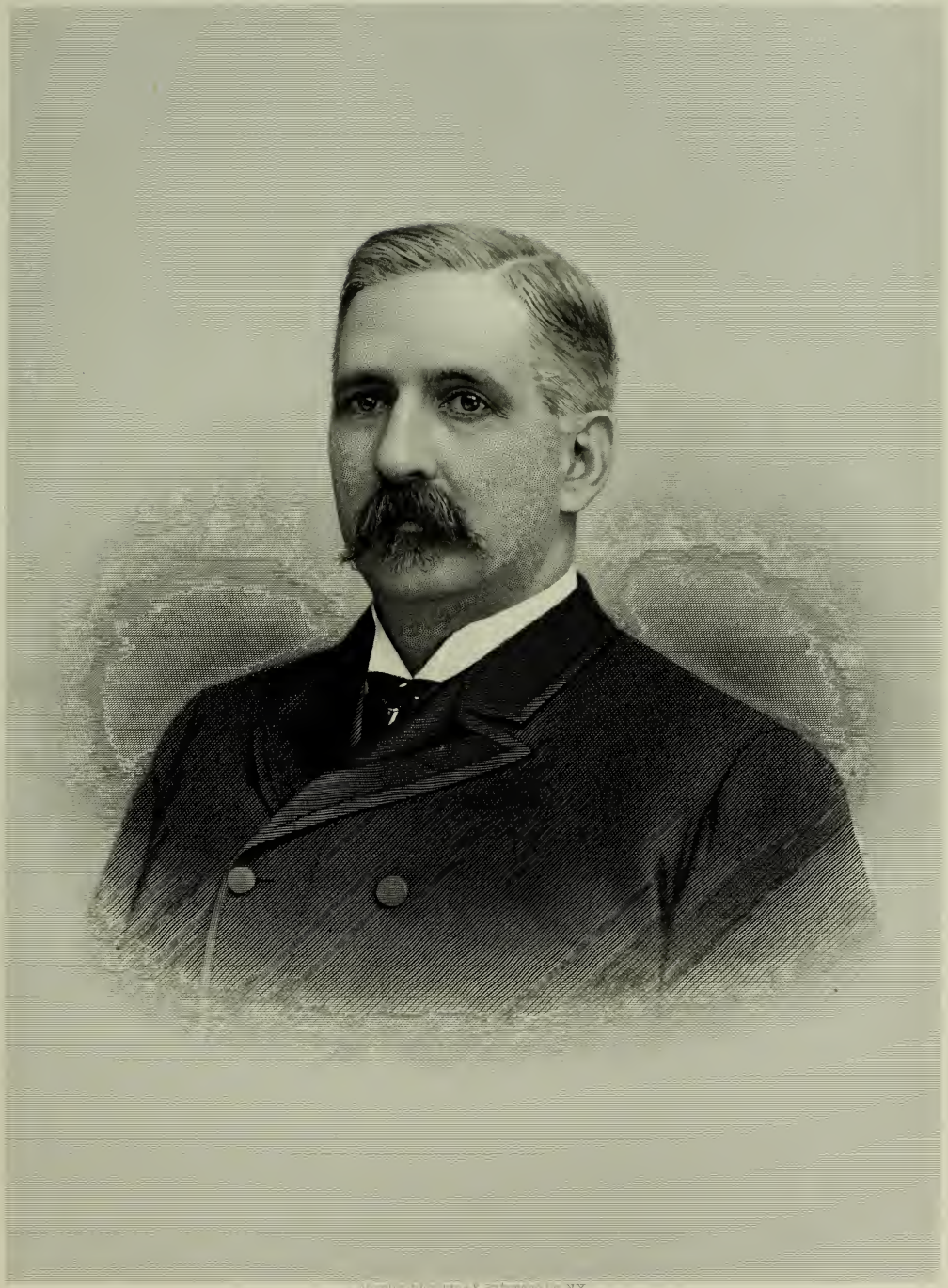
Colonel Mallett has never sought a social or political office in his life. In addition to being as already recited, Vice President of the Southern Society and one of the early members of the New York Cotton Exchange, he is the Senior Warden of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, and a strong churchman, His political affiliations are with the Democratic party and its free trade principles.

Colonel Mallett inherits the best mental and physical characteristics of his distinguished French ancestry. One of the most striking things about this courtly and chivalrous veteran is his military bearing, for although in his 66th year, with whitened hair, he is straight as an arrow, and as he looks you full in the eye you do not wonder at the resemblance, often noticed, to the great Henry of Navarre who led his Huguenot ancestors to the battle against the League at Ivry.

CHARLES SOTHERAN.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

No member of the Southern Society has been more prominently identified with the prosperity of that organization from its inception than John C. Calhoun. He presided over the meeting of initial proceedings at Morello's restaurant, and upon the permanent organization of the Society,



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John C. Calhoun

November 9, 1886, he was made the first vice-president. He served out the unexpired presidential term of the late Hon. Algernon S. Sullivan, after the death of that esteemed gentleman. And when the second president, Mr. Francis R. Rives, was compelled by the death of his wife to discontinue the active duties of President, Mr. Calhoun, who had been re-elected first vice-president, became ex-officio chief executive again. In this capacity, in February, 1888, he presided over the second annual banquet of the Society.

A year later he presided over the third dinner, having meantime been regularly elected president; while the fourth annual banquet in 1890, was also brought within his administration by an amendment to the constitution, postponing the election of officers to the month of March. Thus he has presided over three of the six annual banquets which have been given by the Society. Likewise on the occasions of two special and exceedingly brilliant dinners, one, May 2d, 1889, at the time of the Washington Centennial demonstration, and the other August 20, of the same year, in honor of the Episcopal Bishops of the United States, then convened in New York City. He declined a re-election as president, believing that by rotation in office, the best interests of the organization would be conserved; but, as a member of the Executive Committee, he has continued to take an active part in the conduct and government of the Society.

A remarkably illustrious Southern ancestry made it appropriate, as his own native abilities made it fitting and inevitable, that Mr. Calhoun should assume a prominent place among representatives of the South in New York. His grandfather was John C. Calhoun, the famous statesman. His grandmother, wife of Hon. John C. Calhoun, was the daughter of John Ewing Calhoun, the first United States Senator from the up country of South Carolina. His father was Andrew Pickens Calhoun, their eldest son. Upon his mother's side he was even more widely and quite as brilliantly connected. His great grandfather was William Green, who, at fifteen years of age was a soldier with Washington at Valley Forge in 1777-78, and with Morgan at Cowpens in 1781. His grandfather, son of the above, was the well-known Gen. Duff Green, who married the daughter of Col. Henry Willis and Mildred Washington, General Washington's cousin. His other grandmother on his mother's side, was a sister of Ninian Edwards, the eminent Kentucky jurist, who was first appointed Territorial Governor, and subsequently elected Governor of Illinois. Through his mother's connections he is also related to Chief Justice Marshall and many other notable Americans.

Mr. Calhoun was born in Alabama, July 9, 1843. When he was eleven

years of age his father moved back to South Carolina, and settled at Fort Hill, the old homestead of his illustrious grandfather. Mr. Calhoun's father was the second largest cotton planter in the South before the war. His mother was one of the remarkable women of her time, and her inestimable worth is reflected in the life and the character of her son. She was a woman of rare attractiveness and magnetism, of unbounded sympathies, and of extraordinary force of character and loyalty to truth and principle. She was a brilliant conversationalist and a great belle in Washington City at the time when Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and other men of their mould adorned the society of the capital. It was through the intimacy between her father, General Duff Green and Senator Calhoun, that she became acquainted with the latter's son. After marriage she turned her back upon the gay life of Washington and went with her husband to his plantation in the canebrake country of Alabama—then a veritable wilderness.

In her new life all the energies which had made her shine so brilliantly in society were transferred to the nobler, though less conspicuous duties of domesticity. She was universally beloved by all who knew her. Her servants worshipped her. In fact so great was their affection and so lasting did it prove, that at her death in July, 1891, more than a quarter of a century after the close of the war, her old house servants begged the privilege of digging her grave, and more than a hundred former slaves attended her funeral.

John C. Calhoun was a sophomore at college when the war broke out, and at once became a leader in the organization of a company of students. He was present at the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and shortly thereafter joined Hampton's Legion of the Army of Virginia, campaigning for a year as color sergeant and then mustered out of service on account of his youth. He was then eighteen years of age. A few days after his return home, a muster day was appointed in Pickens County. A great open-air meeting was held, and several orators were engaged to harangue the crowd. Impatient under their lengthy speeches, young Calhoun mounted a rail fence near by and drew the crowd around him by a shout. He did not dwell upon abstract principles, but poured out a few impassioned words inspired by his Virginia experience, and then exclaimed, "All who will go back to Virginia with me, fall in!" His enthusiasm proved contagious; the crowd was enthusiastically enrolled, and within a month he was in charge of a magnificent, fully-equipped cavalry company of one hundred and sixty men, marching north to serve under General M. C. Butler, present United States Senator from South Carolina. Calhoun was the youngest captain in the Confederate Army. At the bat-

tle of Trevillyn Station he especially distinguished himself by a gallant charge against Gen. Custer's brigade. This action received special mention in a recent article contributed by Senator Butler to the "Century Magazine."

At the close of the war Mr. Calhoun found all the family property wasted and their lands devastated. His father was dead, and the care of his mother and sister, and the support and education of three younger brothers devolved upon him. By his energy and abilities, triumphing over severest hardships and discouragements, he discharged these duties with a fidelity which won the gratitude of all his family. He built a new fortune upon the wreck of the war, and became (as his father had been before that struggle) the second largest cotton planter in the South. His convictions at that time, and frank acceptance of the situation, cannot be better expressed than in his own words, which he spoke at the first banquet of the Southern Society: "Rocked in the cradle of Democracy, and launched into manhood upon the doctrine of State rights, I entered the Army of the Confederacy at the battle of Fort Sumter, to contend for my convictions. Up to the day of the surrender of Johnston's army, I felt, like thousands of others, that I had only done my duty. From that day, however, I recognized that a new era had dawned upon the South, and I realized that the forces which had existed, and which had caused the desire for a separate government had vanished, and that the South was now more interested in the preservation of the Union than any other section of the country."

We cannot refrain from quoting also, in this connection, the exquisite tribute which he paid, on a similar occasion in 1890, to the memory of Jefferson Davis. Said he: "Since our last dinner the leader whom so many of us followed a quarter of a century ago through four long years of war, has passed away. It matters not whether the cause in which we fought was right or wrong, nor that the end of the struggle for us was crushing defeat. He was our chosen leader; he was true to us, and that we were loyal to him was proven upon a hundred hard-fought fields. We loved him, and when he died we mourned him. We make no apology for the tears we shed at his grave, because if we had not wept, we had been less than men. We buried him with honor, but with him we also buried every vestige of bitterness that ever was in our hearts while he lived, and we came back from his funeral bearing aloft the flag against which he led us, and which is *our* banner now, please God, forever."

Coming from the lips of a representative Southerner, the grandson indeed, of the chief champion of State rights, we know of nothing which has been said since the war that expresses more forcefully the

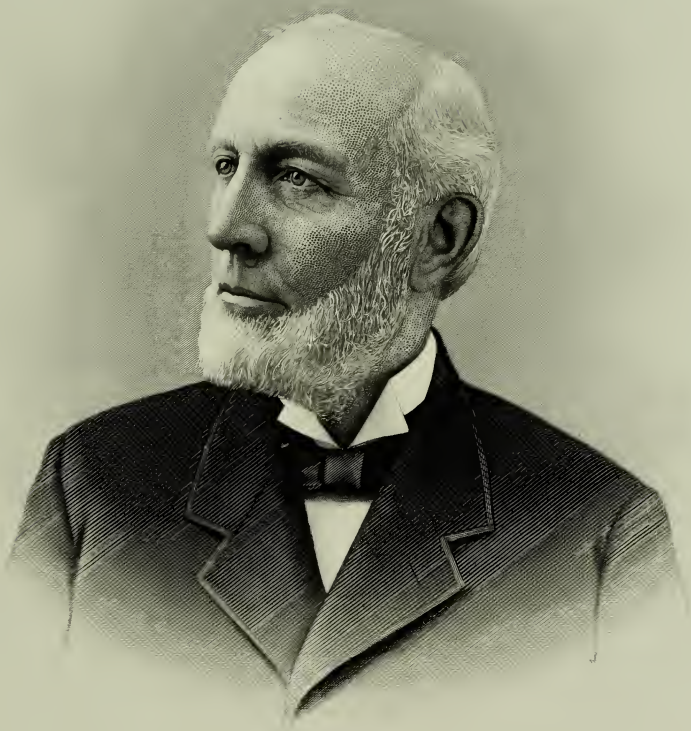
precious truth that our glorious common country has been confirmed in indissoluble union, and our people are bound together forever in unalterable fraternity.

Before coming to New York, Mr. Calhoun was engaged in many enterprises of magnitude in the South. He organized three large land companies and colonized more than five thousand negroes from Georgia and the Carolinas in the Mississippi valley. He appeared before the Blair committee on education and labor, and his views on the labor question were incorporated at length in the report of that committee. He was a delegate from Arkansas to the cotton exposition in Louisville, in 1883, and to the one in New Orleans in 1884. He was also vice-president of the convention in Washington in 1884, which petitioned Congress for the improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries. He successfully organized in New York a syndicate for the settlement of the Arkansas state debt, and since his residence here he has become quite prominent in Wall street. His special interest has been in Southern Railways and in that line he has broadened his reputation greatly, and increased his fortune.

Mr. Calhoun's energy and ability have been no where more loyally employed than in his services to the Southern Society. After the incorporation of the Society and the acquisition of a home depended upon placing $20,000 of Society bonds, Mr. Calhoun took hold of the matter and in a single day the bonds were placed among his personal friends. The brilliant assemblage brought together upon the opening evening of this home, was mainly due to his personal efforts. This memorable affair was symbolical of the scope and mission of the Society. Here the Governor of New York met the Governors of the Southern States; here the historic political parties met fraternally, the distinguished supporters of an outgoing administration in fellowship with the vice-president of the new; and here Henry W. Grady, the fervid speaker of the South, responded to Chauncy M. Depew, the silver-tongued orator of the North.

Mr. Calhoun has always refused political honors, but none who know him doubt that he would abandon every private interest and give himself to public service should he at any time become convinced that it was his duty to do so. The history of the South is his history, her distresses were his sorrows, and her present pleasing prospect of prosperity is his joy, and to a considerable extent is the work of his hands. In his home he and his estimable and accomplished wife perpetuate all the best social instincts of the South, and dispense a hospitality and good cheer to the delight of their own generous hearts, and to the rich enjoyment of their innumerable friends.

MARION J. VERDERY.



J. L. Case

THE INDUSTRIES OF THE WEST.

HON. JEROME I. CASE.

WITH the death of Hon. J. I. Case, at his home in Racine, Wisconsin, on the 22d of December, 1891, there passed away another of that little group of distinctively great manufacturers, who were the pioneers in inaugurating and building up the chief industries of the western Middle States. His name was a familiar one to a vast number of people in the United States, and was especially familiar to the agricultural classes, which comprise so large a proportion of the population of the "Northwest." With this portion of the country he had been identified for almost half a century, and had contributed to its development to an extent equaled by few of his contemporaries. He had the sagacity early to perceive, that as agricultural pursuits must constitute the basis of its prosperity, those branches of manufacturing most closely allied to the agricultural interests, would be the first to find ready market for their products. A practical farmer himself in early life, he made a study of the needs of the farmer, and having reached the conclusion that one of the most important of these needs was a more perfect machine for thrashing their grain, he bent all his energies and made use of all his resources to accomplish that result. As Cyrus H. McCormick set himself the task of providing for the farmers a better means of gathering their hay and grain, so did J. I. Case diligently follow up the idea of providing for them a more expeditious and satisfactory means of preparing the grain for the granary or the market. Both became pioneer western manufacturers, and both achieved fame and fortune in their respective spheres.

Jerome Increase Case was born in Williamstown, Oswego County, New York, December 11, 1818. His parents were Caleb Case and Deborah (Jackson) Case, both natives of Rensellear County, New York, the father tracing his ancestry back to an English immigrant of the ante-revolutionary period, and the mother being a descendant of one of the Jacksons of Carrickfergus, on the North coast of Ireland, and of the same family to which General Andrew Jackson belonged. Caleb Case and his wife were pioneer settlers of Western New York, Williamstown being then a mere hamlet, surrounded by what was practically a wilderness. They

settled on a tract of unimproved land, and to the clearing up and cultivation of this land, J. I. Case gave his full share of time and attention during the years of his early boyhood. After he was old enough to work on the farm, he only attended school during the winter months, and he had therefore only a common school education, until this was supplemented by a course of study which he entered upon after attaining his majority. As a boy, however, he was apt, with keen preceptions, and while not perhaps of an inventive turn of mind, was noted locally for his ready comprehension of a mechanical principle and his fondness for machinery.

When he was sixteen years of age his father became the owner of a one-horse tread-power threshing machine, looked upon then as a wonderful invention, which was about to take the place of the old methods of threshing grain with the flail or "treading it out on the barn floor." The ingenuity and skill which he had shown in operating machinery, caused him to be entrusted by his father with the management of this machine in threshing his own grain, and that of the farmers of the surrounding country. He managed this business with entire success, and engaged in it during the successive seasons until he was twenty-one years of age. The following season he carried on the business on his own account, and at the end of the season entered the academy at Mexicoville, for a course of study to which he had determined to devote the major part of his earnings. He gave his attention mainly to certain studies which were calculated to add to his knowledge of mechanics, and fit him more thoroughly for a business career.

In 1842, the idea which opened the way to success suggested itself to him, and obtaining from an eastern manufacturer six one-horse-power threshing machines—mainly on credit—he set out for Wisconsin. He arrived at Racine—then a village of very limited population—early in the season, and by dint of well directed efforts soon found buyers for all but one of his machines. This machine he kept for the double purpose of making experiments, looking to its improvement, and adding to his resources by keeping it in practical operation. While utilizing the machine in threshing grain for Wisconsin farmers, he was studying its defects and designing improvements. The result was, that in the winter of 1843–44, while living at an old farm-house near the town of Rochester, Wisconsin, he constructed a combined thresher and separator, which was designed to do the work that the thresher and "fanning-mill" had been employed to do separately prior to that time.

In the fall of 1844, he was the first to put this new combination into practical operation, and to demonstrate its entire success. Satisfied with the result of his experiments, he

began manufacturing the machines in a small way at Racine, laboring all the time under many difficulties by reason of lack of capital, and necessary facilities for carrying on his work. Energy, persistency and resourcefulness, however, were distinguishing traits of his character, and little by little he gained ground as a manufacturer, until in 1847, he was able to erect, on his own ground, a large well equipped shop. His business now began to expand rapidly, and in the conduct of his affairs he displayed much of the sagacity for which he afterward became famous.

He was a clever advertiser, and he made it a point to inform the public that he was a practical thresher himself, knew just what the farmers needed, had taken much pains to secure it, and felt justified in warranting his machine to be "the best in use" either east or west. His advertisements also set forth the fact that he had the largest and most complete shops west of Buffalo, and the *Wisconsin Farmer*—the principal agricultural publication of the State—confirmed this statement. The establishment was pointed to with pride, as the greatest of its kind in the west. The first year after the erection of the new shop, he built eleven threshing machines. The next year he built one hundred. Within ten years he was constructing and putting into the market sixteen hundred machines each year, and the present capacity of the manufactory which was thus built up, is twenty-five hundred machines annually, these two thousand five hundred machines doing the work of five thousand of the size and style of threshers made fifteen or twenty years ago. With this expansion of business, came a corresponding expansion of the manufacturing plant, and Mr. Case lived to see the establishment which he had founded, spread out over nearly forty acres of ground, and to enjoy the distinction of being at the head of the largest establishment of its kind in the world. A trade which he inaugurated extended all over the United States, into the Canadas, Mexico and South America, and an enterprise which he started in 1844, with one or two practical mechanics for his assistants, now furnishes regular employment, on an average, for nine hundred persons.

In building up this great industry which became years ago the pride of the city, to the growth of which it has contributed so much, Mr. Case evinced rare judgment in the selection of his associates and assistants. The men whom he took into his employ in the early years of his experience as a manufacturer, were men of practical ideas, of energetic methods and business ability, who each contributed his share to the prosperity of the establishment. Their connection with the business was made profitable to them, at the same time that it became profitable to Mr. Case, and some of them have become

largely interested in the great manufactory which they have helped to build. In his dealings with workmen and minor employees, merit was always recognized, and as an extensive employer of labor, few of the manufacturers of this country have enjoyed the same degree of popularity with those in their employ. When in 1863 he organized the firm of J. I. Case & Co., with a view to extending and enlarging the business, three former employees became equal partners with him and sharers in the subsequent prosperity. In 1880 the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Company was incorporated, and opportunity was thereby afforded to other employees to become interested in the enterprise, with which some have been identified for forty years.

With this threshing machine manufactory firmly established, with everything connected therewith thoroughly systematized, and every department of the works entrusted to men in whom he had implicit confidence, Mr. Case extended his enterprise into other fields, and gave a large share of his attention to other interests. As Racine had been the scene of his early struggles and his subsequent success, it was natural that he should take a deep interest in its growth and prosperity, and that other enterprises, promising to contribute to its population and importance should receive from him substantial encouragement and assistance. In this way he become interested in another manufacturing plant at Racine, which has now assumed large proportions, and became widely known throughout the west as the J. I. Case Plow Works, the name of which sufficiently indicates the purpose of its existence. He also became interested with other noted capitalists and financiers in the Northwestern Life Insurance Company of Milwaukee, in which he was a shareholder, and member of the Board of Trustees at the time of his death, and for many years prior to that time.

In 1871 he became interested in banking, organizing at that time with other gentlemen, the Manufacturer's National Bank of Racine—of which he became president. The same year he established The First National Bank of Burlington, Wisconsin, becoming president of that institution also and retaining the presidency of both banks up to the date of his death. Successful in banking as he had been in manufacturing, he was later identified officially, and as a stockholder with the First National Bank of Crookston, Minnesota, the First National Bank of Fargo, Dakota, the Passadena National Bank of Passadena and the Granite Bank of Monrovia, California. His rapidly increasing fortune led him to seek new fields for investment, and these investments extended over a wide area of territory, and played no unimportant part in the development of new communities. He was at one time a large owner of California lands,

and had a winter residence there, at which he spent a considerable portion of his time. He fitted up a splendid farm near Racine, which became famous as The Hickory Grove Stock Farm; and later became the owner by purchase of the Glenview Stock Farm, near Louisville, Kentucky. In the latter enterprise he was associated with John E. Green, son of President Norvin Green, of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and S. H. Wheeler, of Chicago, and later transferred it to a stock company.

One of the chief diversions of his later life, to which he turned for rest and recreation from the cares and responsibilities of his vast business, was the breeding and ownership of fine horses. Reared on a farm and accustomed from his boyhood to the handling of horses, he was himself a practical horseman and a splendid judge of horses. He was thoroughly in love with the "noble animal," thoroughly appreciative of his good qualities, and an ardent admirer in particular of fleet-footed "trotters." It was not strange, therefore, that the farms at Racine and Louisville should have been stocked with horses noted for their speed, or bred with that object in view, or that he should have derived a large measure of satisfaction from the ownership of famous horses of this class. Some of these horses, notably Phallas, Jay-Eye-See and Governor Sprague, made marvelous records of speed, and in this way Mr. Case's name became linked with those of Robert Bonner, Governor Stanford and other distinguished owners and breeders of famous American horses. The Glenview Farm was sold some years since, but the Hickory Grove Farm, with a hundred or more splendid horses, is still the property of Mr. Case's estate.

Politically Mr. Case was active only as a member of an organization with the principles of which he was in full and hearty sympathy, and not as a seeker after preferment. A Republican from the organization of that party to the date of his death, he was an ardent Unionist during the war period, and contributed liberally of his means for the equipment of volunteer troops sent out from Wisconsin, for the care of families left behind by those who entered the service, and for the relief of the sick, wounded and disabled. In 1856 and again in 1859, he was elected Mayor of Racine, and took an active interest always in securing good government for the city. He was also elected to the State Senate, and served one term as the representative of one of the most populous and important districts in the State. In 1876, the Governor of Wisconsin appointed him one of the Commissioners to represent that State at the Centennial Exposition, a position for which he was well fitted by reason of his thorough knowledge of the resources of the State and his own extensive interests therein. He also was one of the founders of the Wis.

Academy of Science, Art and Letters.

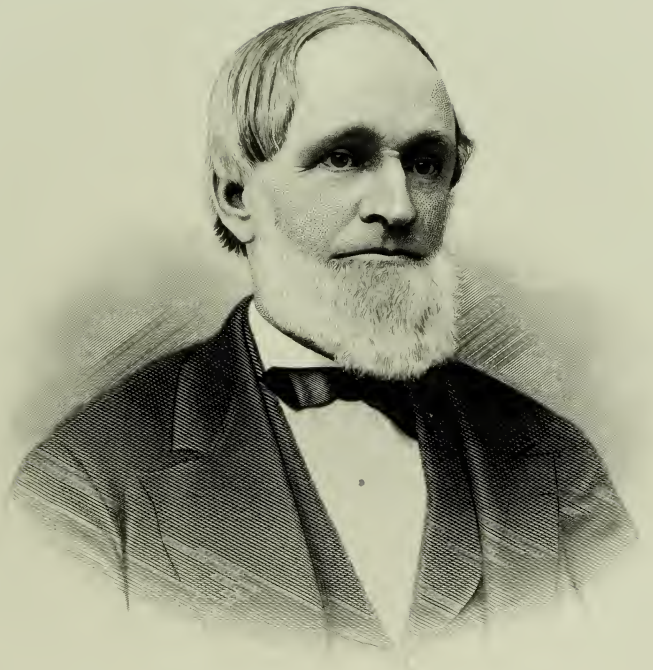
Mr. Case's home life in Racine began a few years later than his business life. In 1849 he married Miss Lydia A. Bull, daughter of Dr. Grove Bull, of Yorkville, Wisconsin. They established their home in Racine immediately after their marriage. There they resided up to the time of Mr. Case's death, and there Mrs. Case still resides. There their four children grew up in a home which the father's wealth made luxurious, and their mother's domestic tastes an ideal household. The only son, Jackson I. Case, has become his father's successor in business, a competent man of affairs, whose merits and popularity as a citizen were recognized a year since in his election to the mayoralty of the city of Racine. The three daughters are married, one being the wife of Percival S. Fuller, a successful member of the Chicago Bar; another the wife of H. M. Wallis, manager of the J. I. Case Plow Works of Racine, and the third, the wife of J. J. Crooks of San Francisco, California.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Case during their long residence in Racine were quiet and unostentatious dispensers of charity, in that practical way which experience has demonstrated as giving the best results. Mr. Case was always a believer in the theory, that aside from relieving immediate necessities, the best kind of aid which can be extended to those in need of assistance is that which enables them to help themselves, and he acted largely upon this principle. His knowledge of men, like his knowledge of business affairs, was of a broad character, acquired by years of experience and close observation, and naturally keen perceptions made it easy for him to distinguish, as a rule, the worthy from the unworthy applicant for assistance. For the former class he had abundant sympathy, which he expressed in that substantial way which opened to them the avenues of prosperity, and in the end made them self-supporting and independent.

His accumulation of wealth did not have the effect of changing to any appreciable extent, either his manner or his customs in dealing with those who were brought into contact with him. As a millionaire he was as thoroughly democratic, as genial and kindly, as he had been in the days of his early struggles.

The illness which culminated in his decease, was long and painful in character, and the serenity with which he bore intense suffering, made those who were most intimately associated with him more thoroughly appreciative, perhaps, than they had ever been before, of the heroic character of the man who had accomplished so much.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.



H. G. Barker

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

DR. WILLIAM C. BARKER.

In the month of September, 1891, there passed away at his home in Waukegan, a pioneer physician of Northern Illinois, who had been conspicuous among his professional contemporaries for more than forty years, and who had the added distinction of being one of the few surviving members of the little band of early homœopathists who gave to that school of medicine its character and standing in the West. He was not only a pioneer in the sense of being one of the early settlers of the Northwest, but he was a pioneer among those intelligent and successful practitioners of medicine, who demonstrated, in the face of organized opposition, that the homœopathic methods of treating diseases, produced satisfactory results, and that in consequence, homœopathic practitioners were entitled to the respect, recognition and patronage of the public.

The honored physician to whom allusion is made in the foregoing paragraph was Dr. William Calvin Barker, the first homœopathic physician to locate in Northern Illinois outside of Chicago.

Dr. Barker was born at Ballston Springs, Saratoga County, New York, September 26th, 1812, and was therefore on the eve of his seventy-ninth birthday at the time of his death. His father, Joseph Barker, was a native of Connecticut, and a son of William Barker, of English antecedents. Joseph Barker went from Connecticut to the town of Milton, Saratoga County, New York, in his early youth, and there learned the brick mason's trade, which he afterward followed.

There he was married and from there removed to Ballston Springs, nine miles distant from Saratoga. He was a man of character and influence in the communities with which he was identified, and in his capacity of contractor and builder aided in the construction of some of the important public works of New York State. He was the builder of the first locks on the Erie Canal at Little Falls, New York, and enjoyed

the distinction of serving as captain of the first canal boat towed into the capital of the State. When the town of Rochester sprang into existence he engaged in building operations there and erected the first brick block which made its appearance in the young city. He was an enterprising, public-spirited citizen, noted locally as "a democrat of the old school," and the uncompromising enemy of Freemasonry, which during a portion of his life, figured as a political issue in New York State. He died in Spencerport, New York, in 1884, at the age of ninety-three.

His second son was William Calvin Barker, who grew up at Ballston Springs, receiving his education in the village schools, and learning the trade of builder under his father's preceptorship. At nineteen years of age, being a self-reliant young workman, capable of undertaking building ventures on his own account, he went to "Upper Canada," locating in the town of Hillier, one hundred miles east of Toronto, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, where he engaged for a year and a half in building operations of various kinds. Meantime, although he conscientiously gave his time and attention to the occupation in which he was engaged, he did not feel satisfied that this was the calling for which nature had designed him. The one study which he found of greater interest to him than any other, was the study of medicine, and in this calling he felt that nature had qualified him to be at least moderately successful. This view he impressed upon his father, and the result was that he was allowed to enter the office of a physician, under whose preceptorship he began a thorough course of preparation for the medical profession.

A year was devoted to this study, and then financial disasters which had overtaken his father, threw him upon his own resources and made it necessary for him to engage for a time in remunerative employment. Reluctantly, but courageously, he returned to the vocation of which he had a thorough knowledge, and in the pursuit of which he was certain to gain a comfortable livelihood, his intention being, as soon as he found himself able to do so, to take up again and complete the study of medicine. There were many things, however, which seemed to thrust themselves in the way of his ambition, and it was several years before he found himself so situated that he could give to his favorite study the careful attention which he felt was absolutely necessary to qualify him to begin his labors as a practicing physician. On the 8th of September, 1836, he was married to Miss Sarah A. Cory, in Hillier, and remained there until 1839, when he removed with his wife to Rochester, New York. He was in Canada when the movement for the separation of the Canadas from the Crown of Great Britain —known in history as the Canadian

Rebellion—originated, and served for a time in a company of Home Guards at Brighton. After his removal to Rochester, his time continued to be occupied with his business affairs until 1844, when he became identified with the transportation business as an employee of the firm of Griffith & Wemple, of Troy, New York. Removing to that city in the spring of 1844, he again took up the study of medicine, giving to it all the time at his command. While living in Rochester his attention had been attracted for the first time to the homœopathic school of medicine. Such investigation of the new system—as it was called—as he was able to make at that time, impressed him favorably, a homœopathist became his family physician, and he became an enthusiastic believer in the theory of "*Similia Similibus Curanter.*" It followed, as a natural consequence, that when he again took up his medical studies he should have become a student of the homœopathic school, and Dr. Richard S. Bryan—the first homœopathic physician in Troy became his preceptor.

Two years of reading with Dr. Bryan and his previous course of study, having qualified him, according to the custom and usage of that period, for the practice of his profession, he determined to seek a location in a western State.

Accordingly, in the early part of May, 1846, he, with his family, started for Illinois, travelling by line boat on the canal to Rochester, and thence, after a short visit with friends, to Buffalo. On the 25th of May they left Buffalo on the steamer "Great Western"—Captain Walker—which landed them May 30th, at "Little Fort"—now the city of Waukegan—a settlement to which Mrs. Barker's parents and other relatives had preceded them. In this little settlement, thirty-five miles north of Chicago, on the lake shore, there were at that time, perhaps fifty families. The surrounding country was sparsely settled, and had Dr. Barker been the only physician in the place, and the country a great deal more unhealthy than it was, his practice could not have been at once a lucrative one. He labored, however, under the added disadvantage of being the representative of a school of medicine which had yet to overcome popular prejudice and malignant professional hostility. Outside of Chicago he was the only homœopathic physician in Northern Illinois, and he probably had not to exceed half a dozen contemporaries in the State. Under the circumstances he found it difficult to build up a practice, but he never swerved from his purpose, although he engaged, to some extent, in merchandising to add to his resources. As the population of the town and country increased, his uniform success as a practitioner not only compelled recognition of his own skill as a physician, but also of availability of homœopathic methods

in the treatment of disease. His experience was that of all the early homœopathists of the West, and no one of them met the issues presented more courageously, or combatted the opposition of the "old school" practitioners more successfully than did he. Nature had given him the tact, the good judgment, and the intuitive perception necessary for a successful physician, and these he supplemented by careful study of approved authorities and pains-taking research in every department of his professional work. In a few years he had established himself in a successful practice, and thenceforth his entire time was devoted to his professional labors, to his own advancement in medical science, and to the elevation of his profession.

He was not content to continue the practice of medicine by authority conferred upon him under the old regime in New York State, but in 1856 solicited an examination by the Board of Censors of the Western Homeopathic College of Cleveland, Ohio, and received from them his degree as a result of the examination. One of the earliest practitioners of the homœopathic school in the West, he was conspicuous among those who sought by every legitimate and proper means to promote the advancement of that school. He was an active and influential member of all the associations and societies having in view this object, having become identified with the "Western Institute of Homœopathy," in 1851, with the "Northern Illinois Homœopathic Medical Association," in 1856, with "The Illinois State Homœopathic Medical Association" in 1864, with the "American Institute of Homœopathy" in 1867, and with the "Western Academy of Homœopathy" of 1880. He attended with great regularity the meetings of these various associations until within a few years of his death, took part in their discussions, was fearless at all times in the expression of his opinions, and commanded the unqualified respect and esteem of the great body of physicians with whom he was thus associated. In 1875, as President of the Illinois Homœopathic Association, he delivered the annual address, giving utterance to sentiments which showed him to have been—while an earnest follower of the renowned Hahnemann—one of the pioneers in establishing the friendly relations which now exist in the west between the old and new schools of medicine. In the course of this address he declared himself as follows: "Perfection has not yet been reached, and if we never do more than to copy others, where will progression come in? Every man is bound to use his own brains to the best of his ability. Let us remember that prejudice and self-conceit are no part of science, therefore accord to others the same privilege that we arrogate to ourselves; be not hasty in condemning others who do not think

just as we do. If all thought alike, there would be neither variety nor improvement. If homœopathy is not adopted as a whole by our brothers of the opposite school, it has had a modifying effect on their practice, making it more tolerable than forty years ago. The world moves, and so do the minds of men that are not fossilized; and why should not the medical profession keep pace with the times as well as other sciences? I think the most important hinderance is the petty jealousies that exist between the different schools of medicine." The above quotation serves in some measure as a key-note to the character of Dr. Barker as a physician. He was thoroughly in love with the profession to which he devoted all the best years of his life. He regarded his as a high and holy calling. He believed it to be the duty of the physician to cure the ills of mankind when called upon, if it lay within his power to do so, and in his own practice no effort was spared to attain that end, whatever the social or financial condition of the patient who sought his services. The human body was to him a temple, with the architecture of which the physician should be thoroughly familiar, and which he is charged with the responsibility of keeping in order. To this work he devoted himself with conscientious zeal, and with little regard for the rewards or emoluments which were to follow. He believed in a progressive system of medicine, and up to the last years of his life he noted with eager interest every progressive step taken by his profession. When stricken with a fatal illness, from which he suffered seven years, he turned his attention heroically to his own ailments, and sought by experiments upon himself to discover a remedy which might be of value to mankind.

Such was the character of Dr. Barker as a physician. For more than forty years he was the faithful and efficient professional servant of the public, in a community which became more and more attached to him as the years rolled by, while in neighboring towns and cities, his skill was recognized, his services were in demand, and his face was for many years a familiar one. Called into a family as physician, he became a sympathetic friend and counselor, and to his care, as a natural consequence, there were many trusts committed. Faithful and just in the conduct of his business, as he was skillful and efficient in the practice of medicine, he was without reproach in any of the affairs of life.

When he settled in Waukegan in 1846, he moved into a modest little frame house—then in an unfinished condition—and in this same house, to which he made such improvments as became desirable, he lived forty-six years, celebrating there the fiftieth anniversary of his marriage in 1886, and dying there September 11, 1891. In this connection may be mentioned

as a singular co-incidence, the fact that he was born, was married, and died in the month of September. Of a family of ten children, four sons and two daughters lived to grow up in an ideal household, in which the busy physician was always their genial companion, and when opportunity offered, a participant in their games and pastimes.

As a citizen he interested himself in the up-building of the community, and as a consistent christian was especially prominent in religious work. For more than fifty years he was a devoted member of the Presbyterian Church, with which he became identified in Rochester, New York, in 1840. Through all these years he gave generously of his time, labor and means to promote its advancement, and support and build up its institutions. He was one of the founders and builders of the Presbyterian Church of Waukegan, and served it as elder, trustee, and in other official capacities until incapacitated for such service by the illness of his later years. He was a commissioner to the General Assembly held in Philadelphia in 1863, which brought about the re-union of the old and new schools of this denomination, an experience which he frequently referred to in later years, as one of the most interesting of his life.

He acted for and with the committee appointed by the Presbytery, to select and purchase a site for the University now situated at Lake Forest, Ill, and in this as well as in other capacities, had much to do with founding the most famous of the western educational institutions of the Presbyterian church, around which has grown up one of the most beautiful of western college towns.

Politically Dr. Barker grew up a Democrat, and affiliated with that party in his early manhood. His last vote for a Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States was cast, however, for General Lewis Cass in 1848. When the next presidential election came around he had lost all sympathy with his party by reason of its course on the slavery question, and cast his vote for John P. Hale, the "Free-Soil Candidate." He was one of the two or three Waukegan subscribers to the *National Era*, an anti-slavery paper, published in Washington D. C. in 1853, first read Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in that paper, and soon became one of the pronounced abolitionists of the west. In 1856 he voted for General John C. Fremont, the first presidential candidate of the Republican party, and retained his connection with that organization during the remainder of his life.

In all the relations of life, Dr. Barker's career was one to be studied with interest and emulated with profit by young men. Under adverse circumstances and in the face of discouragements, he fitted himself for a profession in which he achieved honorable

distinction. Energy, force of character, sterling integrity, and deep piety, were his distinguishing characteristics, while his systematic methods of conducting his business affairs, of attending to his professional duties, of doing everything in fact, were scarcely less prominent features of his every day life. Temperate in all things himself, he could not have been otherwise than an advocate of temperance in others, and from the time when he became a member of the Washingtonian organization, in his early manhood, up to the date of his retirement from the active duties of life, he sought by every means in his power to promote temperance and sobriety.

Mrs. Barker, who survives her husband, was the youngest of the twelve children of Eliakim and Sarah Sayer Cory, who were among the first settlers at Little Fort, and who owned land comprising a considerable portion of what is now the city of Waukegan. They were natives of Westfield, New Jersey, where several generations of their ancestors had lived. The Corys were of Scotch and the Sayers of Scotch-English descent. Eliakam Cory and his wife, were son and daughter respectively of revolutionary soldiers, and each remembered some incidents of the memorable struggle, and retained some souvenirs which have been handed down to their descendents. They removed from New Jersey to New York State, and from there to Hillier, Prince Edward County, Canada, where their daughter was born July 27th, 1819, and where she married Dr. Barker. From there they removed to Waukegan, where they spent the remaining years of their lives. Mrs. Barker, her daughter, Miss Frances E. Barker, and her eldest son, Walter G. Barker, reside still in the old homestead at Waukegan. The other daughter, Mrs. Mary A. Rippey, and three sons, Dr. William A., Charles A., and Reuben L. Barker, are residents of Chicago. Three of the sons have business connections in Chicago, and the fourth, a graduate of Hahnemann Medical College is practicing medicine in this city.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

Sketches which are beginning to appear in newspapers and elsewhere, concerning the eccentricity of Lincoln's Secretary of War, the famous Edwin M. Stanton, show a freedom of criticism which did not appear in earlier notices following the war. This, no doubt, was partly due to a wish to shield the memory of one who had been so useful to the nation at a critical time, or to spare his surviving relatives. But all the facts for a just estimate of the man were not then available, since they were withheld in the shape of unpublished letters. The most characteristic letters, were those written by Stanton to ex-President Buchanan soon after Lincoln's inauguration. It will be remembered that Stanton served as attorney-general during the latter part of Buchanan's administration, and did yeoman service in the cabinet in changing the attitude of that administration from friendliness or indifference to secession, to aggressive loyalty to the Union. After Lincoln's election Stanton maintained confidential relations with Buchanan, and some of the letters he wrote, containing reflections upon Lincoln, have been published in Curtis' "Life of Buchanan." In these Stanton speaks of the "painful imbecility of Lincoln," and of the "veniality and corruption" which characterized Lincoln's administration, declaring that nothing better could be expected "until Jeff Davis turns out the whole concern." After the first Battle of Bull Run he wrote that "in less than thirty days Davis will be in possession of Washington." And it is said on good authority that at this time Stanton advocated the overthrow of the Lincoln government and the elevation of McClellan as military dictator.

But notwithstanding these things, and notwithstanding the many injustices, not to say cruelties, which he brought upon officers and men of the army, Stanton was at heart a true patriot, with an unfaltering faith in the cause of the Union, and an unflinching determination to conquer peace. His appointment by Lincoln as minister of war in January, 1862, was probably more important in deciding the issues of the conflict than any other act in Lincoln's two terms. Stanton restored confidence in financial circles and built up the credit of the nation. He banished speculators and jobbers from the Union army, and in the army itself he enforced the strictest discipline, beside reenforcing the inherent patriotism of the Union officers by inspiring in them a conviction that they *must* fight or suffer disgrace. It is said that the letters of Stanton already published in Curtis' volume are not the worst in ridicule or malediction against Lincoln. Others, not yet published, are still held by Buchanan's relatives. No doubt

these will be given to the world in time, as they should be, in the interest of historical truth, and for their usefulness in affording posterity a true estimate of a remarkable group of men who figured in a crisis of our history. There is no danger that Stanton's patriotism, energy and inestimable service to the country will be forgotten or obscured by the truth concerning his irrascible temper and too frequent resort to mean invective, and indulgence of implacable and inexcusable hate. We do not the less admire Dr. Johnson's vast learning and greatness of mind because Boswell has so faithfully pictured his ridiculous idiosyncracies. But we do better see the *man* in this combination of greatness and littleness.

In the revolutionary struggle France was the first European State to acknowledge our independence. But stripped of all sentiment, this sympathy was largely accidental. It was due to the accident that we sought our independence at the expense of England. It was not that France loved independence, or popular rights more, but because she loved England still less; in fact there was no love lost or wasted at all. But in Holland there was real sympathy and in that State, the second to acknowledge our independence, that independence was known and loved,—the heritage of heroic days and republican forefathers. Adams was sent to Holland to negotiate a loan, and one argument he used to stimulate the sturdy and practical merchants, with whom historical sentiment or political sympathy went for nothing in a transaction upon the "Bourse"—was that the principal if not the exclusive carrying trade of the thirteen colonies previous to England's interference with their commerce had been conducted in Dutch vessels; the success of the American Revolution would therefore mean a return of commercial activity for the Dutch on the American coast.

In furtherance of the scheme of the Spanish Government, noticed in the January number, to organize an Historical International Exhibition at Madrid, a Commission has been formed at Washington, D. C., and is already actively engaged. The Spanish Minister plenipotentiary is president, and the consuls at the various commercial centers are expected actively to co-operate in securing such appropriate historical documents and relics from sources public and private, as the kindly interest of our citizens and municipalities may afford. All matters relating to the customs, character, and condition of the Aborigines previous to the European discoveries, and all documents and relics illustrating the history and development of the Americas previous to the present century, fall within the intended scope of the exhibit.

The matter recently was brought to the attention of Congress. On February 1, Senator Sherman introduced a bill authorizing the President to appoint three commissioners, without pay, to represent the United States at the Madrid Exposition. The Commission by the terms of this bill, is authorized to select from the archives of the United States, the National Museum and the Executive Department, all papers, pictures and documents relating to the early settlement, and convey them to Spain for the exhibit.

This is excellent so far as it goes, but it is doubtful whether commissioners should be asked to serve gratuitously upon so important a mission. One man of executive ability who is recompensed for his time spent, would seem to be much better qualified for the management of the undertaking, unless the President is careful to appoint gentlemen of leisure who are enthusiastic in the matter, and certain to do more than vouchsafe an occasional and desultory superintendence. If it is worth doing at all it should be thoroughly well done.

One can hardly tell which feeling is uppermost, in contemplating a proposed plan on

the part of the Essex Historical Society:—surprise that the matter has never occurred to any one before, or admiration of the excellence of the idea. The plan proposed by this Society is to erect tablets to the memory of the victims of the witchcraft delusion at Salem, Mass. These unfortunate people were in a sense martyrs; if to be a martyr is to die for the establishment of a principle; or rather to have one's death lead to consequences of a political or religious nature, beneficial to the race, and not otherwise secured, or so soon secured. As Prof. Wendell remarks in his biography of Cotton Mather, the witchcraft craze was the death blow to New England theocracy. It was its last spurt of energy—but also of life. The horror and revulsion created by the sacrifice of so many victims, utterly ruined the credit of the upholders of the theocratic system. Besides this, the fate of these unhappy sufferers was tragic enough in itself, deeply moving to the heart of pity. We must commend the scheme which will commemorate their death—for in many instances it was borne heroically. Conscious innocence made the soul strong and triumphant in the hour of extremity.

A contributor writes as follows:

The well-known adage that "history repeats itself" was forcibly illustrated in the course of some recent historical studies in two somewhat curious examples. Apropos of the prevalent "grip," or "La Grippe Russienne,"—in the year 1647 the American colonies were visited by that annoying as well as dangerous epidemic. Director-General Stuyvesant of New Netherland, was "down" with it. He was unable to attend the meeting of the first popular Assembly—the "Nine Men"—which he had been forced to grant, and so perhaps he did not much regret the detention. Dr. O'Callaghan in commenting on his sickness says: "A species of influenza passed over the whole continent attacking Indians, English, French and Dutch indiscriminately." Winthrop speaks of it as follows:

"It began with a cold, and in many was accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled or used cooling drinks generally died; such as made use of cordials and more strengthening, comfortable things recovered." Stuyvesant recovered. But in Connecticut this early "grip" had a distinguished victim, no less a man indeed than the Rev. Thomas Hooker. It is more than likely that the Dutch Governor took "the strengthening things" without stint: possibly Hooker did not seek these as a remedy.

Apropos of the recent "Baccarat Scandal" in England,—we read the following in Thackery's "Four Georges" the other day: "In 1837 occurred a famous trial which pretty nigh put an end to gambling in England. A peer of the realm was found cheating at whist, and repeatedly seen to practice the trick called *sauter la coupe*. His friends at the clubs saw him cheat and went on playing with him. One greenhorn, who had discovered his foul play, asked an old hand what he should do. "*Do!*" said the Mammon of Unrightousness; "*Back him*, you fool." The best efforts were made to screen him. People wrote him anonymous letters and warned him; but he would cheat and they were obliged to find him out. Since that day, when my lord's shame was made public, the gaming table has lost all its splendor. . . . Play is a deposed goddess, her worshippers bankrupt, and her table in rags." Thackeray wrote this in 1856. The now famons trial involving the Prince of Wales and his "set" occurred in 1891.

This being the memorial year of Columbus' Discovery, it should not be forgotten that a very interesting way of getting a thorough view of that great event will be to take up one of James Fenmore Cooper's tales, his "Mercedes of Castile." We do not wish to claim for it any distin-

guished merit as a novel. The one event for which it is written, and for which it is too obviously written for artistic effect, overshadows the other incidents so immensely that they occupy an altogether minor place. The story suffers too from Cooper's usual defect, a tedious and irrelevant preliminary: indeed this defect is peculiarly unfortunate here, for throughout a very great number of pages one would imagine that the whole novel is to turn upon the loves of Ferdinand and Isabella. But nevertheless there is a story, and Cooper's undoubted skill as a narrator, and above all as a narrator of events of the sea, comes finely into play to place before us vividly the account of the anxious journey towards America, the discovery of the land, and the return voyage beset by storms and perils. We do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend "Mercedes" to busy men and women who cannot wade through ponderous volumes of "painful learning" and minute research; the same men and women, who when weary with the toil of the day, would find the story, however inartistic, a grateful accompaniment to the historical facts.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

History of the United States Under the Constitution—Vol. V. By James Schouler, Dodd Mead & Co., New York, 1891.

One of the most notable historical books of the year is the fifth and concluding volume of Prof. Schouler's History. It has been a little more than ten years since it was begun with the purpose of furnishing a history of ample scope and drawn from original sources, in which one might read the story of the country's progress from the administration of Washington to the outbreak of the Civil War. Bancroft's masterly work covered the Colonial and Revolutionary eras, while Hildreth, making scholarly study of the period between 1783 and 1817—wrote more than thirty years ago and "within the horizon lines of his own generation." Since then there have been special studies of the lives of such men as Hamilton, the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and many others. It is true to a certain extent, as Prof. Schouler says in his preface to the first volume, "that political biography distorts events to give effect to a personal example," but it is equally true that many minds at work on the same series of events, have made it easier to write clearly and exhaustively within the lines which Mr. Schouler has laid out for his own work.

The volume just issued begins with the administration of Polk and the history of the Mexican War, and ends just as the curtain rises on the great conflict of the Civil War. To one who has studied as carefully as Mr. Schouler has done the causes that led up to this conflict, it must have been difficult to confine himself to his chosen limits and not enter on that intensely dramatic period.

This concluding volume covers the administration of Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan, and ends with the election and inauguration of Lincoln. During Polk's administration occurred the war with Mexico. The vital question of slavery came to the front on account of the territorial acquisitions made at this time, and from that time forward this tremendous question dominated and controlled all other issues. Such figures as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and the younger Adams, are all still on the stage, but each drawing near to the end of his great career. Such newer leaders as Seward, Sumner, Douglas, Lincoln and others, are preparing to take their places and become leaders in those political complications that grew more and more intense, until the flaming sword became the only possible arbitrament.

It is a great story and worthy of the best work of so admirably equipped an historian as Prof. Schouler;—the compromise of 1850–51; the development of the "freesoil" sentiment; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the Fugitive Slave Law; the Kansas-Nebraska episodes; the Dred Scott Decision; the crystallizing watchword of "Irrepressible Conflict;" the John Brown invasion; the election of Lincoln—these were all steps following one another with what is now clearly a logical sequence that could not be hindered or turned aside.

Prof. Schouler makes only slight reference to Lincoln, but explains this by saying that "it took the next four years' experience to

bring out his splendid moral and intellectural fibre and tenacity of purpose, and to enroll him where he belonged, as the most conspicuous figure of his age if not of the century."

The completed work stands as a contribution to American History, of the very highest value. It supplies a connected story of the progress of the republic during the long period, in which the wisdom of those who gave us the constitution—and the sufficiency of the constitution itself as the organic law of a great nation, were put to the test, and were triumphantly justified.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

A paper was read before the California Historical Society (San Francisco), by Theodore H. Hittell, on the old Spanish schools of that State. The teachers of California were obliged to write their own text books, and the gentleman who was the Alcalde of San Francisco in 1781, could not write his name.

The Historical Society of Southern California, (Los Angeles), held a meeting on Jan. 20. Secretary Griffin announced that the Society's publication of the translation of original Spanish historical documents would soon be issued.

The New Haven Historical Society, Connecticut, held a largely attended meeting on Feb, 2. A paper on Historical Reminiscences of Ancient Woodbridge, dealing to some extent with the "Judges Cave" was read by Rev. S. P. Marvin.

At the meeting of the Connecticut Historical Society on Feb. 3, a paper was read by Miss E. D. Larned, entitled "A Revolutionary Review," which proved exceedingly interesting.

The Historical Society of Delaware, (Wilmington), held its monthly meeting on Feb. 15. The librarian reported gifts of valuable books, among them being about one hundred from the family of Col. Febiger.

The Georgia Historical Society, (Savannah), held its annual meeting on Feb. 15. An address was given by the Hon. L. F. Youmans of Columbia.

The Chicago Historical Society, (Illinois), held its quarterly meeting on Jan. 19—at which a paper was read by its secretary, John Moses, entitled Richard Yates, the War Governor of Illinois. It was a close study of his life and public services.

The Berkshire Historical Society (Pittsfield), Mass., at its quarterly meeting entered on the work of inducing the various towns to preserve their records in safes and to print them for preservation to posterity as far as possible. In the latter case, the Society would undertake to properly edit the records.

The New Jersey Historical Society, held its annual meeting in Trenton on Jan. 27. Hon. John Clement of Haddonfield, was elected president, William Nelson of Patterson, corresponding secretary, and F. W. Ricord, of Newark, librarian. A large number of new members were elected, showing an active and growing interest. Projects for a new building were referred to a competent committee. At the afternoon session Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of Magazine of American History, read an interesting paper on "The Settlement of New York."

The annual meeting of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, (Halifax), was held Feb.

10. The officers elected were President, Sir A. G. Archibald, corresponding secretary, F. B. Crofton. A. A. McKay was elected recording secretary in place of Mr. Lydenham Howe, who resigned to the great regret of the Society. Rev. Dr. Patterson read a paper on "Hooped Cannon found at Louisburg."

The Cayuga County Historical Society (N. Y.,) held its annual election on Feb. 9, at which Wm. H. Seward was chosen president and Frank W. Richardson, recording secretary.

The annual meeting of the Wakefield Historical Society, (Mass.), was held on Feb. 8. Chester W. Eaton was elected president, and Fred. W. Young, secretary. This meeting closed the second year of the society's existence.

The annual meeting of the Cape Cod Historical Society, (Mass.), was held in Yarmouth on the 22d inst. Charles F. Swift was elected president, and Joseph Paine, secretary. A resolution was adopted: "That this society regards with pleasure the movement recently made in Provincetown for the commemoration by a suitable monument of the first landing of the Pilgrims, and that it tender its most cordial co-operation in the enterprise."

A very interesting paper was read by the president, concerning Ianough, an old Indian Chief, whose burial place is supposed to have been in Barnstable.

The Dauphin County Historical Society, (Harrisburg, Pa.), held its monthly meeting on Feb. 10. Dr. Egle read an historical paper.

Through the kindness of Secretary Adams, we have received full reports of the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society. It was held in Topeka on Jan. 20, and brief mention was made of the fact and the election of its officers last month. The Society has been in existence since 1875. When it is remembered that this makes the life of the Society cover only a period of sixteen years, the results that have been accomplished are the fullest possible evidence of the need of its existence.

In some directions its library is richer in historical material than any other State Library. It has on its shelves over 8,000 volumes of Kansas newspapers and periodicals. They contain the history of Kansas through all the thirty-seven years of its territorial and state existence—from 1854 to 1892. Eight men attended the first meeting of the Society, of whom four are still living. All were prominent among the founders of the State, and actors in those stirring events which make Kansas one of the most interesting historically of all that splendid group of younger States: The Society is wisely taking steps towards a memorial meeting in honor of these founders.

J. W. Powell

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THE LAST OF THE DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNORS.*

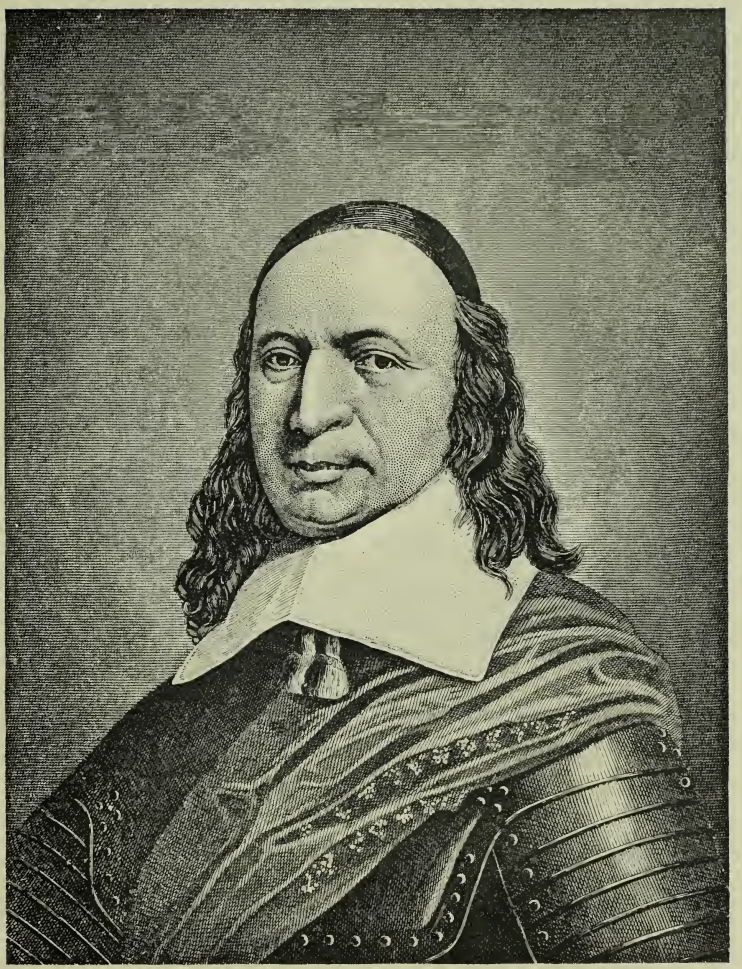
PETER STUYVESANT—1647–1664.

We cannot judge Peter Stuyvesant from the enlightened standpoint of to-day, when, through the evolution of political, social and religious ideas, the conditions of life are so different from those of the middle of the seventeenth century. To-day, a man like this great Dutch governor of early New York, would be decried as a tyrant, as obstinate, and as well deserving the soubriquet of "Stiff-necked Peter," bestowed upon him by an early chronicler. He was, however, nothing more than what the Roman poet calls his hero Romulus in the familiar ode, "a just man of determined intentions"; and this, it is hoped, the reader who does not expect a homily on Stuyvesant's infallibility or an essay against his perversity, will find to be the true estimate of his character.

Political complications, which had assumed a warlike aspect at home and in the colony on the Hudson, led the directors of the West India Company to select as the successor of Kieft, a man of military experience. They found such in their late Governor of the Island of Curaçoa, who had been obliged to return home for surgical treatment and final amputation of a part of his right leg, badly shattered in an attack on the Portuguese Island of St. Martin in 1644. Little is known of the early life of the fourth Director-General of New Netherlands. He was the son of a clergyman, the Rev. Balthazar Stuyvesant, or Stuyfsant, who was settled at Berlikum in the province of Friesland for many years. As he did not arrive there until 1622, this can give us no clue to his son Peter's birth-

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

place. The latter was born in the year 1592, and at an early age he displayed a desire for a military career. After receiving a college education he entered the army. At the time of appointment to his important office, Stuyvesant had reached the mature age of fifty-five years. In the same ship with him arrived also his sister, the widow of Samuel Bayard, whose sister, Judith Bayard, was the Director's wife. Three sons, Peter, Balthazar and Nicholas Bayard, accompanied this lady, who afterwards became prominent in colonial history, and were the progenitors of the Bayard family of America. The writer has seen, in the house of one of Stuyvesant's descendants, a fire-screen embroidered with a coat of arms and the name of Stuyvesant, eques (knight), but the armorial bearings differ from those used by the Governor's family. His commission from the States-General, dated the 28th of July, 1646, and the instructions given previously (July 7, 1645), charged him "to attend carefully to the advancement, promotion and preservation of friendship, alliances, trade and commerce; to direct all matters relating to traffic and war; to establish regularity for the security of the places and forts in New Netherland and the West Indian Islands in his government; to administer law and justice in civil and in criminal cases; to pacify the Indians," and "first of all to establish the colonists and freemen on the Island of Manhattans and grant them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate." As in the discharge of his duties he was expected to be absent in the West Indies at some time or the other, and as it had been considered necessary to establish a court in New Netherlands, a Vice-Director, Dr. Lubbertus van Dincklage, and a Fiscal, Hendrick van Dyck, were joined to him as Council, the latter to have a seat but no vote at the Council-board. His military career, which had fallen into the period of the Thirty Years's War in Europe, had made Stuyvesant a stickler for discipline and prompt obedience to his orders, but it had not improved his temper. He gave the first proof of this failing before he had set foot on the soil of Manhattan Island, and the Fiscal had to bear the brunt of it. The little fleet of four ships, with which Stuyvesant proceeded to his new field of duty, by way of the West Indies, had captured a Spanish prize, and the Council met to discuss the question of how to dispose of it. Among them came Fiscal Van Dyck, whose appearance enraged Stuyvesant so that he pushed him away from the Council-table, saying, "Get away; you have no business here. When I want you, I'll call." Upon arrival at the Island of Manhattan, May 27, 1647, he was received by the population with great rejoicing, which he answered with the promise to govern them as a father governs his children. A rather ominous promise! for in



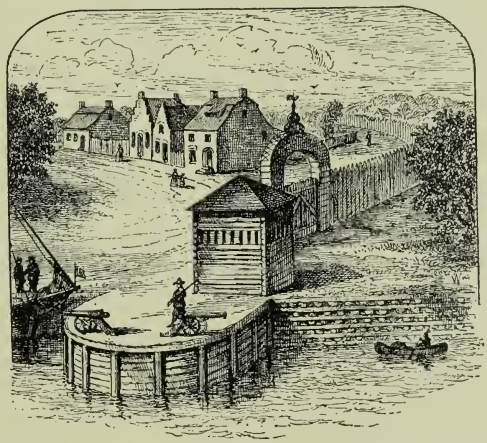
PETER STUYVESANT.

many fathers the sense of what they consider duty overpowers the natural love for the children, and the result is a government by the rod.

As we have before us a man of an essentially military education, we need scarcely wonder that soon after arriving at his quarters in Fort Amsterdam he turned his attention to the means which he possibly might be called upon to use for the defense of the interests placed in his charge. The directors of the company, ignorant of the conditions of life in the new country, had recommended that the ramparts should be made of earth. Stuyvesant and his Council decided, August 26, 1647, to have stone walls. But the funds available for this work were not quite sufficient; however, as the whole village would be benefited by such a place of refuge in case of attack, why should not the inhabitants contribute to the expenses? The people were still in a state of opposition to the country, the result of Kieft's administration, and unwilling to furnish that aid which the Director-General needed. Necessity pointed out a way, probably most repugnant to a man of Stuyvesant's autocratic ideas, but upon urgent recommendations of the Councils, he finally consented to granting a kind of representative government to the people. From a sick-bed he wrote to these representatives consisting of Nine Men, delegated by the communities of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfoort and Pavonia, November 14, 1647. "The first thing necessary to lay before you for the advantage and to the least burden of our dear subjects, the good community, is the repair of Fort Amsterdam, to be a defense against enemies coming from the outside, and a refuge for the persons and property of our people." But even this step did not produce among the people, who should have been most interested in such a work intended for their own safety and protection, enough good will to give the required aid.

The breaking out of active hostilities between the United Provinces and England, made the question of repairing the fort and fortifying the whole city a decidedly urgent one. At a conference, held by Director and Council with the magistrates of the lately incorporated city, March 13, 1653, it was resolved that, as the fort could not shelter all the inhabitants nor protect their houses, it was best to put a stockade around the larger part of the dwellings and to make a small parapet or embankment, behind which the inhabitants could gather for the defense of their persons and property. The magistrates, after one day's deliberation, gave their consent to this resolution, having decided that the work would cost from four to six thousand florins ($1600 to $2400), which were to be collected by tax from the community, when the defenses were completed. In the meantime the wealthier portion of the citizens loaned 5,050 florins.

Whatever was then done in 1653, was either not completed or the walls were again trodden down by cattle roaming at will through the streets. The ordinances of July 11, 1654, and November 5, 1655, indicate that the latter was the reason for the despatch by the company of stone-masons to work on the walls, and for Stuyvesaut's saying in August, 1658. "It is necessary to continue building the walls of the fort."



THE WATER GATE FOOT OF WALL STREET.

The possibility of a war with either the English neighbors or the Indians seems always to have acted as a stimulous on Stuyvesant's mind. He had learned the truth of the saying "Si vis pacem, para bellum," and his first step towards such preparations was the appointment of a "Capitaine des Armes," or an ordinance officer, at a salary of 16 florins ($6.40) a month, whose duty it was to keep the guns, muskets and ammunition in good order. The military forces of the Company stationed in New Netherland were at no time adequate for the defense of the city alone against an invader. Apparently much reliance was placed on the inhabitants, who, it was hoped, would do their best in repelling an invader. Thus we find in New Amsterdam a "Burgher wacht," or Citizens' trainband, whom Stuyvesant at an early date endeavored to bring into a proper state of discipline. In May, 1648, the officers of this corps complained against the Director-General's order, that they should always report armed with muskets, for they had not enough for their men. They were told that it was their business to supply themselves with arms, and that they must do so within two or three months, but as an emergency might arise in the

meantime in which they would need muskets, the ordnance officer of the fort would distribute what they required, on condition that the citizen-soldiers kept the arms clean and in good order and returned them when called for. The corps was also provided with a guard-house. It was divided into two companies, of the blue and of the orange flag. In case of a vacancy among the officers, the rank and file nominated two candidates, of whom the Director and Council appointed one. The Regulars, to use a modern name, or the soldiers of the Company, stood under the command of the Director and of subaltern officers, appointed either by him or by the Company. Their quarters in Fort Amsterdam were so limited that when, in 1658, a number of recruits came from Holland with families, they could not find room in the fort. They were consequently allowed to hire quarters in the city at the rate of ten stivers (20 cents) a week, which Stuyvesant promised to pay monthly either direct to the landlord or through the soldier. A soldier's pay was ten florins ($4.00) a month, and on entering the service he had to pay for his musket thirteen and one-half florins; if he was married and wished to take his family to his transatlantic field of duty, he was also charged with their passage money.

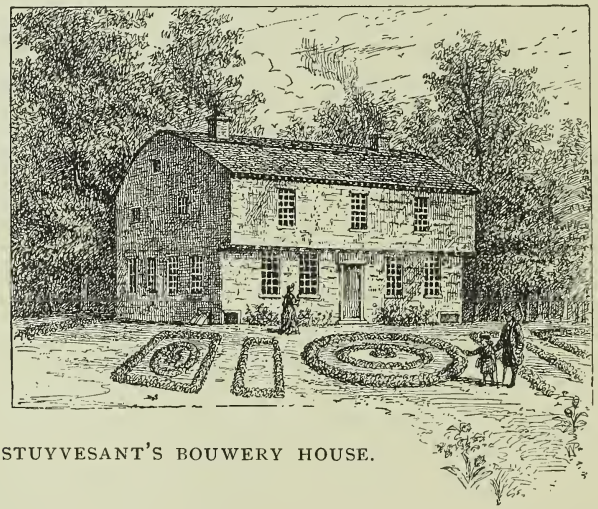
The military duties of the soldier in New Amsterdam consisted mostly of guarding the gates of the fort and of the city, of patrolling at night, and of cutting wood, to keep his quarters and the guard-house warm during the winter. The records tell us that in Stuyvesant's time they had to cut wood beyond the limits of the city; also, that on one occasion, when the supply had suddenly given out or they had been too lazy to chop the wood for the farmers to bring in, they cut down palisades along the strand, and as punishment were ordered to prepare double the number to replace the stockades cut down. The military code of Stuyvesant's day gives to the modern soldier a curious insight into the life and habits of his comrade of the seventeenth century. It requires that when the drums beat for parade every man must come with his musket loaded; he must not come drunk, nor is he allowed to become intoxicated while on duty. He is not to leave his place in the ranks or the guard-house when on duty there, without leave or order. To prevent a wanton waste of ammunition, the muskets are to be discharged only once a week, and then, that no one may be injured outside of the fort, on the water-side. The guard had to drill every morning, but apparently had no sentry duty to perform during the day. The insufficiency of the company's military force became painfully evident when Director-General Stuyvesant was ordered by the home authorities to retake from the Swedes the possessions on the Delaware River. "The drum was daily beaten in the streets of New

Amsterdam for volunteers," and a proclamation was issued inviting "any lovers of the prosperity and security of the province of New Netherlands who were inclined to volunteer or to serve for reasonable pay to come forward; whosever should lose a limb or be maimed was assured of a decent compensation." The expeditionary force numbered, when it sailed from New Amsterdam, between six and seven hundred men—that is to say, probably the largest part of the male population of New Amsterdam able to bear arms. The city was practically left defenseless, and had to pay the penalty of this oversight on the part of Stuyvesant, whose mistrust the quiet behavior of the surrounding Indians during the preceding years had lulled into sleep.

Ten years had passed during which there had been peace with the Indians around Manhattan Island. No one feared an invasion by the natives, even though one or the other settler might, by ill-treatment, have given reason for reprisal. At last, even Indian patience gave way. Van Dyck, the late Fiscal, had wantonly killed a squaw whom he had found gathering peaches in his orchard. This roused all the neighboring tribes, and they united to avenge her death. A letter from the members of the Council, who had been left behind by Stuyvesant to the Director, then at the South River, tells what occurred. "In the morning hours of the 15th inst. (September, 1655), many armed savages came, Maquasas (Mohawks), Mahicanders (Mohikans), Pachamis, savages from the upper and lower North River. Nine hundred savages are encamped at the end of this island or thereabouts, having joined the others. . . God has delivered us from a general massacre last night, the savages being too hasty and relying too much on their superior numbers . . Sir, you will please to take this letter into consideration and reflect whether you and the forces under your command might not be more needed here than to subdue the places yonder; it seems to us better to protect one's own house than to gain a new one at a distance and lose the old property. . . Madame, your wife, with her whole family and all those in whom you and she are concerned, are well. As the citizens are unwilling to guard other people's houses far from the Manhatans, we have, with her advice, hired ten Frenchmen to protect your bouwery. We'll keep as good watch as possible, but expect your speedy return, for to lie in the fort night and day with the citizens has its difficulties, as they cannot be commanded like soldiers."

The Indians, elated by their success on Manhattan Island, and thirsting for still more blood, crossed over to Staten Island, where they killed and took prisoners twenty-three of the population of ninety. This storm of Indian warfare raged for three days, during which one hundred of the Dutch were killed, one hundred and

fifty were taken prisoners, and over three hundred lost all their property in buildings, clothing and food. The city and neighborhood had not recovered from the panic and terror of the invasion, when Stuyvesant returned. His energy and zeal, coupled with his military arrangements, did much to bring the people back to their equanimity. Soldiers were sent to guard the outlying farms; passengers



STUYVESANT'S BOUWERY HOUSE.

on the ships, ready to sail, had to give up their intended voyages, to join the troops "until it should please God to change the aspect of affairs"; funds were raised to strengthen the city walls by a plank curtain impossible to scale, and negotiations with the Indians, whose fury was now spent, were begun to ransom the prisoners. We know of only forty-two who were returned in consequence of these negotiations. The question of rescuing the rest of them was anxiously discussed in the Council chamber. One member, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, was in favor of war, but Stuyvesant, though not as long acquainted with Indians as Van Tienhoven, knew them better and said: "The recent war is to be attributed to the rashness of a few hot-headed individuals. It becomes us to reform ourselves, to abstain from all wrong and to guard against a recurrence of the late unhappy affair by building block-houses wherever they are needed, and not permitting any armed Indians to come into any of our settlements." New Amsterdam and the surrrounding country on Long Island, Westchester, New Jersey, and Staten Island were not again troubled by Indians swinging the tomahawk and war-club or

filling the air with swift-flying arrows and hideous war-whoops. Stuyvesant's military and diplomatic expeditions to the Esopus district, now Ulster County, did not affect the city of New Amsterdam, except in respect to furnishing the soldiers to protect the settlers and punish the Indians of that region. But the Indian surprise of September, 1655, gave Stuyvesant a new chance to urge the completion of the city fortifications. A joint conference at the City Hall on the 20th of September, authorized him to issue an ordinance, October 11, 1655, again directing that palisades should be set up around the whole city, the expenses for which work were to be paid by a voluntary loan, if voluntary can be called a contribution which the magistrates were, by the same ordinance, authorized to levy by distress.

All endeavors of Stuyvesant to have on hand the means for an effective defense of the city and fort, if attacked, proved futile. When in August, 1664, the fleet under Nicolls, sent by the Duke of York, appeared in the harbor of New Amsterdam, the city was still open along the banks of both rivers; on the northern or land side its protection was a hastily erected fence, composed of "old and rotten palisades, in front of which was thrown up a small breastwork, about three to three and a half feet high and barely two feet wide." The fort was in no better shape to stand an attack. It was again surrounded by an earth wall from eight to ten feet high, three to four feet thick, upon which were mounted twenty-four pieces of artilery. No ditch or fosse protected the approaches, but hills to the north and west, looking down the Heerewegh, now Broadway, commanded the interior of Fort New Amsterdam at pistol-shot distance, and from them it was possible "to see the soles of the men walking in the square or on the corners of the battlements."

The West India Company had its first conception not so much in a purely commercial enterprise as in the hope of gaining dividends by the capture of Spanish silver fleets, and thus it assumed a political character, which it retained as long as its ships could make war against the national enemy, before whose very doors they had made the settlement on the Hudson for that purpose. Within a month after Stuyvesant's arrival the two men-of-war, then stationed at New Amsterdam, were ordered to "go to sea and cruise against our enemies, the Spaniards and their allies." The treaty of Westphalia stopped the expeditions against Spanish silver fleets, and Stuyvesant had to remember that he had been sent out not only as the representative of the West India Company, for the purpose of defending their American colonies against enemies, of giving them law and justice, but also as their

commercial agent to look after the trade to and from the world beyond the seas and with the interior.

Of the trade regulations under former governors of the province but little is known. Stuyvesant had therefore no precedents to follow. He began his career as a commercial authority by an ordinance against trading in the Minquas country, between the lower Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, June 18, 1647, and in a few weeks made the first of his many mistakes in this direction, which was promptly countermanded by his superiors in Amsterdam, who knew more about trade than a bluff soldier who so far had issued only military orders.

The question who should and who should not be allowed to carry on an import and export trade at New Amsterdam was a puzzling one to Stuyvesant, placed as he was between his instructions and the directorial orders. Perhaps accidentally he adopted a course which was for the best development of New Amsterdam as the great mart of the western world. So called Scotch or Chinese merchants and peddlers came from time to time to New Netherland, sold their goods rapidly at lower prices than the resident traders, and paid extravagant prices for beaver-skins, eleven to twelve florins the piece. Such proceedings of course unsettled and threatened to destroy the regular trade. Stuyvesant therefore issued an ordinance September 18, 1648, directing that these free-lances of trade should not carry on their business until after having been settled in New Netherland for three years; they were further required to build a substantial house in New Amsterdam.

It has been said above that the Westphalian Treaty of Peace prevented the West India Company from further hostile expeditions against Spain and its colonies, and thereby considerably reduced the dividends. This was perhaps to the advantage of their own colony on the Hudson, for it brought about a decision to increase the population of New Netherland and draw the marine trade to New Amsterdam. Under this new policy Stuyvesant was directed, April 26, 1651, to exact from all goods coming from Virginia or New England a duty of sixteen per cent., while goods exported from New Amsterdam to the English colonies were exempted from all duties. It was expected that the custom of shipping goods from Holland via New England, where no duties were exacted, to New Amsterdam would be made fruitless, to the advantage of the direct shippers and of the merchants of New Netherland.

The repeatedly mentioned instructions of Stuyvesant directed him "first of all to establish the colonists and freemen on the island of Manhattans, and to grant to them as much land as they shall be able to cultivate, either as tobacco-planta-

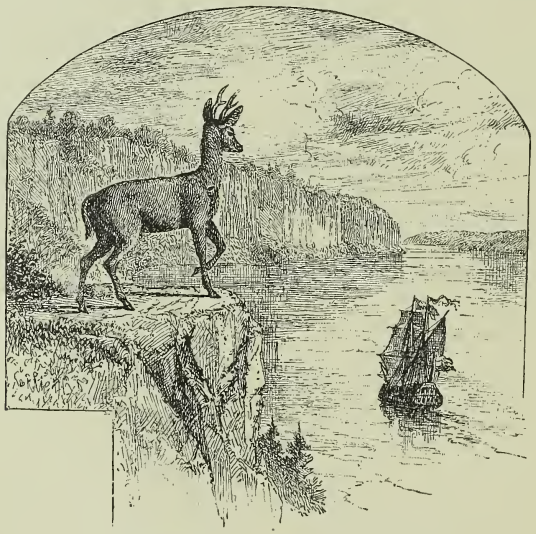
tions or with grain and all other crops to which the soil is adapted." By faithfully carrying out this instruction Stuyvesant not only laid the foundation-stone of what in our days has become one of the great staples of trade—namely, the grain trade—but also added to his cares in administering the government of the province and of the city at the same time. The summer of 1649 had yielded only a poor harvest, and cereals, which then could not yet be imported in sufficient quantities from other colonies became so scarce that the poorer people suffered under it. After long hesitation Stuyvesant finally found himself compelled to forbid by ordinance of November 8, 1649, that wheat should be consumed in malting or brewing. A few years later, in 1653, it was not a poor harvest, but the preponderance of tobacco cultivation, combined with greater demand for grain by an increasing population, which created a scarcity of breadstuffs.

New Netherland was a tobacco-growing country then, and tobacco formed one of the staples of export, and by the duty paid on it one of the important items of revenue. The quality of New Netherland tobacco is best designated by an ordinance of April 21, 1649, issued in conformity with a rescript of the directors of January 27th, same year, according to which the duty on New Netherland tobacco was to be not higher than that paid on the poorest West Indian, *i. e.*, forty-five stivers (90 cents) per one hundred pounds. Smokers may have found this New Netherland leaf not sufficiently to their taste to make it worth while to continue collecting duties on it, for they were abolished April 4, 1652.

The reports of Hudson and the explorers immediately following him had spoken of the abundance of fur-bearing animals in the new country. When the West India Company was organized, the trade in furs formed a point of so great consideration that, although they granted important privileges by the freedoms and exemptions of 1629, this trade was allowed only under restrictions. Private parties were not to deal in peltries except at places where no officer of the company was resident, and then they had to bring the furs to Manhattan and deliver them to the director for shipment, or report the transaction for the assessment of duties, which were one florin for each otter or beaver-skin. This trade in furs always remained more or less a monopoly of the company. Director Kieft ordered, August 4, 1644, that all beaver-skins should be marked by an officer specially appointed for that purpose, and exacted a duty of fifteen stivers (30 cents) for each, and Stuyvesant, in renewing this order on July 4, 1647, made it still more stringent by forbidding the export or removal from one vessel to another of all peltries and hides, unless first entered in the company's office. The

records of Fort Orange (Albany) give us an idea of how great value this fur trade was to the company, by stating that 46,500 beaver and otter-skins were shipped from there to New Amsterdam in 1656. The attention paid to this trade and to measures to prevent exports with evasion of duty is therefore not surprising.

Beaver-skins became of importance in New Netherland not only as an article of trade, but in the course of time also as a circulating medium, as currency. When the Dutch took possession of the island of Manhattan and New Netherland, they found that the original inhabitants used as money small white or black beads made out of the shells of periwinkles or clams, which they called sewan or wampum. As European coins of gold, silver or copper were not abundant among the first settlers, they adopted the Indian currency as their own, and created the first fiat money in the New World, which had course not only in New Netherland but also in New England, where it was called "the devil's currency." Although calling it by a bad name, the thrifty New England people were quite willing to derive pecuniary advantages from it by bringing to New Amsterdam inferior wampum, rough and unpolished, while the good, known as Manhattan wampum, was kept out of sight.



STUYVESANT GOING TO ALBANY.

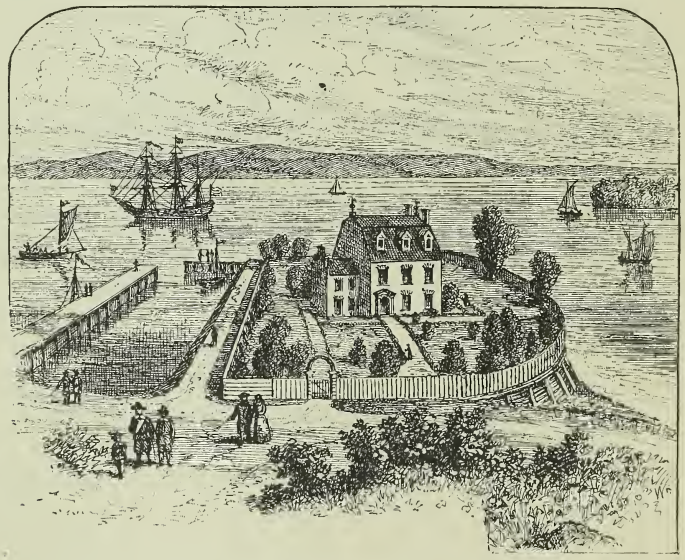
It has been said that financial necessities compelled Stuyvesant to grant to the village of New Amsterdam a semblance of representative government, and thereby plant on

New York soil the seed of a government of, for, and by the people. He had repeatedly been told by the home authorities "to use despatch in the repairs of Fort Amsterdam," but as the means to carry out this work were not to be found in the company's treasure-chest, he was to ask the inhabitants for aid. For a man of Stuyvesant's imperious and autocratic character the position in which he found himself now cannot have been a pleasant one. Positive orders to do this work from one side, threatening war-clouds on the Indian horizon on the other, no money to spend for the needed repairs, and the people unwilling to be taxed without their own consent. "Distrusting the wavering multitude, ready to censure him if war should break out," Stuyvesant called for advice upon his council and was told that his fancied prerogatives must yield to popular rights by conceding representation to the people.

The government of the Netherlands had gradually evolved out of a conglomeration of self-governing localities or towns. In each town a "Tribunal of Well-born Men," or "Men's Men," elected by the inhabitants entitled to vote, sat as court in criminal and civil cases, thirteen being the quorum for the former, seven for the latter. This institution, first introduced about the year 1295, was, in 1614, changed to the board of nine men, who sat together in all cases. Under the stress of circumstances Stuyvesant authorized the inhabitants to nominate eighteen "of the most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable of our subjects, from whom we might select a single number of nine men to confer with us and our council as their tribune." Out of the eighteen nominated three were selected to represent the merchants, three as representatives of the citizens, and the remaining three for the farmers. Their powers and duties were defined in the above quoted ordinance, dated September 25, 1647, as follows: "They shall exert themselves to promote the honor of God and the welfare of our dear fatherland to the best advantage of the company and the prosperity of our good citizens; to the preservation of the pure reformed religion as it here and in the churches of the Netherlands is inculcated. They shall not assist at any private conventicles or meetings, much less patronize such like deliberations and resolves, except with the special knowledge and advice of the director-general and council and on his special order, unless only when they are convened in a legitimate manner and have received the proposals of the director and council; then they have liberty to delay for consultation upon such proposals and submit their advice later, provided that the director shall have the right to preside himself at such meetings or appoint a member of his council as president."

It was but a scant recognition of

the great Aryan principle—no taxation without representation; but scant as it was, it shows that Stuyvesant saw he could not well suppress an institution which had become a familiar necessity to all Dutchmen, and which, moreover, he had been ordered by his instructions to introduce. For these instructions of July 7, 1645, said: "Inasmuch as the colonists have been allowed by the freepied de la lettre," in reporting on the state of their place than the ordinance defining their powers and duties. Almost from the beginning of the settlement on the banks of the Hudson the lucrative trade in furs brought from Fort Nassau, later Orange, and further north and west had attracted what the permanent merchants of New Amsterdam called "peddlers, Scotch or Chinese deal-



GOV. STUYVESANT'S HOME, "THE WHITEHALL," 1656.

doms to delegate one or two persons to give information to the director and council concerning the state and condition of their colonies, the same is hereby confirmed."

The newly elected board of the people's representatives were however, more inclined to follow the instructions given to Stuyvesant "au

ers"—that is, men who carried on a temporary trade in furs procured from the Indians in a furtive manner, and who then quickly left the country without benefiting it by improvements of the soil. The nine men, on behalf of the commonalty, desired to encourage permanent settlements on the island of Manhattan,

recognizing the benefits likely to accrue in this way for the colony. They therefore laid the matter before the director and council with suggestions for a remedy. The result was an ordinance, March 10, 1648, which confined the trade in New Amsterdam and the interior to permanent residents. Only persons who had taken the oath of allegiance, who were rated, at least, at from two to three thousand guilders, who bound themselves to remain in the country four successive years, and who "kept fire and light" at their own expense, were now allowed to keep a shop or carry on a retail business. To some extent this was a victory for the people's representatives. In their next attempt to influence the actions of Stuyvesant they were not so successful.

The new elections added to the board of nine men Yonker Adriaen Van der Donck, the proprietor of the colony of Colendonck, which to-day perpetuates his memory under the name of Yonkers. Under Van der Donck's energetic influence, the new body introduced the question of sending delegates to Holland. Stuyvesant called on them to tell him what they had to complain of, but they declined to do so, as such a course "was not based on any sound reason" and would defeat their endeavors to benefit the country. Several members of the popular party went from house to house, to collect the opinion of the commonalty as to how far they approved of the project and what they would do to defray the necessary expenses. "From this time the breast of the director-general became inflamed with rage." Stuyvesant vilified the men whom he had hitherto classed among "the most honest, the most fit, the most experienced, and the most godly in the community," and now thought "hanging was too good a punishment for them." His strict sense of justice, however, prevented him from tyrannical proceedings against the leaders of the popular party, whom he hoped to defeat by organizing an opposition party composed of officers of the militia and citizens in accord with him, who were to send another delegation to Holland for consultation "on important points."

For the purpose of having all the evidence necessary for their case properly arranged, the nine men considered it necessary to have memoranda regularly kept for the "journal" to be submitted to the States general. Van der Donck, doctor of laws, was charged with this task, being not only a member of the board of nine men, but also of Stuyvesant's council, and therefore the best fitted to know the intentions and plans of Stuyvesant. The keeping of the memoranda had been decided in a secret session of the board. Stuyvesant learned of it, seized Van der Donck's papers, and threw him into prison on the charge of lese-majesty. As Van der Donck was a member of

This view of New Amsterdam, by Augustine Herrman, is found engraved upon no less than five different maps of New Netherland.

the council, and intended to use knowledge acquired there for the benefit of the party opposed to the council, such a charge was sustained by the court specially appointed to try him, which condemned Van der Donck to expulsion from the council and from the board of Nine Men.

The reversal of the judgment against Kuyter and Melyn, their return to New Netherland, and the reading in church of the decision of the States-General, recalling Stuyvesant for his defense, created a most remarkable excitement, for Stuyvesant concluded and declared that he would not go to prison, but send an attorney to defend his sentence passed on Kuyter and Melyn. "I honor and respect the States and shall obey their orders," he said, "but I shall send an attorney to sustain my verdict."

The three delegates sent by the nine men, Adriaen Van der Donck, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, and Jan Evertsen Bout, carried with them the celebrated "Vertoogh" (remonstrance of New Netherland, probably the work of Van der Donck), and an address to the States general, both documents signed by the board of nine men in office and their predecessors. This "Vertoogh," although written for political purposes, is one of the most important works for the history of New York, as it begins with the discovery of the country, its boundaries, etc.,—tells of the aboriginal inhabitants, both human and animal, of the origin of the West India Company, and the condition of New Netherland up to date. The historian of to-day, therefore, owes to Stuyvesant a debt of gratitude for having given cause to write it.

Having resolved not to go to Holland himself, Stuyvesant dispatched, a fortnight before the delegates sailed, Cornelius Van Tienhoven to act as his attorney, and also to prepare the States-General for the reception of the Vertoogh and counteract it by previous contradictory reports. Van Tienhoven was "cautious, subtle, intelligent, and sharp-witted," but also quite unscrupulous. Having been in the company's service in New Netherland since 1633, he knew the country thoroughly. Van Tienhoven found everything ready for his reply, and prepared without much delay "a brief statement in answer to some points contained in the written deduction of Adriaen Van der Donck and associates," which he called "a tissue of assertions without proof." He confined himself, however, exclusively to contradicting allegations against the company or Director Stuyvesant.

Van Tienhoven's paper was referred to the same Committee as the Remonstrance. The Committee reported on the 11th of April, 1650, "a remedy which," they thought, "should satisfy both parties, until further provision is made." The remedy, in the shape of a "Provisional Order for the government, preservation and peopling of New

Netherland," suggested a recall of Stuyvesant and, in pursuance of a request expressed in the delegates' address to the States-General, the introduction in New Amsterdam of Burgher or municipal government by a Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens. The Nine Men were, however, to continue for three years longer and have jurisdiction over small causes between individuals. The order for his recall, Stuyvesant declared, he would not obey, as the company was opposed to it and had directed him not to pay attention to anything said in the Provisional Order. The quarrel, instead of having been settled, as the home authorities may have thought, grew hotter, because Stuyvesant, conscious of having done what he considered his duty, resented the treatment received at the hands of the States-General and made the people of New Amsterdam feel his resentment.

A new appeal to the States-General by the Nine Men was sent over, and we now see Stuyvesant in a peculiar position. The supreme Government, whose commission as Director-General he held, had recalled him; the West India Company, who paid his salary as Director-General, had ordered him not to obey the order of recall; the mass of his own countrymen, whom he was sent out to govern, were estranged from him; and he had to look for sympathy and support to the small part of the community belonging to a nation which considered the Dutch as invaders of their territory. On these supporters he had now to rely in his boundary negotiations with New England, and by selecting as representatives to go to Hartford for conference with the English commissioners two men of these adherents, opposed to the Nine Men, he gave to his adversaries new cause for complaints, which now included the accusation that by his English representatives he had surrendered to the New England people more territory than might have formed fifty colonies, that he had ceased to consult the assistants given him by the company, Vice-Director Van Dincklagen and Fiscal Van Dyck, and that he had refused to fill the vacancies about to occur in the Board of Nine Men by six of them legally going out of office.

Van der Donck, who had remained in Holland, was again the spokesman of the discontented party in New Amsterdam, and presented to the States-General another memorial, January 14, 1651. The "Presiding Chamber,"—*i. e.*, the Chamber of Amsterdam—to whom the management of the affairs in New Netherland had been confided at the organization of the company by the Assembly of the XIX., saw that it was time for them to make concessions or else lose control over the province. Of these concessions the most important was that they consented to let New Amsterdam have a "burgher government." The citizens were to be

granted the privilege of electing magistrates "as much as possible according to the custom of Amsterdam," which was ruled by a body composed of a Schout or Sheriff, two Burgomasters or Mayors and five Schepens or Aldermen.

Before Stuyvesant could receive news of these concessions he had himself amplified the powers of the Nine Men a little (April, 1652) by giving them the jurisdiction suggested in the "Provisional Order," while the States-General acted upon another suggestion of the committee by issuing an order for the recall of Stuyvesant. The Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company declared this unexpected step of the States-General a violation of their charter, and in a letter of April 27th advised him not to hurry in his arrangements for the voyage, but to wait further orders. Their remonstrances to the States-General, combined with the necessity of having an experienced soldier in command of the trans-atlantic colony, when a war with England was threatening, led to the rescinding of the order of recall. The anticipated war began, and Stuyvesant was admonished to put New Amsterdam and the province in a proper state of defense ; also to avoid any collision with the English neighbors east and south, for only then could Manhattan prosper and the "ships of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean ; then numbers, now looking to that coast with eager eyes, will be induced to embark for your island." These Amsterdam merchants of 1652 might have been proud of their far-sightedness, could they have seen the New Amsterdam of 1892.

Stuyvesant was never prompt in carrying out orders given at Amsterdam, when his own judgment and knowledge of affairs in New Amsterdam made them unadvisable, but he would yield to circumstances, especially when these had a military character. To carry out the orders of of his superiors in regard to the defenses of New Amsterdam, he needed the co-operation of the people, which could only be obtained by the concession of the demanded popular government. The manner in which he granted this concession is characteristic of the man. The Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company had decided that the citizens of New Amsterdam should be allowed to elect their magistrates, but Stuyvesant did not think proper to go quite so far. By a proclamation of the 2d of February, 1653, he informed the people that henceforth they were to be ruled by two Burgomasters and five Schepens appointed by him ; the island of Manhattan became the City of New Amsterdam, even though the municipal court was not complete, as no Schout of the city had been appointed.

During the first few months after the organization of the city government, nothing occurred to mar the

relations of the Director-General with the new magistrates. They conferred together about the means to defend the city in case of an anticipated attack as has been told above ; funds were raised with the aid of the magistrates for the same purpose ; but colonial politics, matters relating to the then existing war between the Netherlands and England, disturbed their friendly relations. An appeal to the directors concerning protection

GOV. STUYVESANT'S SEAL.

of the Long Island towns was talked of, but before sending it a remonstrance was presented to the Director and Council, which immediately widened the little rift into a great breach between the two governing bodies. The meditated appeal to the directors had received fresh incentives, and was dispatched on the 24th of December, 1653, demanding power to administer the city "according to the form of government of Amsterdam, as far as possible," the right of electing a City Schout or of nominating candidates for the succession of all the magistrates. The appeal further asked for a surrender of the whole excise and the authority of imposing taxes and of leasing the ferry to Breuckelen, to have a city seal, and be provided with arms and ammunition for the defense of the place in case of attack.

The popular party was, however, victorious, and more or less qualified concessions of the demands made in the appeal were granted. The city was to have its Schout, but his appointment should remain in the hands of the Director and Council. The excise on beer and wine was granted to them, but they were to pay the public salaries. The authority of levying taxes "without offending the commonalty" was given, subject to the consent of the local authorities. A seal and a City Hall were promised, but for arms and ammunition they must apply to the Director and Council.

Stuyvesant had, by slow process, come to the conviction that he lacked the physical power to rule the City of New Amsterdam and the Province of New Netherland by his will. He had made several concessions to poplar government not yet mentioned, which, briefly stated were: executions of judgments by the magistrates through the City Marshal according to Amsterdam custom ; fees to be the city's officer's for recording deeds

and other public documents ; extension of jurisdiction allowing the City Court to pass sentence to the extent of whipping and branding in all cases of misdemeanor and criminal offenses of a minor character and to execute the same, unless appeal was taken. Now he even went so far as to recognize by one of his Ordinances "the faithful and voluntary services and the submission to burthens" evinced by the citizens, and without much delay granted the prayer of the magistrates for the introduction of the important Dutch rule of "Burgher Right," which conveyed not only commercial but also political and legal privileges, although since 1652, by the division into Great and Small Burgher Right, it had lost some of its significance. The Ordinance granting it to the City of New Amsterdam decreed that the Great Burgher Right could be given to :

1. Former and actual members of the Provincial Government.

2. Former and actual Burgomasters and Schepens.

3. Ministers of the Gospel.

4. Commissioned officers, the Ensign included.

5. All who may apply for it and pay fifty florins.

6. All the descendants in the male line of the foregoing.

To Small Burgher Right were entitled ;

1. All who had resided, keeping fire and light, in the city for one year and six weeks.

2. All born in the city.

3. All who have married, or may hereafter marry, native born burghers' daughters.

4. All who now, or hereafter, keep shop and carry on business, on application and payment of twenty-five florins.

5. All employees in the company's pay, and new-comers who may intend to settle elsewhere, provided they do so within six weeks after arrival.

The money to be obtained from this source was to go into the City Treasury and to be used chiefly for the fortifications. The privileges granted to the great burgher were much more important than those of his poorer neighbor. Only men of the great burgher class were eligible to office ; they were exempt from watch and other military duty during one year and six months, and could not personally be arrested by any of the inferior courts. The small burgher had only the privilege of paying his fees and attending to his business. The list of 1657 gives two hundred and twenty-five names of persons who applied and received their papers.

No internal political strife disturbed the few remaining years of the life of the City of New Amsterdam before she had to take the present name of New York, a more or less unwilling bride of the English usurper. But some changes in its institutions must be noted. The inhabitants were still jealous on the subject of residence,

and at their request Stuyvesant modified the law regarding it so that persons who absented themselves from the city for four months "without keeping fire and light" there should lose their Burgher Right.

Foreign politics began to exert its influence on the relations between Stuyvesant and the magistrates of the city during the last year of his Directorate. Charles II. had ascended the throne of England, and was beginning to think with how much ingratitude he could requite the hospitality extended to him during his exile in the Netherlands. Under a grant from him to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, the English were taking possession of the Dutch towns on Long Island, and New Amsterdam was threatened by a like fate, to which in its poor state of defense it would easily have fallen a victim. When Stuyvesant sought the advice of the Burgomasters and Schepens how to avert such a disaster, they recommended that "the capital, adorned with so many noble buildings at the expense of the good and faithful inhabitants, principally Dutchmen," should be thoroughly fortified, and that troops in sufficient number should be enrolled to protect New Amsterdam and the province, which would soon become an Emporium to the Fatherland. But it was not to be; in order that the United States should arise, and that New York should become the "Emporium" of the Western World, it was necessary that New Netherland should be united to the other English colonies in its neighborhood.

We have so far seen Stuyvesant in his relations to New Amsterdam as the representative of the directors of the West India Company in military, commercial and political matters, but there remains yet the administrator in matters of importance to the city seen from the communal point.

The letter of November 14, 1647, quoted above, dated "in our bedroom," closes with the recommendation to the Nine Men to advise him in regard to proper regulations about fires, "which might break out here as well as in other places. It must be done with the least expense and damage to the community." Two months later, January 23 and 28, 1648, he issued an ordinance, appointing firewardens and forbidding the use of wooden chimneys in the houses between the fort near the present Bowling Green and the Fresh Water, now occupied by the Tombs and neighborhood. Fines imposed on persons who persisted in using wooden chimneys, or in whose house a fire broke out, were to be applied to the purchase of fire-ladders, buckets and hooks. The unfortunate citizen whom fire visited had not only to suffer loss of goods, but also to pay twenty-five florins ($10) for the pleasure of it.

In a place the houses of which were mostly wooden, the enforcement of rules for the prevention of fires can never be called too harsh, but in this

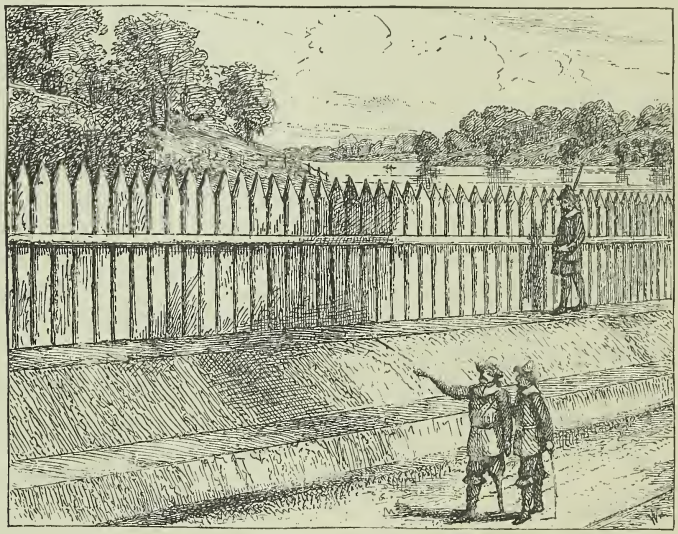
case Stuyvesant seems to have been over-lenient. We have no distinct record of any fire breaking out in the meantime, except during the Indian invasion of 1655, when not the best-regulated fire department could have done anything, but Stuyvesant allowed ten years to pass before his attention was again called to this matter. The former ordinances had fallen into oblivion, the possibilities of destruction of the whole city had increased, because the wooden houses were covered with thatched roofs, still had their wooden chimneys, and stood in close proximity to inflammable haystacks. A new ordinance of December 15, 1657, ordered a change of roofs and chimneys and a removal of the dangerous hayricks, etc. The city magistrates were authorized to demand from every house, whether small or large, one beaver or eight florins ($3.20) in wampum, and to procure from the Fatherland with this money two hundred and fifty leathern fire-buckets, also to have some fire-ladders and hooks made. To maintain this establishment they may yearly collect a chimney tax of one florin for each. The promptness with which the magistrates carried out his order must have convinced Stuyvesant that government by and for the people, limited though it was in 1657, could accomplish more than he had supposed. The hooks and ladders, made by workmen in the city, were soon placed, as required by the ordinance, "at the corners of the streets, in public houses and other places convenient of access."

Up to the time of Stuyvesant's arrival at New Amsterdam, little regard had been paid to the boundary-lines of the various lots. Owners of such lots had arbitrarily built beyond their lines into the streets; we see the result of it to-day in the crooked lines of some streets in the oldest part of the city. Stuyvesant took immediate steps to remedy this evil, by appointing surveyors of streets and buildings, who were given power to prevent the erection of unsightly and improper buildings in the streets, to regulate the street lines according to the land patents, and to supervise the streets generally. People were not allowed to build without first having notified these surveyors of their intentions and submitted their plans."

In November, 1655, the city magistrates moved in a direction which greatly improved the appearance and condition of New Amsterdam. They wrote to the Director-General and Council that refugees (probably Swedes from the Delaware) and others, who had come with the intention of a permanent settlement, had asked for building lots on which they might erect dwelling houses. The magistrates therefore suggested that a proper survey of the city might be made, to know what lots could be given out. Stuyvesant and Council understood the situation and appointed the regular street surveyors with Burgomaster Allard Anthony

and Councilor La Montagne, a committee for the survey of all lots; and lest any person should take possession of land without legal authority, this committee was empowered to make a price for each lot; from their decision an appeal could be taken only to the Director and Council.

The survey, accompanied by a map now unfortunately lost, was laid before the Council in February, 1656. The streets had been laid out as they should run, and marked out with stakes.



THE PALISADES ALONG WALL STREET.

The busy crowd now daily surging up and down Broad street will scarcely believe that two hundred years ago cargoes of various kinds were being loaded in and unloaded from vessels, which then could and did come as far up as where Exchange Place now enters into Broad street. On the east side of it was the Prince's Graft, extending into Beaver street, with ten or twelve dwelling houses on it. A city ordinance of 1660 tells us that it was a creek going into the Heere Graft (Broad street), and that the roads on both sides of this run of water were ordered to be paved, each resident paving the portion before his own door. The Heere Graft presented the conveniences of a landing-place without the expenses of a dock, and therefore the authorities took especial care in preserving its banks and keeping the bottom clear. Artificial sidings of wood to prevent the caving in of the banks were commenced in 1657, and at the same time ordinances

against throwing filth and offal into the water of the Heere Graft were issued, with heavy penalty for their violation.

On the north side of Fort Amsterdam, and almost under its walls, was a grass plot which some of the very oldest inhabitants of modern New York, recollect as the gathering-place of the beau monde in their younger days. From this Bowling Green a wide but thinly populated street stretched up the hill to the north. It was the principal street to go out of the city through the "Landpoort," the gate in the wall standing along Wall street. Its name, Heeren straat (the gentlemen's street), indicated that even then it was considered as the principal street of the city, and it is so now as Broadway. The houses facing Bowling Green, which had in earlier days been the town market-place, were called hence the Marckvelt (Marketfield), and from it the Marckvelt Steegie, now Marketfield street, led to the Heere Graft.

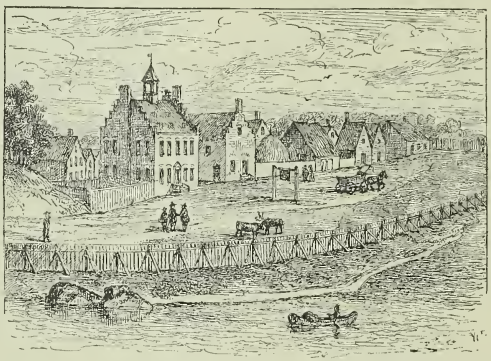
The street then most thickly settled was behind the fort, and has not changed its name of Pearl street, but it extended only from State to Whitehall streets. Starting from its beginning at the corner of State street stood a number of houses, fronting the bay; between these houses and the river banks ran a road called "Het Water" (the Water). Next to Broadway in importance was a thoroughfare leading from the bridge over the outlet of the Heere Graft along the East River to the Water Gate, the egress from the city near the present crossing of Wall and Pearl streets. In 1661, this Hooghe (High) street contained forty-one dwelling houses, several small shops, and the City Hall. Wall street, so called because the palisades stood along the south side of it, was then not the busy street which it is to-day. By law no dwelling houses could be built there.

The Southern end of Manhattan Island has grown in width from the North to the East River since the day when Director-General Stuyvesant ruled. High tides would bring the water nearly up to the City Hall, fronting the East River near the head of the present Coenties Slip. The access to the City Hall was under such conditions most inconvenient, and this gave occasion for the construction of a siding of wood, protecting the shore by preventing the land from being washed out and by its height serving as a barrier against the overflow of water. This siding, the "Schoeynge," at Coenties Slip was begun in 1655. In August of that year, "Sybout Claesen made representation that he had been employed to build the Schoeynge, but that the water prevented the work."

The people living on that road along the East River which is now Pearl street, suffered in their private capacity as citizens, as much as the frequenters of the City Hall, from the inconvenience of having the waves of

the river dash up to their very doors. Upon their representation the Magistrates ordered therefore, early in 1656, that this lining should be continued from the City Hall to the Water Gate, near where Pearl and Wall streets now meet. This work was to be done by the owners of the lots running down to the river, but the order mentioned above was not generally complied with, as the following ordinances of the Burgomasters and Schepens, September 25, same with boards before their respective lots, under a penalty of twenty-five florins ($10) if not done."

This was the beginning of the lateral territorial expansion of Manhattan Island into the East River, which we cannot follow up here, as the further encroachments on the water on both sides of the island took place at later dates. The land immediately and daily washed by the river across the road between the houses and the water was mostly granted to the



THE SCHOEYNGE ALONG THE EAST RIVER.

1656, tell us: "Whereas the Schoeynge is as yet only made near the Water Gate at the East River, it is necessary, not only for the good of the city in general, but specially for the benefit of the people living there along the Strand, that it be immediately completed. The Burgomasters and Schepens therefore ordain that all persons who have houses or lots along the river between the City Hall and the Water Gate forthwith proceed to build up and line the owner of the opposite lot fronting on the street, on condition that if it should be needed for a wall or a breastwork in the city's fortifications as much as was required should be given up for that purpose. Daniel Litschoe, the innkeeper, at the foot of Broad street, was the first to take advantage of the rule concerning such land on the water's edge, and he was also the first to build a wharf into the water and lay the foundation of future encroachments upon the East River.

The intercourse between New Amsterdam, the Esopus District, Fort Orange, Fort Nassau on the Delaware, and the Long Island towns did not yet warrant the establishment of postal facilities. But already in 1652, the directors of the company have occasion to write to Stuyvesant concerning transatlantic mails, for which New York is now the great starting point. "For the accommodation of private parties," they say, "who often give their letters for New Netherland to one or the other sailor or free merchant, from which practice result many delays in the delivery of letters and subsequent losses to the writers and their friends there, the letters being laid in the bottom of chests or the bearers going to other places, we have fastened a box at the New Warehouse, where we now hold our meetings, for the collection of all letters, to be sent out by the first ship sailing. We have deemed it advisable to inform you thereof, so that you may do the same in New Netherland and send the letters, for the sake of greater safety, in a bag addressed to us. We shall hand them to whom they belong. People expecting letters usually come to the Warehouse."

Stuyvesant may have considered this an unnecessary innovation, or may have feared that accusations against him would by such facilities only so much surer reach his superiors; he evidently paid no attention to the directors' suggestion, for in November, 1654, they write: "Some time ago great complaints were made to us about the bad delivery of private letters coming from New Netherland, which often are kept back two or three weeks, or are not delivered at all, thereby causing great inconveniences to merchants and others; therefore, we direct you hereby to have a box or case made for collecting such letters, then to have them well packed, and to give them to the supercargoes of the ships sailing hitherward with orders to deliver the packages to us for distribution." It was necessary to repeat this order in September, 1655, and to suggest that the letter-box be affixed at the Company's Storehouse or some other convenient place.

Stuyvesant was not a "teetotaler;" in fact, no apostle of the doctrine of total abstinence had as yet arisen in his days. Nevertheless he kept a watchful eye on the liquor traffic in New Amsterdam, as well as in the whole province, with twofold intentions, the one moral and the other financial. He had been only a few days at the seat of his new government, when, on May 31, 1647, he issued an ordinance against tippling during the hours of divine service, which was followed by one of July 1, 1647, against the sale of liquor to Indians, under a penalty of five hundred florins. The seller was to be held responsible for all the injuries and damages inflicted by a red man when under the influence of liquor. After the bell had announced the

hour of nine in the evening, no intoxicating drinks were to be sold to any one. A few days later, July 4th, he pointed out through the medium of a new ordinance how the revenue could derive benefits from the traffic in wine and liquor.

There are no means of knowing how productive this excise on wine, beer, and distilled waters became, but it appears as if Stuyvesant were not satisfied with the operations of his ordinance after a trial of eight months, for on the 10th of March he issued a new one to regulate the taverns, by which each tavern-keeper was obliged to register his name in the company's office and take out a license.

The incorporation of the City of New Amsterdam had naturally thrown heavy financial burdens on the Burgomasters and Schepens. In a conversation with them, Stuyvesant had promised that from November 1, 1653, the excise on liquors should be paid into the City Treasury and no longer to the company. But the month had nearly expired without a written fulfilment of the promise. Anxious for their standing before the community, the magistrates wrote to the Director and Council on the 25th of November: "The Director-General has on the 11th inst. verbally promised us that the excise on wine and beer, hitherto paid to the company, should be paid to us from the 1st of November; we have therefore called in some of the principal citizens and inhabitants to inform them thereof. But as no ready money is on hand and is much needed, we asked whether the community would be willing to submit to such taxes as we should find necessary for the support of the city, which they all answered in the affirmative. However, we have not yet received a document concerning the excise, although we have spoken to you about it several times, and now request once more a proper grant of the excise on beer and wine, as formerly paid to the company, except on what is sent to Fort Orange; the more so as we have informed the community of the matter and would become a laughing-stock for everybody if now it were refused. If any mishap should be the consequence of such refusal, then we must beforehand declare ourselves innocent thereof, and also say that without means we cannot exist and must let all work go to ruin." Difficulties arose which have been spoken of in another part of this chapter, and to smooth them over Stuyvesant finally consented to grant to the municipality the excise on beer and wine "consumed within the city," but the conditions of keeping the public works in repair, and paying the salaries of civil and ecclesiastical employees, were such that early in the following year the magistrates had to petition again, and this time for an

increase of liquor taxes, including a tax on exported wine and beer. This was at once granted.

With the surrender of the excise to the city, Stuyvesant's care for a proper execution of the law connected with the liquor traffic had by no means fallen asleep. An ordinance of August 24, 1654, against the sale of liquor to Indians shows that. Drunken Indians found in the streets of the city were to be imprisoned until they told who had sold them the fire-water, and in such cases Indian evidence was made admissible. The financial affairs of the city were, however, not such that the conditions under which the excise was surrendered could easily be fulfiled. The salaries of the clergymen had not been paid, but the magistrates had used the city's money to send and to support in Holland their agent, Le Bleeuw, to work against Stuyvesant, who therefore determined to resume the excise and farm it out for the company's advantage. This brought in after the disaster of 1655, 5030 florins ($2,012), and the money arising from this source did not again flow into the City Treasury until in February, 1664. The threatened invasion by the English was gradually assuming the appearance of a dangerous probability. Stuyvesant called upon the municipal officers for advice and aid, and these offered to appropriate all revenues and also to raise a loan, if the excise was again given up to the city. Director and Council agreed, upon condition that the city should enlist two hundred militiamen and support one hundred and sixty regular soldiers. This was the force which was to repel the English invader, coming with four men-of-war, mounting ninety-two guns, and manned by four hundred and fifty soldiers besides the regular crew. Small as his means of defense were, Stuyvesant was too much of a soldier to surrender willingly without a shot fired or a blow struck. Only upon the representation of prominent citizens of New Amsterdam, who pointed out to him the uselessness of the necessarily ensuing bloodshed, he lowered the orange, white and blue flag over Fort Amsterdam before the blood-red banner of England.

The scene immediately preceding the change of flags floating over Fort Amsterdam deserves to be commemorated by a skilful painter's brush. Such a picture would show us Stuyvesant furiously stamping the floor with his wooden leg, while he reads and tears to pieces the letter sent him by Nicolls, demanding a surrender of the province; it would show us Stuyvesant, surrounded by the clergymen and magistrates of New Amsterdam, who implore the irate soldier not to let the question be decided *vi et armis*, but to submit to the inevitable; it would show us the citizens suddenly ceasing their work on the palisades for the defense of the Stadthuys (City Hall) and coming to the fort to support their magistrates.

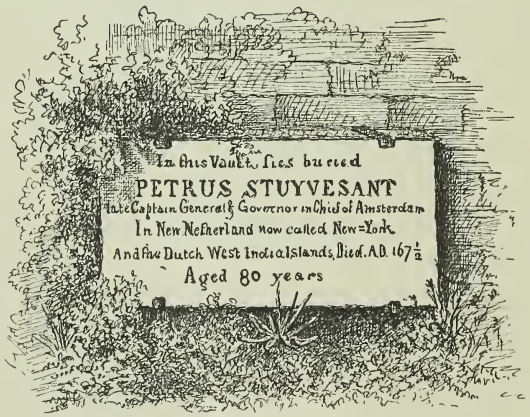
STUYVESANT TEARING THE LETTER.

Another picture, growing out of the first, should make us see Stuyvesant marching out of the gate leading into Broadway, at the head of his handful of soldiers, fully armed and equipped, the drums beating, the colors flying, and the matches lighted. Thus New Amsterdam ceased to exist on that morning of the 8th of September, 1664, and New York arose on its memory.

STUYVESANT'S PEAR TREE.

The history of Director Stuyvesant after the surrender can be told in few words. He was, by order of the States-General, recalled to Holland to make a report of his administration. He arrived at the Hague in October, 1665, and after consideration of the papers submitted by the late Director-General of the late New Netherlands and by the directors of the West India Company, was allowed, in 1668, to return to the city, the growth of which had taken such considerable strides during his administration. He settled on the farm, or bouwery, which he had bought several years before, covering that part of the present city which lies between Third avenue, the East River, Sixth and Sixteenth streets. His house, standing to the west of St. Mark's Church in Tenth street, was destroyed by fire in 1777, but the pear tree which he brought with him on his return to New York survived the house by nearly a century. It stood for many years, guarded against goats and

other destructive animals by an iron fence, on the corner of Thirteenth street and Third avenue, whence the tooth of age finally compelled its removal in 1867. Besides the careful cultivation of his farm, "he interested himself in church affairs and in city improvements, grew sociable and companionable, frequently dined his English successor at his country-seat, and rendered himself very dear to his family and friends." About eight years after the surrender he died. The tablet placed upon the vault where his ashes rest gives us only an approximate date of his death, 167½—that is, between the first of January and 25th of March, 1672—and his age, as eighty years. And thus passed away, full of days and of honors, the man whom Bancroft describes as "the brave and honest Stuyvesant, . . . a soldier of experience, a scholar of some learning," and "promoted for his services" to the government of this province.


In this Vault Lies buried
PETRUS STUYVESANT
late Captain General & Governor in Chief of Amsterdam
In New Netherland now called New-York
And the Dutch West India Islands. Died A.D. 167½
Aged 80 years

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS TRACED TO THE DUTCH REPUBLIC.

The history of the United States has not yet been written except by New England historians, who have a tendency to forget, or do not like to know, what New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia have done. Even yet, in the eyes of English historians, republics are not quite respectable. English historians draw roots, precedents, comparisons, from monarchies, —Germany, France, Italy, Spain; but republican Switzerland and Holland they scarcely notice. So our historians copy English models, and think that in our political development we are English, and the fruits of English life alone, instead of the movement of continental Europe. They say we are an English nation, and they attempt to derive our institutions from England, notwithstanding that our institutions which are most truly American were never in England. The story of Holland's direct influence on the English-speaking world is an omitted chapter.

Where is the historian of England, or of the United States, or of New England, or of Congregationalism, who shows critical acquaintance with the details of Dutch history? Do not most New England writers take what Washington Irving himself confessed was his own coarse caricature of the early history of New York as actual fact, and rely upon Diedrich Knickerbocker for "local color"? What American college has in its library a set of the works of Dutch historians? Rarely is an American professor of history at home in the language and literature of the one republic which was the training school of our nation's founders and the "great example" of our revolutionary and constitutional fathers.

The story of the Dutch influence upon the English Commonwealth cannot be traced in those Acts of Parliament, archives, chronicles and state papers, which make the usual staple of the historian. This powerful influence was not phenomenal; it came without observation, with no noise of trumpets, but rather like the dew or sunshine, or other things less noticed than a meteor or a thunderstorm. It may be likened in lesser degree to that christianity of whose history in the second century we know so little, which yet transformed the Roman Empire. A knowledge of

the facts in the sixteenth century once obtained, is like an electric search light all along the track of English and American history.

It was for their Bible printing and reading, their sturdy Protestantism and their doctrine that power comes from the people, and their insistance upon "no taxation without consent of the taxpayer," that Philip II. of Spain, began in 1561 the inquisition. It was for these that, in 1567, he sent the bloody Duke of Alva, with the finest infantry in Europe, and the first army equipped with muskets, to begin those persecutions that made the martyr roll of the Netherlands crimson with one hundred thousand names. For years the iron heel of Spain seemed planted on the neck of the little country. Then, by the tens of thousands, the Netherlanders fled to lands adjacent.

In detail, it may be said, these protestant refugees settled in London, Canterbury, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, Dover, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Romney, Hythes, Sheffield, Yarmouth, Hatfield, and a score of smaller towns. More numerously than anywhere else, they established themselves in Suffolk and Norfolk, and the counties adjacent. The region around old Boston, in Lincolnshire, "the capital of the fens," which were drained by the Dutch, is still called "Holland." Burns, in his "History of the Protestant Refugees in England," mentions fourteen towns —all of them reproduced in New England—where the Dutchmen were numerous. They drained the fens, built dikes, reclaimed land and settled on it, taught and practiced hydraulic engineering, scientific farming, introduced garden vegetables, and taught the cure of herring. We find them introducing window glass in the dwelling houses, and stained glass windows in the chapels and cathedrals; the making of iron and steel at Sheffield; the manufacture of felt and beaver hats, and the invention or improvement of pottery and porcelain from native English clay. But more than all else, the weavers brought or made their looms, and thus introduced the arts of dyeing, coloring, and various textile industries. They made lace from Antwerp thread at Honiton, and established factories in other lace towns in various shires. They invented new styles and sorts of textures, and at once a new vocabulary of dress-stuffs appeared in English speech, out of which, from names curiously changed or mispronounced, we can almost construct a map of the countries adjoining England.

When one of several of the companies of English Brownists or Congregationalists at Gainsborough and Scrooby, called to face persecution, imprisonment and death, sought refuge and asylum, where did they look? Where save to Holland, in which they heard was "freedom of religion for all men"? How had they heard it? From the thousands of Hollanders in

England, because the news of the Dutch declaration of independence of Spain and the story of Leyden, of the toleration afforded even to Jews at Amsterdam, was already a generation old; perhaps from English wits and politicians who sneered at the very idea of toleration; from Bradford himself, who had been in the Netherlands when a youth. So they fled to "the States,"—that is, the United States of the Netherlands. At Amsterdam, "Brownists Alley" is still so named, and there stands yet their humble meeting-house. The Scrooby company, led by Robinson, after a year in Amsterdam left their quarrelsome brethren, and found welcome, honor, peace, and comparative comfort in eleven years' residence at Leyden. There they lived during the truce with Spain, and before the war again broke out the best part of them were on their way to America.

What did these Pilgrims learn in the Dutch Republic? How were they treated? How were they trained during those pregnant years from Scrooby to Cape Cod, when, as precious oil in the hands of the Almighty, they were poured from vessel to vessel, until beaten, refined, pure, their light was kindled to shine on forever?

We do not know all that we should like to know, but this is certain: the leaders and most forceful men among the Pilgrim company, as the municipal records in the town hall of Leyden still show, became citizens, paid their taxes, and took advantage of the common schools and the municipal privileges. They thus received practical, political education in a republic. Many, probably nearly all the original Scrooby company, learned to speak and read Dutch fluently. Some of them married Dutch wives, and thus a noticeable strain of Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood. Exercised and sensitive on all questions relating to soul and body, God and man, searching heaven and earth, sacred and classic history, for precedents relating to the ruler and ruled in government, they learned much. Holland was then the foremost school of political science, so far as government was exhibited in a republic. In this country, and at this time, and right before the Pilgrim's eyes, men were trying the experiment of self-government, and to make a nation out of states as varied in elements as Massachusetts and South Carolina. The forces of Calhounism under Barneveldt, and of Lincolnism, or union and central government, under Maurice, were contending in death grapple. They saw the people, and the Calvinists were always with the House of Orange, who stood for the union; while Barneveldt and the Arminians stood for state rights and secession. At the same time the Dutch were fighting their Gettysburg in home politics, they were arming for another twenty-eight years' fight for life against the Spaniard. Grotius was writing his epoch-making book on international law, which,

more than any other uninspired writing, taught national righteousness and the duties of countries one to another; while from the presses of Leyden and other Dutch cities were issuing books that described and analyzed, gave the history and philosophy, both local and national methods of government, in the one republic of Northern Europe, in which at that time were living most of the political and military leaders of the men who settled Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. The time when Englishmen were numerously abroad, and in a republic, too, was the time of Holland's richest fruitage of political science. Even in the matter of loneliness, the Pilgrims in Leyden were lonely only as they chose to be lonely. There were in the same city an English church a few yards from their meeting-house, and one hundred and thirty-five English families resident. Englishmen—soldiers, travellers, merchants, ecclesiastics—were all around them. Probably an average of ten thousand British subjects dwelt in the Netherlands during their stay. They lived under the shadow of the greatest university in Europe, that matriculated over two thousand English students in the seventeenth century, of which their own Robinson and Brewer were members.

What they learned we do not know fully; but these high-souled men, wide-awake to all good influences, lived in a good school. Surely it was a kind Providence that kept these founders of New England eleven years in a Federal republic. Let us see what things, what institutions like those in this republic of ours, they had daily before their eyes.

1. They lived under a national religious establishment, which, though a State Protestant Church, something like that of England, yet, unlike England's, tolerated other faiths, even Roman Catholic and Jewish when exercised in private houses privately; and to all protestant sects and congregations, especially the English, furnished places of worship when regular, formal application was properly made therefor. They enjoyed, also, what Milton later plead for,—the liberty of unlicensed printing. They enjoyed the benefit of the free schools for their children. While the English political church emissaries were all the time prodding the Dutch government to molest them, the Dutch government, often defying King James, quietly sheltered the Pilgrims.

2. They lived in a land where they could buy, hold, and sell land in fee simple, which they could not do in England, with its entail and primogeniture, manor system and semi-feudalism; and they lived in a land where deeds and mortgages were registered.

3. They lived under a system of local self-government, which had its town meetings with its written ballot and its municipal representation in the

state or provincial legislature. In every court was the public prosecuting officer, named the "*schout*," or what we call the "district attorney,"—the accused having the right of counsel for defence, and money indemnity paid to the acquitted person wrongly accused. Both the jurisprudence and the prison system of Holland, as they saw, were vastly in advance of what they had actually experienced in England.

4. They lived under a republic of United States, which, with all its defects, had a written constitution, the Union of Utrecht, or of the seven United States of Holland, framed in 1579, and for two hundred and fifteen years appealed to as the supreme law of the land by the supreme court of Holland. In that republic, whose motto was "in union there is strength," and whose flag was the red, white and blue, the stadtholder or president, ruled, his powers defined by the written compact, so that he could neither expand into a dictator nor dwindle into a figurehead. We grant it was not, nationally, a constitutional democracy like ours, but a confederation of sovereignties; but, in its municipal life all Holland was intensely republican, and it was the city life that most affected the English dwelling in the country. The national legislature, Congress, or States-General today—although the earlier one was single—consists now of two houses;—one the Senate, representing Sovereign States, and having the treaty-making power, and the other a popular assembly representing the people. The freedom of the press was guaranteed, and limited only as ours is limited. The Pilgrim printers published freely, but the line was in 1619 drawn at scurrilous and slanderous books, and until they were suspected of printing those they were absolutely unmolested. Complete independence of the judiciary was the rule. In a word, that which we count most peculiarly American, existed in the heroic days of the Dutch republic, before the eyes of the founders of Massachusetts. A detailed examination shows that our American political institutions, when compared with those of the other nations of Europe, —classic, madiæval or modern,—are more like those of the republic of the Netherlands than like any other. We do not deny that this Federal republic of the Netherlands, compared to ours, was a crude and weak affair; that even its privileges and liberties, when set by the side of those with us, which have been won after three hundred years experience in the New World, seem small, but for that time they were wonderful. For, far ahead of the nations in toleration and freedom, the Dutch were ridiculed by other nations as being eccentric, as introducing dangerous innovations in government; yet, in spite of contempt and ridicule, these men of the United States of Holland persevered, and thus gave the precedent of success for all time, and the cue to the

English Commonwealth and the revolution of 1688 and to the American revolution. Successful precedents govern the world.

Let us glance now at the influence of the Dutch republic upon that great multitude of Englishmen who lived in the Netherlands during the period 1580 to 1640, mainly from whom, and during which time New England was settled. Holland, in defying Spain and the Pope, was, during her eighty years' struggle, fighting the battle of protestantism and religious liberty for England as well, and England knew it. One reason of the greatness of the British empire to-day is, that Holland once stood as her bulwark against Spain. Hundreds of English merchants were settled as traders trading, and hundreds of English volunteers were fighting in the Dutch armies as early as 1580; but it was not until the treaty of 1585, six years after the United States of the Netherlands had formed their union, and five years after they had published their declaration of independence, that large bodies of Englishmen entered the Dutch military service and drew Dutch pay. From 1585, Elizabeth agreed to furnish five thousand foot and one thousand horse for thirteen years. In addition to these six thousand men, there were three or four thousand English volunteers in the Dutch armies. After the truce of 1609, the year the Pilgrims arrived, the Dutch army was reduced to thirty thousand men, of whom five thousand were English or Scottish. This military force drew with it large numbers of merchants, contractors, students and serving men, besides the chaplains, and families of officers and men, swelling the average total, refugees and adventurers being counted, to probably ten thousand people annually. When, in 1498, the English merchants were expelled from Stade in Germany, they settled first at Middleburg in Zealand, where Browne went, and where there was an English Congregational Church before that at Amsterdam or Leyden. On June 15, 1592, as we find from the Dutch archives there were manufactories of English cloth situated in twelve cities of the Netherlands; viz., at Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Gouda, Leyden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Alkmaar, Gorinchem, Enkhuysen, and the Hague. During the Dutch war of freedom, there were in all twenty-two English churches in the Netherlands, notices of which are found in the appendix to Steven's "History of the Scottish church, Rotterdam." Among the names of the ministers and church officers, are those of several who afterwards became famous in America.

This vast number of Englishmen, of all sorts and conditions, attracted by the toleration, prosperity, or military or commercial opportunities of the little republic, continued until the Dutch United States had substantially won the day. By 1648, Spain, exhausted by her vain task,

having fertilized the ditches of Holland with the corpses of a third of a million of her sons, having learned that the Dutchman's "mines above ground" were more than the silver lodes of Peru and Mexico, acknowledged the independence of the republic. Long before this, however, the English soldiers and most of the merchants had returned to England, while whole congregations of aggressive Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and other non-conformists, their nerves braced by republican air, and faces flushed with the consciousness of coming success at home, crossed the channel to cross swords also with King Charles, and attempt the establishment of a commonwealth. Surely a crop of dragon's teeth was sown long before 1640.

Let us see what came to the surface in the four years' civil war.

1. The eastern and southern counties were parliamentary and republican,—the eastern counties being the impregnable fortress of the commonwealth; in other words, the counties overrun by the heretic weavers, brick-makers and brick-layers, dike-builders and land-drainers from the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, and only two or three generations before by the Dutch protestants, and where tens of thousands of English apprentices had been trained in the homes, and in the ways and thinking of Bible-reading men. Thousands of English children with one or more Dutch parents, and thousands of grandchildren helped to explain what suddenly came to the surface when parliament and king crossed swords. It was the sons and grandsons of these English apprentices who formed the bulk of Cromwell's army. Further, the man who trained Cromwell in military tactics was a Hollander, Dalbier, and the first judge advocate of the parliamentary army was Dr. Dorislaus. The Ironsides were raised and trained in the Holland districts, and a Dutch captain was the Steuben who drilled these militia into regulars who opposed the predecessor of King George. Of the men who organized the parliamentary forces, Fairfax, Essex, Monk, Warwick, Bedford, Skippon and others, as Masson and Carlyle show, were trained in the Netherlands.

Yet the English Commonwealth did not stand. It went to pieces within fifteen years. Why? Because England was not prepared for a republic. It had not the right land or property laws, the right jurisprudence, popular educational system, the right local and national spirit. Feudalism, the worship of rank, the power of the State church, entail, and primogeniture were all against a republic.

Yet it is possible that if the reforms proposed by the committee of the Long Parliament could have been carried out, and the preliminary work needed for a republic had been done by these reforms put in action, Eng-

land might have been a republic, and be leading the world in the ideas that underlie our American democratic government. John R. Green says that for the last two hundred years, in a tentative way, England has been following out the parliamentary army's scheme of political and social reform.

Yet where were the precedents obtained, the basis of these reforms and features found? In English history, in the English unwritten constitution? No; they are not there. They are almost every one found in Dutch history, and from thence are they taken. They would not work in England; the soil was not ready for the seed. Picked men, Englishmen, —not average men, but morally far above the average, and trained in, or influenced by, the Dutch republic,— brought them to America. Rejected of England, but elect and precious in God's sight, they introduced them into New England. Huguenots, Quakers, Baptists, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Dutch, brought them to the middle and southern colonies, and the great Teutonic ideas, vitalized by christianity, took root on American soil, and their fruit is the republic of these United States. The reforms proposed to the parliament of the commonwealth, for which England was not ready, were carried out in America by Englishmen who had been fired with Bible ideas. To them the Old Testament became a textbook, but the protestant republic gave them visible precedent and example. When England relapsed into monarchy,—that is one-man power, —and Puritanism slumbered until goaded to wrath again by James II., then again the men of England looked to Holland. They took their precedent from the deposition of Philip II., and the cue of their own declaration of right from that of Holland's declaration of independence. They asked the Dutch stadtholder to cross the North Sea with his Dutch regiments, and become William III. of England.

For the original and inspiration of England's Magna Charta of 1688, see the Dutch act of abjuration of 1580, and put the two documents side by side and you will see the family likeness. Chronology and style will show which is the father and which the son. When the immortal document signed July 4, 1776, is made one of the series, its genealogy is sound and sure in the order, — Dutch, English, American.

Let us turn now to American history, and see whether the Dutch republic influenced our making. Let us look at States and groups of men.

All, or nearly all the military leaders of the colonists were trained in the Dutch armies, gaining their experience in Holland's fight against Spain—Miles Standish and Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, Lyon Gardiner of Connecticut, Sir Samuel Argal, Virginia, Leisler of New York, and many others less prominent.

Massachusetts was settled by men educated eleven years in the Dutch

republic in 1620. Their ten years' success led others to come over and settle. It was the men trained in Holland who made the Plymouth settlement a success; for the best emigrants for the next five years (or until John Robinson died), as Palfrey shows, were emigrants from Leyden. Full of charity, kindliness and toleration, their minds broadened by experience in a land where religion was free to all men, and whose people respected the rights of the Indians to the soil, their treatment of Roger Williams the radical, and of Miles Standish the Roman catholic, was in marked contrast to what men who differed in convictions received from the Puritan immigrants. Holland was one of the first countries to cast off the delusion of witchcraft,—the first book against the superstition being by a Dutch physician, and the Pilgrims were never under its spell. Reared under a Federal republic, they and their sons led in the formation of the New England Confederation of 1643. Even in the Mayflower's cabin they had imitated the Netherlanders in having a written compact for their government.

Of the settlers of Massachusetts beyond the old colony, five-sixths came from the shires of England which had been most profoundly leavened by the opinions and presence of the Netherlands refugees. The overwhelming majority of the early ministers in New England were educated at Cambridge, spending their student life in the heart of the eastern counties. In scores of instances the family cognomen of these New England settlers are only Dutch names Anglicized, and a considerable strain of both Puritan and Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood.

Connecticut, it is believed, is the typical American commonwealth, being even more democratic in origin and sturdy maintenance of independence and republican principles than Massachusetts or any other State, having the first regular written constitution; that is, a signed compact, which not only provided, but prescribed, a definite system of government. In that instrument elections were ordered to be by secret, written ballot. In other words, the main features of the political organization of Connecticut are not borrowed from England. Are they original? We answer, that between the details of the early political methods of Connecticut and of the Holland States, as Ubbo Emmius's famous book shows, the likeness is that of heredity. No place in the early American colonies is so politically like a bit of the old Dutch republic as Connecticut. In political complexion, feature and detail, in town representation, legislature, courts, detail of parliamentary proceeding, the little Federal republic of Connecticut was a close copy of Friesland or Holland.

The hand of Thomas Hooker, the Cambridge graduate driven out of England to find refuge in Holland,

and forced to cross part of the ocean as a stowaway, is distinctly visible in the first American written constitution. In his sermon preached before the instrument was framed, the great preacher laid down the doctrine first nationally proclaimed and obtained in the republic under whose flag Hooker had lived during four years, —that "the foundation of authority [is] laid in the free consent of the people;" "that the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance;" that "they who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, have the right also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." Not only were both Hooker and Davenport, the founders of Connecticut, politically educated in Holland, but so also were a number of the chief men associated with them and leaders of the emigration.

What of Rhode Island? It was settled by a man, who, whether ever in Holland or not, is not known; but this is certain,—he was a fine scholar in the Dutch language, familiar with Dutch politics and history, and taught the poet Milton, Dutch. He studied and preached in the region of England overrun by Dutch Anabaptists; he was extremely beloved and sheltered by the Pilgrims. He was banished not merely for theological reasons, but mainly because he insisted on the right of the Indians to the soil, and believed and practiced the Dutch doctrine laid down in all their charters and steadily carried out, of buying the land of the natives and paying for it, as in New York, and New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and Delaware, before occupation. In Rhode Island's constitution was followed the precedent of toleration set by Holland.

To sum up, then, concerning New England, the men who settled it put in operation at once written constitutions, registration of deeds and mortgages, common schools and written ballots, besides other things having no precedent in England, but known, practiced, and seen by men in a republic. In other words, the life of English non-conformists in England being made a burden to them, and toleration being refused at home, the colonists to New England, numbering twenty-one thousand men, had left their native land before 1640 and come to America, thousands of them by way of Holland. These settlers were not average Englishmen. As a rule, they were picked men, morally and spiritually. Many of them, especially their leaders, had breathed long and deeply the air of freedom in a republic, and so carried with them to the virgin soil of the New World, the best English traditions, reinforced by living examples and precedents of a Protestant, Federal and free republic. Hence, in settling Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, they did not re-produce English social or political life, but by a noble reversion they re-erected on

American soil the old Teutonic institutions, and they copied largely, with improvements, exactly what they had seen in operation under the red, white and blue flag of the United States of the Netherlands.

Of New York, the Empire State, which led all others in jurisprudence, constitutional law and political influence on the nation, it is enough to say that it was settled by the Dutch, who transferred to the New World the republican principles in their fullness. The Dutch in America were not pilgrims or refugees. They had no need to be. Their protestant faith, their toleration, their republicanism, were already won. Owing to an act of British treachery, committed in time of peace by the Stuart King Charles II., in 1664, like the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by the French Louis, the little colony of seven thousand persons in the New Netherlands had but forty-one years of peaceful development, twenty-one of which were during the fatherland's struggle for life with Spain. After the English treachery and conquest of 1664, about one-half of the inhabitants of the New Netherlands returned to the fatherland. They were not willing to live under the rule of that king whose brother the English themselves drove out twenty-four years later.

Pennsylvania's part in the making of the American union is not the least. Her foundations were laid in brotherly love to the Indians, and to men of all creeds, in prayer, in faith, in profound trust in God, as truly as was Massachusetts or Connecticut. Hers was one of the most liberal of all the colonial constitutions. All faiths were tolerated, even Roman Catholic. Church and State were separate. William Penn changed prisons from nurseries of vice to models of reformatory and penal institutions; taught orphan children trades, and gave persons wrongfully accused of crime damage against the prosecutor. To Pennsylvania came the persecuted of many countries as to a holy land of peace. Here was raised the first ecclesiastical protest against slavery, and here the first book in America condemning it was written. Here, also, was printed the first Bible in a European tongue, the first treatise on the philosophy of education, the largest and most sumptuous piece of colonial printing; and here was the first literary centre and woman's college established in America. Pennsylvania led off in establishing the freedom of the press; in reform of criminal law, in reform of prisons, in awarding to accused persons the right of counsel for defence. In proportion to her numbers, Pennsylvania lost more men than any other Northern State during the civil war for freedom. In not a few features now deemed peculiarly American, besides that of honoring the Lord's day, the State founded by William Penn is (despite contemporary politics), the land of first things, and the shining example.

Well, who was William Penn? He was the son of a Dutch mother, Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam. Dutch was his native language as well as English. He was a scholar versed in Dutch law, history and religion. He preached in Dutch, and won thousands of converts and settlers, inviting them to his christian commonwealth. He himself wrote the grand constitution of Pennsylvania. Were his precedents taken from English law? No! While writing that instrument he lived in Embden,—the oldest known home of the written ballot, and one of the cities of refuge to the English protestant refugees,—with the laws of Friesland, the old home of the Anglo-Saxons, and one of the first States of the Dutch republic, daily before his eyes.

Time would fail to tell of all the vitalizing influences, direct and indirect, of the Dutch republic upon ours. These can be clearly discerned, not only in colonial times, but also in the revolutionary and constitution-making epochs. Was it not a kind Providence which so laid the foundation stones of our national history, that the tolerant Dutch and the peaceful Quakers were placed between puritan and cavalier, between Long Island Sound and Mason and Dixon's line, until Old-World feuds were swallowed up in the grander issue of the American revolution. Can we forget how little Holland, first after France, recognized our national independence, and showed her faith in us during our dark days by a loan of fourteen millions of dollars? When after the revolutionary war, Americans were searching all history for precedents and examples of republican government, to what nation in ancient, mediæval, or modern times did they look most closely, and copy more directly, than Holland and her republic, profiting by her faults and her costly experiences.

Well do the English critics, who, in recent years only, since republics were made respectable in their eyes by the success of our civil war, study us, say that the political writings of the framers of the American constitution show minute familiarity with Dutch history, while the political experience of England has not been drawn upon. Well wrote Washington to Professor Luzac, of Leyden, the famous professor of history, editor, and writer on republican principles, and political teacher and correspondent of Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, and later the instructor of John Quincy Adams, "America is under great obligation to the writings of such men as you." Still more direct testimony to the influence of the Dutch republic on the American revolutionary leaders and makers of our national constitution is furnished by Franklin, who wrote, "In love of liberty and bravery in the defence of it, she [Holland] has been our great example." Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, authors of "The Federalist," and so prominent in the

formation of our national government, were closely allied by marriage to the Dutch families of New York, and to them, as to Madison, the father of the constitution, the story of Holland's struggle and experience was as a household tale. "The Federalist" and their other writings show how well they utilized their knowledge, and how largely they drew upon the political experience of the United States of Holland.

Were time and space given, it could be here clearly shown that we are less an English nation than composite of the Teutonic peoples; the result of the whole continental movement of the sixteenth century, when the Bible and printing became the property of the common people. In our American commonwealth the features enumerated below were not derived from England, but were, in germ or directly, borrowed from the Netherlands republic. We inherit the best spirit of the Roman empire, and of the Teutonic principles, vitalized by christianity, and the nations of the earth now borrow more from us than we from them. The main features of the American commonwealth are:—

1. The principle that "all men are created equal."
2. Separation of church and state.
3. Our land laws, with the system of registration of deeds and mortgages.
4. Local self-government, from the town meeting to the "government of governments" at Washington.
5. Written constitutions prescribing and limiting the powers of rulers and departments of government.
6. Our State governors and national President, the stadtholders of States and United States.
7. Our State Senates and national Senate, or States-General of sovereign States.
8. Our Supreme Court, and the supremacy of the judiciary.
9. Our common school system.
10. Freedom of religion.
11. Freedom of the press.
12. The secret, written ballot.
13. Reform of criminal law.
14. Prison reform.
15. The office of district attorney.
16. The right of counsel for defense.
17. The amalgamation of law and equity in codes.
18. Reform in the laws concerning the rights of married women.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND,

FIRST GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1664–1667.

Until Mr. Bancroft published the second volume of his History of the United States in 1837, even the name of the first governor of North Carolina was unknown. Francis Xavier Martin whose history of the State was published in 1829, says (I., 138) that the name of the governor was *George* Drummond, and this senseless blunder has been repeated in later years by men who profess to be students of the history of the State. Williamson in his history, published in 1812, gives Drummond no christian name at all; he says (I., 119) that Stephens succeeded to the governorship at his *death in* 1667 and leaves the impression that this event occurred in North Carolina. John H. Wheeler whose "Historical Sketches" appeared in 1851, fourteen years after the publication of Mr. Bancroft's work, boldly repeats the statement of Williamson (I., 30). Well might Mr. Bancroft complain with bitterness that the history of North Carolina had been so carelessly written that the "name, the merits, and the end of its first governor are not known."*

Nor have the researches of Mr. Bancroft and of younger scholars met with a large degree of suceess. Of Drummond's early life comparatively little is known. He was a Scotchman† and there is a legend that he was the son of William Drummond, the poet of Hawthornden.‡ This is an error, but the poet had a son named William. He was born in 1635, became third laird of Hawthornden, and died in 1713.§ Of the governor we only know that he was descended from a Scotch family, noble, but reduced in fortune; that he was a lawyer and was settled in Virginia prior to 1659, for the Virginia General Assembly of March, 1660, orders Drummond as the attorney of the coheirs of one Basse to pay 2500 pounds of tobacco as damages to Theodorick Bland where judgment had been awarded by the Assembly of the year before.‖ We next find him figuring in a complaint against the court of Boston. He said this court had illegally discharged one of his ser-

*II. 135, note, edition 1837.

†Berkeley's List, in Peter Force's Tracts, Vol. I.

‡cf. Penn. Magazine of History, I. 458.

§Masson's Life of William Drummond of Hawthornden.

‖ Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, I. 549.

vants. The governor and council of Virginia communicated with the Boston authorities, but as no answer was returned by them the Virginia Assembly in March, 1662, retaliated and ordered that "there be seized to the value of forty pounds sterling money out of the estate of some persons relating to the said Government of Boston, which is in consideration of wages due for such a servant's time, as was illegally cleared from the said Drummond's employ in New England."* This servant it seems was white,† and we may conclude that Drummond was a man of some wealth and of no little prominence in Virginia.

Mr. Bancroft, arguing from nationality alone, thinks that Drummond was a Presbyterian, and Dr. Hawks argues for the same theory; but it does not seem probable that a bigot like Sir William Berkeley who was acting, moreover, for proprietors who in 1669 provided for an established church in Carolina, would have appointed a dissenter to its chief magistracy only five years before. Dr. Hawks argues further that Drummond was appointed because he was a dissenter and to appease the dissenting element, especially the Quakers, who "were no small part of the infant colony;"‡ but since the days of Dr. Hawks it has been shown that in 1664 there were no Quakers in North Carolina. The colonists who were then settled there had come to find better lands and not to escape religious persecution. They had been reared principally in the faith of the Established Church, and were at that time in sympathy with it so far as they cared for religion at all. Not until after the visits of Edmundson and Fox in 1672 did religious questions assume any importance in the politics of the day. No distinctive principle except the desire for more land and better land, and more political liberty is represented by the first settlers in the Albemarle section of North Carolina. The State is a growth, not a creation; she has no Jamestown and no Plymouth Rock.§

The first permanent settlements in North Carolina were made by immigrants from Virginia. It is impossito fix the date when these settlements began, certainly prior to 1660, perhaps as early as 1650. The land was taken up under grants from Virginia and also by direct purchases from the Indians. The earliest Indian grant preserved is that made by Kilcacenen, king of the Yeopim Indians, to George Durant, March, 1661 (1662). It conveyed to him a tract of land known as Wecocomicke, between Per-

*Hening, II., 156.

†Virginia Carolorum, 296.

‡History of North Carolina, II. 443.

§ For a frustration of the arguments against the theory that there were Quakers in North Carolina in 1664 compare my paper in the current volume of the *Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Politics* on "The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina."

quimans and Little rivers and still known as Durant's Neck. This was not the earliest sale, for this deed states that the tract adjoined that "which I formerly sold to Samuel Pricklove." As early as 1662 these direct purchases of the Indians had come to be such an evil because of the constant conflict of interests, that the Virginia government determined to recognize them no longer.* Even the purchase of Durant had been taken up previously under a grant from the governor of Virginia, for we find George Catchmany waiving his right of priority in grant for the benefit of Durant. So many others held grants from the Virginia authorities that it was necessary to insert in section four of the first charter of King Charles II. to the Lords Proprietors a saving clause for their relief, "and saving also the right, title and interest of all and every our subjects of the English nation, which are now planted within the limits and bounds aforesaid (if any be)."†

On March 20, 1663, Charles II. granted all the territory lying between 31 degrees and 36 degrees to eight of his favorites who were among the most powerful Lords of the kingdom. The grantees who were by this charter made Lords Proprietors of Carolina were Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, historian of the civil war, and grandfather of Queen Mary and Queen Anne; George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, a Parliamentary leader in the civil war, the virtual ruler of England after the death of Cromwell, and the restorer of Charles II. to the throne of his fathers; William, Lord Craven, later, Earl Craven, High Steward of the University of Cambridge, after the Restoration Commissioner for Tangiers, and the reputed husband of the Queen of Bohemia; John, Lord Berkeley, Ambassador to Sweden and Lord President of Connaught; Anthony Ashley Cooper, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the original of the character of Achitophel in Dryden's terrible satire of Absalom and Achitophel; Sir George Carteret, Governor of Jersey, member of the Privy Council, and Treasurer of the navy; Sir John Colleton, knight and baronet, a royalist of no historical importance; and Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, the Jeffries of Bacon's "rebellion" and the executioner of the first governor of North Carolina.

It will be noticed that the first charter to the Proprietors limited them to 36 degrees north latitude. The Albemarle colony lay to the north of this boundary and was really a part of Virginia. This was unknown to the Proprietors in England, but was doubtless well known to Berkeley. Settlers were rapidly coming into this no-man's land and in September, 1663, we find Berkeley

*Colonial Records of North Carolina, I. 20, 355.

†Ibid., I 22.

making grants to various parties who brought immigrants into what is now Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. These grants were made at the rate of fifty acres to each transport and were to be settled within three years under a forfeiture of the grant. Finally the selfish interest of Berkeley as a Proprietor more than counterbalanced his patriotism as governor of Virginia, and by the second charter given June 30, 1665, the grant to the Proprietors was extended to 29 degrees on the south and to 36 degrees 30 minutes on the north, which since that time has been the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina.

The colony had become of enough importance by the summer of 1663 to demand a regular government; on September 8 of that year the Proprietors instructed Sir William Berkeley to appoint two governors, one to rule over the country east of the Chowan river, the other over that to the west of the river. Their reason for this division was that "some persons that are for liberty of conscience may desire a governor of their own proposing, which those of the other side of the river may not like."[1] It does not appear that Berkeley, who felt the delicacy of his position perhaps, acted on the instructions; and there was no government established, as far as known, until the close of 1664. But it is not probable that the settlers were entirely without civil organization.

The Proprietors seem to have commissioned William Drummond governor of Albemarle in October, 1664. The statement that he had held a commission from Berkeley prior to this time seems to be without foundation, but he doubtless had a private recommendation from him. The design of the Proprietors was to support the governor "out of the thing itself" and if this failed he was to be granted the sole trade in furs for three years; if he thought three years was too short a time to reimburse himself for the difficulties attending a new order of things, he was to be assured of reappointment unless misbehavior should forbid.

Of Drummond's commission and the instructions accompanying it we have no copy. The letter of the Proprietors to him dated, Cockpit, January 7, 1664 (1665),[2] refers to these as sent him with their last letter. They made him governor over 1600 square miles of territory which was intended to include all the country then settled. But Thomas Woodward, the surveyor general, tells us[3] that 1600 square miles would not include all the territory occupied in 1665; and we may assume that the jurisdiction of Drummond was soon extended so as to include all of the

[1] Ibid., I. 54, also Col. Saunders' Prefatory Notes, XII.

[2] Ibid., I. 93.

[3] Ibid., I. 99.

settlements. The colony was called Albemarle in honor of the oldest Proprietor and the name is still applied to that section of the State.

There is no claim that a government was established prior to 1664. Chalmers says that the powers conferred on Berkeley were exercised by him "during the subsequent year" and Williamson says it was "in the following summer." Moreover, Albemarle is not included in the tobacco treaty made between Maryland and Virginia early in 1664, and it would have been included, most probably, had there been a regular government.[1] Further, by Berkeley's instructions the term of office was to be three years; and as Drummond was succeeded by Samuel Stephens in October, 1667, he was probably appointed in the fall of 1664.

It is probable that in accordance with the instructions sent to Governor Berkeley[2] a simple form of government was organized for Albemarle. A council of six was appointed by the Proprietors, or by Berkeley as their representative; to the governor and his council was given the power to appoint all officers, civil and military, except the secretary and surveyor general, which the Proprietors reserved for their own appointment; the governor and his council by and with the consent of the General Assembly had power to make "good and wholesome laws, ordinances and constitutions," and it was under this administration that the first General Assembly met in the colony We do not know its exact date, for the records are lost. It was perhaps late in 1664 or early in 1665, certainly prior to June 2, 1665.[3] Precautions were taken to keep the water courses under governmental control, and to keep the colonists from taking up larger tracts of land than would be for the public welfare, and if they were unwilling to pay the quit rent of one half pence per acre, Berkeley was instructed to give them three, four, and five years for the convenience of these payments.[4] The colony prospered under Drummond's rule; trade increased, the people were contented, and the population was steadily swelled by immigration from Virginia, from the Barbadoes colony on the Cape Fear, and from New England. The only official act of Governor Drummond that has come down to us is his signing the articles of agreement between Maryland, Virginia and Carolina in regard to the cessation of tobacco planting for the year 1667, at Jamestown, July 12, 1666.[5]

Drummond went out of office in October, 1667. Why he was not reappointed agreeably to the understanding in 1664 we do not know.

[1] Col. Rec., I. 74, Pref. Notes, XIII.
[2] Ibid., I. 48.
[3] Ibid., I. 101.
[4] Col. Rec., I. 51.
[5] Ibid., I. 141.

From this time he disappears from the history of North Carolina. He returned to Virginia and lived at Jamestown; he resumed the practice of law and accumulated property. His life seems to have been a quiet one, and we do not hear of him again in public affairs until the outbreak of the so called "rebellion" of Bacon in 1676. Drummond and Richard Lawrence were the leading spirits in this movement. Their names seldom appear among the prominent actors, but their part was that of advisers and directors of the movement. They were the soul of the "rebellion" while Bacon was its head.

The immediate cause of this uprising was the depredations of the Indians on the frontier settlements. The real cause was to be found in the hatred of the navigation acts, hatred of the tyrannical and personal government of Sir William Berkeley and the rising passion for self government. The depredations of the Indians had now become so serious that they gave the settlers at the head of the James and York rivers an excuse for rising in their own defense. They chose Nathanial Bacon, jr., as their leader and sent to Governor Berkeley for a commission to go against the savages at their own charge. The governor promised, but delayed to deliver the commission. The popular explanation given for this delay was that a war with the Indians would interfere with the fur trade, of which the governor had a monopoly—"no bullets would pierce bever skins"—and in case of a rebellion the governor believed that "rebells forfeitures would be royall inheritances."[1]

Bacon was a man of generous impulses and impetuous disposition. He determined to proceed against the Indians without a commission. Berkeley then proclaimed him and his followers rebels if they did not return by a limited date, "whereupon those of estates obeyed." But Bacon and the bolder men with him continued against the Indians. They returned in triumph and the spirit of opposition to Berkeley was so rife that Bacon was elected a representative to the Assembly which was then ready to convene. This election was made on a system of wider and more popular suffrage. The Assembly was much infected with the principles of Bacon; but that its members had not yet reached the rebellious heights already attained by Drummond and his friend Lawrence is proved by T. M.'s account, who was a member of the Assembly from Stafford county. He says that Berkeley advised them "to beware of two rogues amongst us, naming Lawrence and Drummond, both dwelling at Jamestown."[2] This account says further that these men

[1] T. M.'s Account, in Force's Tracts, vol. I. This account was written in 1705 at the request of Robert Harley, principal Secretary of State.

[2] T. M.'s Account, 13.

had not been with the first expedition of Bacon, but they were giving him all their influence and moral support against the tyranny of the old cavalier.

A number of compromises were arrived at by this Assembly. Its enactments known as "Bacon's Laws" show how many abuses had crept into the government and prove at the same time its wisdom and moderation. Bacon acknowledged his error in acting without a commission, and was now made commander in chief. Berkeley refused to sign his comission and Bacon escaped from the town. He reappeared a few days later and extorted the commission from the reluctant governor. Bacon then withdrew, and Berkeley, his anger rising with the absence of danger, again proclaimed him a rebel (July 29, 1676), and appealed to the loyal men of Gloucester county for support. The news of these arbitrary, high handed and unlawful proceedings was carried to Bacon's camp by Drummond and Lawrence.[1] Bacon turned on Berkeley at once and determined to force him to reason. Berkeley avoided the coming storm by retreating across Chesapeake Bay to Accomac. Bacon called a convention of the most influential planters to take action on the state of the commonwealth. It met at Middle Plantation, now Williamsburg, on August 3, 1676. The guiding hand of Drummond is again seen; he was probably the leader in this convention. He urged that Berkeley be deposed and that Sir Henry Chichely be made governor. This advice was not liked, but Drummond asserted that he could find precedent for it in the ancient records of Virginia.[2] He was no doubt referring to the case of John Harvey who was suspended and impeached by his assembly in 1635.

It was finally agreed that the retreat of Berkeley to Accomac, which was nominally and legally a distinct territory,[3] should be regarded as an abdication and Bacon issued writs for a new Assembly.[4] The planters published a manifesto which bears a striking resemblance, as Burk notices,[5] to the declarations of Parliament in 1688, and to the declaration of Independence one hundred years later. In this manifesto they recited their grievances, reviewed the state of the country and subscribed an oath by which they agreed (1) not to aid Berkeley; but (2) to rise in arms against him should he offer to resist Bacon; and (3) should forces be sent from England they were to be resisted "till such time as the country's cause should be sent home and reported to his most sacred Majesty."[6]

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[1] Ibid., 15, cf. also Burk, II. 261.

[2] Bancroft, II. 224, from Bonds &c. in Richmond.

[3] Burk, II., 171, 177.

[4] Howison I. 350; Bancroft, II., 224.

[5] Burk, II. 171, 172.

[6] "Bacon's Proceedings," Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Series II., vol. I. 42; also in Force's Tracts.

The discussion on these articles continued from noon until midnight, Bacon threatening to surrender his commission if the third article was not accepted.[1]

Berkeley had now returned from Accomac where he had collected a band of hirelings, "rogues and rascals," who composed "the crews of ships belonging to all nations, and such idle and worthless persons as were to be moved only by the most sordid and mercenary motives." The commissioners of the king moreover asserted that Berkeley was forced to hold out to them besides their usual pay "the hope and even the promise of plunder and confiscations" before he could enlist them in his service.[2] With this motley host Berkeley reoccupied Jamestown and proclaimed pardon to all parties there except Drummond and Lawrence. Drummond now realized his perilous position and prepared to meet it like a brave man. "Your sword" said he to Lawrence, "is your commission and mine too; the sword must end it."[3] To another he said when warned to be wary and reminded of the brand the old governor had set upon him, "I am in over shoes, I will be over boots.[4] There were some 900 followers of Bacon in the town. By the advice of Drummond and Lawrence they deserted it and returned to their homes.[5] Drummond, Lawrence and a few others set out for the headquarters of Bacon who had just returned from a highly successful expedition against the Indians. He had defeated them in a terrible battle at Bloody Run, near the site of Richmond and many of his volunteer force had already returned to their homes. Some 300 still remained.[6] These he inspired by his eloquence. He advanced against Jamestown. The hirelings of Berkeley although a thousand in number with five ships and ten sloops, were too cowardly to fight and deserted in order to plunder.[7] Bacon entered the capital of Virginia in triumph. His trusty counselors Drummond and Lawrence were by his side. It was determined to burn the town, which consisted of a church, a state-house, and eighteen private houses, for they said that "the rogues should harbor no more there." Drummond removed the public records to a place of safety. His residence and that of Lawrence were among the best in the town. They applied the torch to their own homes.

[1] Mrs. An. Cottons' account, p. 6. She says the first article was a pledge to aid Bacon against the Indians, [&] embraces [1 and 2] above under [2].

[2] Burk, II. 185.

[3] Bancroft, from Bonds, II. 226.

[4] T. M., 23.

[5] Mrs. An. Cotton's Account, Force's Tracts, I., tract No. IX., p. 7.

[6] Burk, II. 182; Mrs. An. Cotton's Account p. 8. says that Bacon's "gard" together with those who joined him from Jamestown were about 150 in all.

[7] Bancroft, II. 227; Mrs. C., p. 7.

The soldiers followed their example and soon the first Anglo-American town was a thing of the past.[1]

The principles of Bacon were fast gaining ground when he suddenly sickened and died, Oct. 1, 1676. After his death the popular party was without a military head and was conquered through the ability of Robert Beverly. Many of the leaders made terms for themselves and toward the close of 1676 Berkeley proclaimed a general pardon, excepting among others, Drummond and Lawrence.

Drummond was captured half famished in Chickahominy swamp on January 19, 1677. The next day he was brought to Berkeley, who was on a vessel at Queen Anne's creek. The salutation of the old cavalier, "accompanied by a profound and insulting bow of feigned respect, sufficiently indicates" remarks Dr. Hawks, "the almost inconceivable littleness of his vulgar soul:" "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." "What your honor pleases"[2] was the unmoved reply, for the patriot had long since realized that his fate was sealed. The balance of this shameful story can best be told in the burning words of the petition in which the widow of Drummond sought relief from the king. And we are to remember that the friends of Berkeley did not undertake to deny a single count in this fearful indictment, but sought rather to justify him by saying Drummond was a rebel. In her appeal to the king the relict of the unselfish patriot states that her husband "William Drummond, was, after the late rebellion, taken, stript, and brought before Sir William Berkeley,[3] and by him immediately (although in time of peace) was, without anything being laid to his charge, sentenced to die by martial law;[4] although he never bore arms nor any military office: not being permitted to answer for himself, or received to trial, according to the known laws of England;[5] but within four hours after sentence being hurried away to execution, by the said governor's particular order, who before that time on some private grudge, vowed the petitioners said husband should not live one hour after he was in his power; that although the said William Berkeley did invest the widows of the rebels, that were either killed or executed, in their husband's estates, nay, even the widow of that grand rebel, Nathaniel Bacon, the only one excepted by

[1] T. M., 21.

[2] T. M., 23.

[3] The trial was held at the house of James Bray and Drummond was conveyed thither in irons.

[4] Berkeley admitted that he doubted whether "a legal jury" would have found him guilty (Burk, Documents &c., II. 254).

[5] No charges were brought against Drummond. He boldly avowed the part he had taken.

royal pardon; yet, so great was the said governor's inveteracy against the petitioner's husband, that he not only took away his life, but caused his small plantation to be seized and given to himself by the council; his goods to be removed and embezzled, and the petitioner with her five small children to fly from her plantation and wander in the deserts and woods till they were ready to starve."[1] Drummond was condemned at one and hanged at Middle Plantation at four on January 20, 1677, with one John Baptista, "a common Frenchman who had been very bloody."[2] On October 10, 1676, the king had authorized Berkeley to grant a full pardon to all rebels except Bacon. This was renewed Oct. 27. No one was to be excluded except Bacon himself. But Berkeley in his vindictive hate exceeded the instructions of the king and excluded from the pardon all persons who were personally distasteful to him. For these reasons his proclamation was abrogated and revoked.[3] The personal hate of Berkeley toward Drummond was so intense that when the general act of indemnity and pardon was passed in February, 1677, Drummond, although among those who had sealed their faith with their blood, was excepted with some others from its provisions.[4]

Sarah Drummond, the wife of the patriot, was an English woman of good birth. She was as zealous in the cause of popular freedom as her husband. She declared "The child that is unborn shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country." She encouraged those who dreaded the wrath of England, and as a relief from the odious navigation acts became more certain, exclaimed: "Now we can build ships and like New England trade to any part of the world." She was denounced as a wicked and notorious rebel and Berkeley, had he not been checked, would have gladly meted out to her the fate of her husband. As it was,

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[1] Quoted in Burk, II. 201, 202, see also Charles's proclamation in reply, pp. 264, 265.

[2] Berkeley's List, in Force's Tracts, vol. I.

[3] Hening, II. 423, 424, 428, 429.

[4] Hening, II. 370. The uprising of Bacon has been dramatized: The | Widow Ranter | or, | The History of | Bacon in Virginia. | A | Tragi-Comedy, | Acted by their Majesties servants. | Written by Mrs. A.[phra] Behm. | London, Printed for *James Knopton* at the | Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1690. |

The characters Dareing (sic) and Fearless, "Lieutenant Generals to Bacon" are probably intended to represent Drummond and Lawrence. St. George Tucker based his novel "Hansford" on Bacon's uprising.

after he had seized all her property,[1] she was compelled to fly with her five small children from their home. They wandered in the woods and were almost starved when relieved by the arrival of the Royal Commissioners. Later, when her petition depicting the cruel treatment of her husband was read in the king's council the Lord Chancellor Finch said: "I know not whether it be lawful to wish a person alive, otherwise I could wish Sir William Berkeley so, to see what could be answered to such barbarity; but he has answered for it before this."[2] In an order of the king dated October 22, 1677, it was declared that Drummond "had been sentenced and put to death contrary to the laws of this kingdom,"[3] and his property was restored to his widow.[4] We know little of her subsequent history. She continued to live in Virginia. In 1679 she was a resident of James City county, Va., and we find her bringing suit against Lady Frances Berkeley, as a co-trespasser with her late husband, Sir William Berkeley, in taking possession of the lands and goods of Drummond under the alleged forfeiture for treason.[5] The jury gave a verdict in her favor. It would seem then from this suit that the proclamation of King Charles had not been entirely carried out. During the same year we find her appealing to Carolina and endeavoring to recover some of the debts due her husband there; of her success we are not informed. Her children remained in Virginia and became the ancestors of a large and honorable family. Their descendants are now living in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi and Missouri. They have been noted for their wealth, liberality and splendid hospitality, and reproduce that

[1]The servile Assembly which condemned the followers of Bacon had sought to guard against this by providing that the estates be inventoried and security taken against embezzlement; the estates were not to be removed nor change hands, until the king's pleasure was known, but all precautions were useless against the greed of Berkeley. The records show that Drummond also rented of Berkeley and this will explain, in part, his tyranny.

[2]Burk, II. 266.

[3]Burk, II. 265; Virginia Carolorum, 380.

[4]Proclamation in Burk, II. 264.

[5]Lady Berkeley was the widow of Samuel Stephens who succeeded Drummond as governor of Albemarle in 1667. After her second marriage her lands were settled on Berkeley (Hening, II. 321). Her third husband was Col. Philip Ludwell who became governor of Albemarle in 1689. In 1685 he complained to the Proprietors that a plantation in Albemarle belonging to him "in Right of his wife, the Lady Berkely" (Col. Rec., I. 352) was being detained from him on the ground that it had escheated. Had this land come to Lady Berkeley from Stephens or was it a part of the forfeited estate of Drummond?

love of freedom for which their patriotic ancestor gave his life.[1]

Thus closed the checkered career of William Drummond, the first governor of North Carolina. An account of Bacon's rebellion, perhaps nearly contemporary with it and written by an ardent partisan of Berkeley, says that Drummond was considered a person of such endowments, where wisdom and honesty were striving for superiority; that it caused "him to be one of that sort of people, whose dimensions are not to be taken by the line of an ordinary capacity."[2] Chalmers says Drummond was a man of "prudence and abilities;" Martin calls him "a man of prudence and fidelity," and Campbell says in his history of Virginia that he was a man of "estimable character, unsullied integrity, and signal ability." Bancroft says that he was a man "deeply imbued with the passion for popular liberty;" but that this passion did not mean the vile demagogry which is so frequently miscalled patriotism is evident from the fact that he entered with all his soul into the struggle of Bacon. This course was not one which would give him popularity, for all might be lost in the struggle, as all was lost; but Drummond's sacrifice was not an empty one; he will always stand out in bold relief as a champion of the idea of democratic government as opposed to the personal and autocratic rule of such men as Berkeley. He earned the cordial hatred of the Virginia tyrant by the lively interest he took in the public grievances, and is characterized by Berkeley as the "original cause of the whole rebellion." He fell while defending the rights of the people against oppression and royal prerogative. He was the first martyr to hallow with his blood the name of the State over which he had presided and richly de-

[1] In 1700 we find that one William Drummond, an able justice of the James City court was struck out of the commission of the peace because he had refused to sign a "complimentary" address concerning Governor Nicholson. This resistance to personal government and the identity of names indicates at least some relationship to the patriot martyr of 1677.

Rachel Tyler, an aunt of President Tyler, married a William Drummond who is believed to have been a grandson of the governor. They resided at Porto Bello on York river until its sale by her to Lord Dunmore in 1774. Her husband died about that time. —Letters and Times of the Tylers, I. 53.

Sarah, probably the oldest daughter of Gov. Drummond, married on March 24, 1673, the Hon. Samuel Swann, collector of customs in Roanoke, and member of the governor's council of North Carolina. To this couple were born seven sons and two daughters. The mother died on April 18, 1696, and was interred at "Swann's Point in Surry County [Virginia] at her mother's feet." Her husband and two of her sons, William and Thomas Swann, were speakers of the N. C. house of commons. The Swann family was a large and influential one in colonial North Carolina.

[2] Burwell Account, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Ser. II., vol. I. 79.

serves to be considered one of the proto-martyrs of the American Revolution.

Of all the long list of proprietary and royal governors the province of North Carolina was to endure for a hundred years, he is one of the few who deserve our respect and admiration. But the State, in *characteristic fashion*, has forgotten him, not even a county being called by his name. The only memorial of the patriot in the State which he honored by his heroism, is a little cape, the eastern extremity of Chowan county which juts into the northern waters of Albemarle sound. Virginia has been a little more generous, for the lake, the center and scource of the Dismal Swamp, bears the name of the patriot martyr. It is now becoming a summer resort and it was to this lake that Moore refers in his beautiful poem commencing:

"They made her grave too cold and damp
For a soul so warm and true,
And she is gone to the lake of the Dismal Swamp,
Where, all night long, by a firefly lamp,
She paddles her white canoe."

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

(Authorities: Bancroft's United States, I. and II.; Campbell, History of Virginia; Howison, History of Virginia; Burk, History of Virginia, which also contains original authorities; Neill, Virginia Carolorum; Hawks, History of North Carolina, II.; Wiley, North Carolina Reader. For original authorities see Colonial Records of North Carolina; Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia, I. and II.; Peter Force's Tracts, vol I.; and Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Ser. II., vol. I.)

THE BATTLE OF WALLOOMSAC.

MUCH that has been written as history, even by our best equipped writers, is confused with error or quite false. This statement seems to be particularly true of the accounts that come to us as the accepted history of Burgoynes "expedition to the left," commonly called the Baum expedition, and of the two battles, one with Baum and one with Breyman, that brought that expedition to a disastrous end.

Out of many illustrations of the errors into which good writers on this subject have fallen, only two will be given: In Bryant's history of the United States, edition of 1881,* this subject of the Baum expedition is opened with the following inexcusable error: "At Bennington, Vt., then known as the 'Hampshire Grants,' about 1760–1763, Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, granted charters to one hundred and thirty-eight towns west of the Connecticut River in territory claimed by New York. Hence they were called the 'New Hampshire Grants' or, provincially 'Hampshire Grants.'" Bennington was one of those one hundred and thirty-eight towns.

In the American Cyclopædia† appears the following medley of errors: "On August 16, 1777, General Stark at the head of a body of New Hampshire militia, defeated *in Bennington*, a detachment of Burgoyne's army under Col. Baum. Shortly after the retreat of the latter, the battle was renewed by a British reinforcement, which in turn, retreated on the approach of darkness.

The British lost 200 killed, 600 prisoners and 1,000 stand of arms; the Americans, 14 killed and 42 wounded. *No trace now remains* to indicate the precise locality of the engagement."

There was no engagement in Bennington. Col. Baum's detachment was defeated and himself mortally wounded at Walloomsac in Rensselaer County, New York, seven miles from the old village of Bennington, and the battle monument. There was no retreat of this detachment. It was annihilated. The reinforcement un-

*Volume 3, last paragraph, page 579.

†Revised edition at the top of the second column, on page 532 of Vol. 2.

der Col. Breyman was met and defeated near the present village of North Hoosick, two miles west of the Baum engagement and nine miles from the Bennington monument. The locality of both of these engagements is easily identified, and that of the Baum engagement is marked by guide posts erected by some enterprising citizens of Bennington. Both are on the Walloomsac River, in the old Walloomsac patent. The writer of this article resides less than one and one-half miles from where Breyman was defeated; and has been critically over both fields many times.

Neither of these battles was fought in Vermont, and there appears to be no evidence that Baum or Breyman's corps, or any detachment of either, ever entered the State of Vermont.

It has been recently affirmed,* on the authority of a governor of Vermont, that a part of Baum's corps entered that State. Governor Tichenor ought not to have been misled, and the story of Baum's troops entering Shaftsbury seems to be entirely unsupported by evidence.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of August 13, 1777, Baum left his camp on the Battenkill and reached Cambridge at 4 o'clock in the evening. Continuing early next morning, the 14th, he reached Sancoik (or Van Schoik's Mill), the present village of North Hoosick, at 8 o'clock. Baum's letters to Burgoyne, from Cambridge on the 13th and Sancoik on the 14th, prove it. At Sancoik, Baum found Colonel Gregg with 200 men in possession, and a sharp encounter took place. This is reported by Glick, one of Baum's officers. Gregg had been sent out by Stark to delay the invaders, and on his retreat destroyed the bridge at that place. "So much time was occupied in repairing the bridge that Baum despaired of reaching Bennington that night, and so he encamped a few miles (two and one-half) from Sancoik, at Walloomsac." Here he met General Stark, who had drawn up "his line of battle expecting * * to be attacked." Acting under the positive instructions of Burgoyne, Baum immediately "took post," choosing a position on the west side of the Walloomsac, "on an elevation admirably adapted for a vigorous defense." Here he commenced at once intrenching his post, and this work of intrenching and completing his defenses continued all next day during the rain, "nor was this work finished with the setting of the sun, but lasted far into the night." Glick says: "There we passed the night, not very comfortably, as may well be supposed, seeing that no fires were lighted, and that we were all impressed with a powerful sense of impending danger. * * We could but remember that we were cut off, by a wide tract of desolate country, from all communications with our friends, and exposed to attack on every side from a numerous

*A. H. Graves in Troy *Times*, Sept. 26, 1891.

enemy." This intrenched camp with its three earthworks was on what is called the old Barnett place, called by Glick the "farm of Walmscot," one and one-half to two miles west of the "state line." No chance before Walloomsac was reached, it would seem, for sending detachments into Vermont. Besides, after it was reached, Baum was practically a prisoner, with General Stark and eighteen hundred armed men between him and Vermont, and he was too busy fortifying his position that he might hold it until Breyman's arrival, too solicitous of the fate of his little corps and too apprehensive of attack to think of sending out detachments to Vermont, particularly when they were certain to be captured by Stark. There seems to be no evidence, except unreliable traditionary stories, that any of Baum's men ever entered Vermont, and, in the absence of evidence, this Shaftsbury story will have to be relegated to companionship with that other story about "Molly Stark" being "a widow to-night." These stories are very interesting myths, but too unsubstantial and unsupported to be accepted as history.

These engagements at Walloomsac known in current history as the Battle of Bennington, should be called the Battle of Walloomsac, for the following reasons:

Bennington is too far away to give name to the battle fought at Walloomsac. The engagement with Baum was fought seven miles from Bennington, and the engagement with Breyman nine miles. The name should mark the battlefield, and the historical rule requires, for facility of identification, a name of immediate local significance and application. It would not do to call the battle at Bunker Hill the battle of Charlestown, much less the battle of Boston. And yet Bunker Hill is in Charlestown and Boston is less than a mile away. A monument to commemorate Bunker Hill would be inappropriate in Boston, and yet not as inappropriate as a monument at Bennington to identify and commemorate an engagement at Walloomsac. The rule is imperative that the name shall identify the field of a battle, so that to find the field you have only to find the place bearing the name. "Battle of Boston" would mislead, and a monument in Boston would confuse instead of direct, in finding the field where Warren fell. Just so would "Richmond" mislead if applied to designate any of the many battles fought before and around that city. Each one of them has a name of local significance by which it may be identified.

For this reason "Bemus's Heights," "Stillwater" and "Freeman's Farm" are the proper designations of the several battles fought at or near Saratoga. And no single instance is recalled, other than this under consideration, where a battlefield has taken the name of a hamlet of a dozen houses nine miles away.

It is urged that Bennington was the objective point of the Baum expedition and, therefore, that the name and monument should somehow follow. Distance does not seem to be material nor state lines any obstruction. On this theory, had Baum stopped at Cambridge instead of Walloomsac, and Stark and Williams and Warner met him there, eighteen instead of eight miles from Bennington, it still would be the battle of Bennington, and the monument would still be on the hill at Bennington and on the site of the storehouse afterwards erected! And why not? The agile historian, while on the road following the expedition to its objective point, might as well go eighteen miles as eight, from the point where an expedition ends, to find an appropriate name and a site for a battle-monument. Battles fought by an expedition starting and ending and having its route wholly in one State, cannot with propriety be named after some point in another State nine miles away.

In seeking a name, no question of destination or purpose is pertinent, and the only question admissible is, "Where was the engagement fought?" and no question of "stores" or what State furnished the troops is relevant. During the rebellion several armies under McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, Pope and Grant, sought to capture Richmond—"On to Richmond!" was the cry—and yet none of the scores of battles fought by these armies has taken, or will ever with propriety take, the name of the objective point.

In the Revolution the British sought to capture New York. For this purpose a powerful army landed on the southwest shore of Long Island and marched toward Brooklyn on its way to New York. On a ridge near Brooklyn, and in the very heart of the present city and within three miles of New York, a sharp engagement with a portion of Washington's army took place. How inaccurate to have called this engagement the battle of New York, and how appropriate the name—Battle of Long Island.

The actors on the British side in this bloody drama gave the engagement a local designation either as Walloomsac or Sancoik. Breyman's and Burgoyne's earlier designation as Sancoik were justified by the fact that Burgoyne had only Breyman's report, and Breyman went no farther than Sancoik, where he was defeated, as well as by the fact that Sancoik was then a little hamlet nearly as large as Bennington. General Burgoyne, in a "private" letter to Lord George Germain, written August 20th, speaks of the conflict as "the affair at Sancoik." Undoubtedly he has more particular reference to the Breyman engagement, which of late years has been nearly lost sight of, but which, because of the much larger and equally select British force engaged, must certainly have been a very desperate engagement.

General Burgoyne, in a general order issued August 26th from his "Camp at Duer's House," says to his army: "The lieutenant general having received the report of Lieutenant Colonel Breyman relative to the affair at Saintcoik Mills" and later on in this general order says: "But let the affair at the Mill at Saintcoik remain henceforward as a lesson against the imposition of a treacherous enemy." Three years afterwards in 1780, defending himself touching the conduct of the Burgoyne expedition, General Burgoyne publishes in his "State of the Expedition from Canada" two several maps. One, under the opening cover of the book, is a map of the whole country traversed by the expedition. The other, within the closing cover, is a military map or plan of the first or Baum engagement. In the first map Burgoyne locates the engagement on the Walloomsac, at or near Sancoik. In the second map he names it "Walmscoik," or Walloomsac. Here Burgoyne publishes Walloomsac as the name of the battle.

Glick, an officer under Baum, in his "Narrative," speaks of the engagement at the "farm of Walmscott." Probably this is the farm since called the Barnett place. If Baum had lived to report there is no doubt that he would have used the same local name to designate the battle that Glick employed, and which stands for Walloomsac.

Not only did the principal actors in the British army give us warrant, but the leader of the American army, General John Stark, the sturdy hero of that eventful day, gives us full warrant for the designation, battle of Walloomsac. In a letter from Bennington shortly after his victory he says: "General Stark presents his most respectful compliments to the honorable Council and House of Representatives for the State of New Hampshire, and begs their acceptance of a Hessian dragoon sword, drum, gun, cartridge-box, bayonet and grenadier cap, the trophies of the memorable battle fought * * on the 16th day of August, 1777, at Walloomscock." And again in the same letter he says: "Trophies of the memorable battle of Walloomscock." In another letter written at Bennington September 15, 1777, and addressed to the "State of Massachusetts Bay," General Stark speaks of "the memorable battle fought at Walloomsac on the 16th day of August last."

Not only did the principal British actors and General Stark unite in a local significant designation, but the State of Vermont itself approved and confirmed their designation. This was done by the "council of safety," which was at that time the sole representative of the sovereignty and statehood of Vermont or the "New Hampshire Grants." Witness the following:

"STATE OF VERMONT IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY, BENNINGTON, 6, Sept. 1777.—To Brigadier General Stark: The council's compliments most cordially wait on his honor, Brigadier General Stark * * in the memorable battle fought at Walloomsack, near this place on the 16th of August last."

The people of Bennington, a third of a century thereafter, reapproved the earlier naming.

"BENNINGTON, July 25, 1810.—*To the Hon. General John Stark:* Once more the season has arrived when you, sir, at the head of our brave yeomanry, under the benevolent hand of a superintending providence, led our troops to victory on the memorable hill of Walloomsack. The people of the adjacent counties have resolved to celebrate the day on the consecrated ground. For this purpose they have chosen a large and respectable committee from the surrounding towns. The governors of New York and Vermont will be invited and probably attend." * *

JOHNATHAN ROBINSON
ELEASER HAWKS,
DAVID FAY. } Com.

This invitation emphasizes two facts.

First—That celebrations were held annually and on the battlefield. The language is specific, "Once more the season has arrived for the celebration of that auspicious day," "on the consecrated ground," and "on the memorable hill of Walloomsack." This is no uncommon occurrence. Celebrations on "that auspicious day" on that "consecrated ground" had been held before and were held years after. As a matter of fact similar invitations had before been extended to General Stark. Even as late as 1834, fifty-seven years after Baum fell, a grand celebration was held "on the consecrated ground," a hill between the present villages of Walloomsac and North Hoosick, where Breyman was defeated, and nine miles from the Bennington monument. Several old soldiers who were in the "Sancoik affair" were present.

It took, after this, many years of "forced culture" of the "store-house" sentiment to get Vermont's claims for distinctive honors, exclusive as to New York, well established. After years of persistent, unfaltering efforts, accompanied by appeals to individuals, states and nation, money to build a monument was obtained. With this monument came glory. This is the genesis: First the store-house; then George Robinson of Bennington; then the monument, and then glory. George Robinson, standing in his own doorway, could almost touch the store-house had it returned to earth. Hence the store-house monument; but the wish comes that George Robinson had considered the storehouse less and the "consecrated ground" more.

Second—This invitation to Stark emphasizes also the fact that annual celebrations were not then State or town institutions. "The governors of New York and Vermont will * * probably attend and the people of the adjacent counties have resolved to celebrate the day on the consecrated ground." Counties "adjacent" to what? The consecrated ground is in Rensselaer county, New York, and the counties adjacent thereto are Washington, Albany and Columbia in New York, Berkshire in Massachusetts, and Bennington in Vermont. This celebration was no exclusive Vermont affair. No undue exaltation of Bennington at that time. No parading of the "storehouse" and no suggestion of a "battle-monument" to commemorate the Walloomsac conflict to be erected in that little storehouse hamlet clustering around the "Catamount tavern" on the hill at Bennington.

It has been asked* "What claim has the Empire State to credit for the victory won by Stark? New York furnished no troops for the first battle, which was the decisive one." "It was Stark's little army, augmented by the yeomanry of Bennington and adjoining towns, her loyal women moulding bullets and filling knapsacks—that won the victory." Loyal women filling knapsacks and moulding bullets is a pleasant picture to conjure with, but what the handful of matrons and maids of Bennington had to do with the whipping of Baum is yet to appear. No doubt they were loyal and inspiring, as were their sisters in other towns and other States.

In no sense and in no degree was the first battle "decisive" of the second. Stark had promised his men all the spoils of capture. Therefore, immeately upon the capture of Baum's intrenched camp, all discipline was at end and "Stark's little army" became a rioting mob intent on plunder. At this time Breyman appeared, and how, under such circumstances, the crushing of Baum's six hundred men could in any way effect the after-defeat of Breyman's equally select and better-equipped eight hundred remains to be explained; for had not other and fresh troops providentially appeared, the day would have been lost. It has been thought that Warner's regiment held Breyman in check and saved Stark's army from defeat, but its numbers, only one hundred and fifty, were too small to be effective. It now appears that Colonel John Williams of White Creek, a New Yorker at the head of New York troops, saved the day. This is history: General Stark with twenty-two hundred of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont and New York troops defeated Baum's six hundred; and Colonel Williams's New York troops, with Warner's one hundred and fifty and a portion of Stark's army that he suc-

*A. H. Graves in Troy *Times* of Sept. 26, 1891.

ceeded in rallying, defeated Breyman's eight hundred.

But "New York furnished no troops" and therefore has no claim "to any credit for the victory won," says one writer.* "Bennington and Vermont have a just claim to a large part of the honor of the battle of Bennington, for the patriots that fought on the famous 16th of August, were mostly Vermont men," says ananother.†

The ignoble idea is here presented that the credit, the name and the monument should go with the most troops. The name of a battle and the place for a monument cannot depend on who fought it. But if true, Bennington has no claim. Bryant, in his History of the United States, Vol. III, p. 581, says the American force, "was not far from twenty-two hundred men," of which he says New Hampshire furnished fifteen hundred, or more than two-thirds of the entire force. New Hampshire furnished General Stark, with the brave Colonels Hubbard, Stickney and Nichols, with three regiments of organized militia. Bennington collected two companies of unorganized militia of about one hundred men in both, but without a man whose name has appeared in the history of the action. Vermont did somewhat better. Probably Manchester furnished more troops than Bennington. But, of the seven hundred troops, other than New Hampshire's take out Colonel Simmons's Massachusetts troops, Colonel Warner's regiment of continental troops, Colonel William Williams's regiment, raised east of the mountains in that portion of the "Grant" loyal to New York, and we have only a small number left. These were comprised in Herrick's "Rangers" and Brush's militia. To the latter the two companies raised in Bennington and "the adjoining towns" belonged. Colonel Simmons's men were mostly, if not all, from west of the mountains and from the Hoosick valley, and it is probable that this Hoosick valley furnished as many men as Bennington.

But New York did furnish some troops. Undoubtedly some hardy settlers on the lower Hoosick joined in Colonel Simmons's regiment, their brethern of East Hoosick, as the region about North Adams and Williamstown was then called. These were in the first battle. Beyond doubt a considerable number of the sturdy yeomanry of the region about and west of the battlefield joined Stark's "little army," and some from the vicinity of Hoosick Falls were in the Baum engagement. In addition to this straggling assistance, it now appears that New York struck the final "decisive" blow on that eventful day, aud that the opportune appearance of Colonel John Williams, with his corps of New York troops, turned what would otherwise have

*A. H. Graves as above.

†Editor, Troy *Press*, Sept. 25, 1891.

been a disastrous defeat into a far-reaching victory.

Much obscurity has surrounded the second or Breyman engagement. The story is plain how Baum's five or six hundred men, taken in the rear so that their redoubts counted for nothing, after a desperate conflict, lasting from three to five o'clock, were beaten by Stark's eighteen to twenty-two hundred militia; but the early writers, following Stark's brief reports, have failed to show an adequate force against Breyman's eight to ten hundred picked veterans supported by artillery heavier than Baum's. True, Warner's regiment came up in "the nick of time;" but, as it consisted only of one hundred and fifty men, it added to Stark's forces less than half of Breyman's increased strength over Baum. Besides, Stark's forces were disorganized and demoralized, and probably aided but little in Breyman's defeat. Stark writing to General Gates on the 23d, six days after the battle, says: "Colonel Warner's regiment (one hundred and fifty men) came up fresh, and was directed to advance and commence the attack. I pushed up as many as could be collected to his support." The accounts agree that the Baum action closed at five o'clock in the afternoon; that thereupon Stark's army became a plundering mob; that soon after, as Stark says, intelligence was received "that there was a large re-enforcement within two miles * * on the march;" and that Warner's regiment came up at that time. So much is beyond question, but of the Breyman engagement most of the best writers have been unsatisfactorily brief or entirely in error. At this point some of the later writers, copying from Breyman's, Glick's and Reidesel's accounts, are enabled to throw some light on this second engagement, and these accounts, supplemented by some facts published, it is believed for the first time in the "History of Rensselaer County," dispel almost entirely the obscurity that has hung over the Breyman defeat.

Stone, in his "Burgoyne's Campaign," says Breyman "reached the bridge at St. Luke (Sancoik) at three o'clock in the afternoon." This time, three o'clock, is to be noted, as Stark in his official report to the New Hampshire Council says Colonel Nichols "commenced the attack precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon" on Baum. Breyman arrived then at the bridge at Sancoik precisely at the opening of the attack on Baum, Stone, continuing the account, says: "Here (at the bridge) he was met by Major Skene, who assured him (Breyman) that he was only two miles from Lieutenant Colonel Baum. Skene, however, not informing him of the latter's defeat (he could not, for Baum was at that moment attacked), continued his march as quickly as possible, although his troops—the day being unusually hot and sultry—were greatly fatigued. Scarcely had he advanced fifteen hundred paces from

the bridge, when he descried a strongly-armed force on an eminence toward the west." Whereupon Breyman "sent ahead some scouts, who were received with a volley of musketry." The history of Rensselaer County says: "Then it was that the second battle began, which lasted until nearly eight o'clock in the evening."

What "strongly-armed force" was this that, at this hour, was on "an eminence" west of Breyman and of the only road leading to Baum's camp? Surely not Warner's regiment nor those that Stark succeeded in rallying. Stark was then engaged, and Warner had not arrived from Bennington. Doubtless this strongly-armed force was Colonel John Williams's regiment of New York troops, which early in the day had been sent by the Vermont council of safety into this very vicinity, and which, in coming from Bennington, had passed to the right of Baum's camp over the lower White Creek road which leads over "an eminence" into the Walloomsac road, on which Breyman was marching, about half a mile from the Sancoik bridge toward Baum's camp. This was the force and this the eminence with which and on which the battle with Breyman was fought. Possibly Warner advanced with his regiment and Stark "pushed up as many men as he could collect" and aided in Breyman's defeat, but as they could not reach the field much before six o'clock, it appears to be true that Colonel Williams's regiment alone received the first attack, and that without its providential appearance at that very hour, Stark's "little army," that had been gladdened with victory, would have met a disastrous defeat. New York troops then saved the day, in that to a great extent, they fought the last or "decisive" engagement. The History of Rensselaer County says: "It is probable that the second battle was begun and fought in part by a body of New Yorkers under the command of Colonel John Williams of White Creek, now Salem." Also witness the following:

"STATE OF VERMONT IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY, August 16, 1777.—To Colonel JOHN WILLIAMS—*Sir:* You will proceed with your party toward the lines, and if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Croik (Sancoik) to Hoosack, and, if you make any discovery, report to this council: at the same time you are to pay proper attention to the road leading from Hoosack to Pownal." The road spoken of as the one "leading from Sancoik to Hoosack" left the Sancoik-Walloomsac road about half way between the bridge and the entrance of the lower White Creek road, over which Colonel Williams was approaching Sancoik.

The destination of the Baum expedition to the Connecticut River and thence to Albany, and the object of the expedition "to excite the jeal-

ousy" of New England, to divert immediate opposition in his way down the Hudson River, forbid the designation, Battle of Bennington, and prove the proposition that the battle fought at Walloomsac should bear that name.

It is proposed to show that Burgoyne did not fit out an expedition against Bennington, and did not send Baum to capture stores there. The first proofs are his written instructions to Baum. These instructions are dated August 9, 1777, and a brief history of them is not out of place. Adjutant General Kingston, Burgoyne's secretary, in his testimony in Burgoyne's behalf before the committee of the House of Commons, said that he took General Reidesel's rough draft with Burgoyne's alterations of the instructions to General Phillips and then to General Fraser for their approval; that General Fraser did not seem well pleased, and asked to keep them till the afternoon, but did not return them until the next morning. Upon their return Sunday morning, August 10th, they were probably given to Baum, and they were thereafter held by him until captured by Stark on the 16th, who sent a copy to the New Hampshire council on the 18th. The original is now in the archives of the Massachusetts historical society. Col. Baum left his camp at Saratoga at five o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, August 12, and marched to Battenkill, where a letter received from Gen. Fraser, a mile out from Saratoga, ordered him to await "fresh instructions." These facts are shown by the following letter to Gen. Burgoyne:

BATTENKILL, August 12, 1777.—Sir: I had the honor of acquainting your excellency, by a man sent yesterday evening by Colonel Skene to headquarters, of the several corps of my command being encamped at Saratoga, as well as my intention to proceed the next morning (after yesterday evening) at five o'clock. The corps moved at that time and marched a mile when I received a letter from General Fraser signifying your excellency's order to post camp at Battenkill till I shall receive fresh instructions from your excellency; the corps is now encamped at that place, and wait your excellency's order.

F. BAUM.

It will be seen from the above that the "fresh instructions" had not been received by Baum at the time he wrote this letter from Battenkill. Burgoyne had fitted out an expedition and had given its leader, Colonel Baum, certain written instructions. Baum had started on the expedition and had marched from Saratoga to Battenkill before any other or fresh instructions were received. These instructions are the only and absolute measure of the scope and object of the expedition, so far as its fitting out and setting out is concerned, unaffected by the subsequent fresh instructions of which much has been

said. Therefore, as Bennington is not even mentioned in these instructions and is not spoken of directly or indirectly, it follows that Burgoyne did not fit out an expedition against Bennington, nor was Baum, before he reached the Battenkill, sent to or through Bennington.

The object of the expedition, particularly named by Burgoyne, could not be attained by sending it only to Bennington. His instructions were very specific and exhaustive as to detail touching the purpose and object, the route, destination and conduct of the expedition, but as they are too voluminous to be copied here, we quote as follows as to object: "The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peter's corps, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses and carriages." Here we have five specified objects of the expedition of which the first and second, and particularly the second, was the most important.

But Burgoyne's instructions, under and in accordance with which the expedition was fitted out, and under which as his sole guide Baum marched from Saratoga to Battenkill, and under which he continued his march, give no possible warrant or justification for the assumption that Bennington was the designed end of the expedition. And yet this assumption is the only possible basis and excuse for the mass of literary romance and fiction on which the placing of the monument at Bennington rests.

Baum's written instructions, never countermanded and therefore not to be contradicted, and never changed except orally, and that, as we shall hereafter see, to change the direct route to Arlington into a circuitous one, give the following emphatic and unqualified contradiction of the claim that Bennington was the end and its stores the object of the expedition:

"You are to proceed from Battenkill to Arlington, and take post there, until the detachment of provincials under Captain Sherwood shall join you from the southward. You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will again take post, so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; and from thence you will detach the Indians and light troops to the northward toward Otter creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force on the Connecticut river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant post on the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountain behind you, which might make a retreat difficult. You must therefore endeavor to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighboring country. Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there, while the In-

dians and light troops are detached up the river, and you are afterwards to descend the river to Brattlebury (Brattleboro), and from that place by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany."

Nothing of Bennington in these explicit directions as to route and termination of the expedition. Indeed, the path so plainly and mandatorily marked by Burgoyne as the route of the expedition, led, with the proposed movement of the main army to Albany, quite around Bennington.

That Burgoyne fitted out an expedition to the Connecticut river and not to Bennington is proved by the following quotations from his instructions:

"You will use all possible means to make the enemy believe that the troops under your command are the advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut on the road to Boston. You will likewise insinuate that the main army from Albany is to be joined at Springfield by a corps from Rhode Island. It is highly probable that the corps under Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manchester, will retreat before you; but should they, contrary to expectation, be able to collect in great force, and post themselves advantageously, it is left to your discretion to attack them or not, always bearing in mind that your corps is too valuable to let any considerable part be hazarded on this occasion. Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main army, in order to intercept your retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the country will afford, and send the quickest intelligence to me, and you may depend on my making such a movement as shall put the enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you."

And by the following:

"It is imagined that the whole of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight, but every movement of it must depend upon your success in obtaining a supply of provisions as will enable you to subsist for your return to the army, in case you get no more; and should not the army be able to reach Albany before your expedition shall be completed I will find means to give you notice of it and give your route another direction."

This does not point to a trip to Bennington after "provisions," but to an extended expedition to Albany by way of the Connecticut River.

The following letter of instructions to Colonel Skene is additional proof:

"I request the favor of you to proceed with Lieutenant Colonel Baum upon an expedition of which he has the command, and which will move this evening or to-morrow morning. * * * The route marked for the expedition is to Arlington and Manchester, and in case it should be found that the enemy is not in great force on the Connecticut river it is intended to pass the mountains to

Rockingham and to descend the river frem thence to Brattlebury. Colonel Baum is directed to communicate to you the rest of his instructions and to consult with you upon all matters. I rely upon your zeal and activity for the fullest assistance, particularly in having it understood in all the country through which you pass that the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Baum is the first detachment of the advance guard, and that the whole army is proceeding to Boston, expecting to be joined upon the route by the army from Rhode Island."

That Burgoyne had planned an expedition to the Connecticut river "to disconcert the councils of the enemy" and not against Bennington, is proved by his letter to Lord George Germain of July 11, in which he says: "My first intention was to turn the whole corps (of Indians) to the Connecticut to intercept re-inforcements, and to confirm the jealousy I have in many ways endeavored to excite in the New England provinces. * * * and after arriving at Albany they may be employed to renew the alarm towards Connecticut and Boston.

"Your lordship will pardon me if I a little lament that my orders do not give me the latitude I ventured to propose in my original project of the campaign, to make a real effort instead of a feint upon New England. As things have turned out, were I at liberty to march in force immediately by my left instead of my right (he sent St. Leger to his right), I should have little doubt of subduing before winter the provinces where the rebellion originated." He may not make a real effort to subdue New England, but he can make a feint of so doing and so disconcert the councils of the enemy, as he planned this Baum expedition to be. That Burgoyne before he reached Ticonderoga had in mind an expedition that, like the Baum Connecticut river expedition should be a feint of a real attack on New England, is proved by a previous letter of May 19, 1777, to Lord George Germain, in which he says: "It is my design * * * to give all possible jealousy on the side of Connecticut. If I can by manœuvre lead the enemy to suspect that * * * my views are pointed that way, the Connecticut forces will be very cautious of leaving their own frontier, and I may gain a start that may much expedite and facilitate my progress to Albany."

A further proof of Burgoyne's intentions is also shown by his letter to General Harvey of May 15, 1777, in which he says:

"My intention is, during my advance to Ticonderoga and siege of that place, for a siege I apprehend it must be, to give all possible jealousy on the side of Connecticut. If I can by manœuvre make them suspect that after the reduction of Ticonderoga my views are pointed that way, it may make the Connecticut forces cautious of leaving their own frontier

and facilitate my progress to Albany. I mention this intention only to Lord George and yourself, and I do it lest from any intelligence of my motions that may reach England indirectly it should be supposed I have suffered myself to be diverted from the main object."

But Burgoyne cherished still earlier this Connecticut "diversion" and planned to do substantially what with the Baum expedition he undertook. This is shown by his letter early in May to Sir William Howe in New York, in which he says: "I wish that latitude had been left me for a diversion toward Connecticut, * * * but my orders being precise to force a junction (with Howe), it is only mentioned to introduce the idea still resting in my mind, viz., to give the change to the enemy if I could, and by every feint in my power to establish the suspicion that I still pointed towards Connecticut."

That Burgoyne before he came to America, even before he was given command, had planned this same Connecticut river expedition, (only at that time, King George not having interfered, it was a real conquering expedition instead of a feint,) is proved by the following quotations from his "Thoughts for Conducting the War from the Side of Canada" submitted to the English cabinet before any expedition from Canada was decided upon for 1777: "But should the strength of the American (English) army be such as to admit of the corps of troops at Rhode Island remaining there during the winter, and acting separately in the spring, it may be highly worthy of consideration, whether the most important purpose to which the Canada army could be employed, supposing it had possession of Ticonderoga, would not be to gain the Connecticut river. * * * And at the same time prevent any attempt from the country above Charlestown, which is very populous, from molesting the rear or interrupting the convoys of supply, while the army proceeded down the Connecticut. Should the junction between the Canada and Rhode Island armies be effected upon the Connecticut it is not too sanguine an expectation that all the New England provinces will be reduced by the operation."

Therefore, having, before he was given command, planned an expedition to the Connecticut river as a real attack on New England which the king condemned, and having ever afterward until the project came to an untimely end at Walloomsac, held and cherished the idea still in his mind of a "diversion" or "feint" to the Connecticut river "to disconcert the councils of the enemy," Burgoyne did finally send Baum out on this long contemplated expedition, but did not fit out an expedition against Bennington.

We have seen that Baum's written instructions, Skene's written instructions, Burgoyne's two letters to Lord

George Germain, his letter to General Harvey, his letter to Sir William Howe and his original project of an expedition from Canada, all disprove the idea that Bennington was ever thought of, much less that it was the destination of the Baum expedition; and they all point to the Connecticut river, and present conclusively the grand purpose of disconcerting the councils of the enemy and exciting the jealousy of New England to the end that New England may not bar his road to Albany, instead of the petty purpose of obtaining food at Bennington.

Now upon what basis does all this modern glorification of Bennington rest? Evidently and solely upon those "fresh instructions." The exact language of these fresh instructions is not known, but that they did not change the destination of the Baum expedition and direct it to Bennington to capture stores there, or for any other purpose, is shown by the following considerations:

First—The expedition as we have seen, had been fitted out and started out as an expedition to the Connecticut river, and had already marched from Saratoga to Battenkill with that destination solely in view, and it should take something more than the mere conjecture—in fact, absolute proof that Burgoyne did so change the route, destination and object prescribed by Baum's sole written instructions.

Second—These fresh instructions were oral orders, not to be employed by Burgoyne in so radically changing his specific written instructions. General Reidesel says they were delivered by Burgoyne on horseback. They were not in writing or they would have been captured (with the instructions) by General Stark and found among Burgoyne's orders, or they would have been used by Burgoyne in his defense.

Third—These fresh instructions would otherwise have superseded Baum's written instructions. It is not contended that Baum's original instructions that he carried to his death at Walloomsac, were ever countermanded; and yet so radical a change in the whole prescribed scope, object and purposes of the expedition would be the annulment of these instructions. Besides these were the only orders found in Baum's possession, and it is not to be supposed they would have been left in his hands had they been superseded.

Fourth—Had these fresh instructions changed what the history of Rensselaer County says "was known as a secret expedition to the Connecticut river" into a foraging raid on Bennington, General Burgoyne would have shown it in his defense. He needed just this excuse—that he had sent out a party after provisions and not an expedition to the Connecticut river,—to absolve himself from the charge of disobedience.

Fifth—Because the change of the route to Arlington so that Baum should go through Bennington would be simply sending Baum's whole command over a circuitous route to Arlington which a detachment thereof had been previously ordered to take. The written instructions to Colonel Baum and those to Colonel Skene, who accompanied Baum, tell us that Captain Sherwood of Colonel Peter's corps of provincials or tories, was ordered to start "a few hours in advance" of Baum's main body and make this circuitous route and join Baum at Arlington "from the southward." This change of Baum's route to Arlington so as to accompany this Sherwood detachment from his command was probably brought about by General Frazer, who had manifested dissatisfaction over Baum's instructions to Adjutant General Kingston, and who had held the instructions for a full day and whose letter to Colonel Baum had called a halt at Battenkill. Evidently he considered it unsafe to send Sherwood alone on this longer route and so far from Baum's main command. Hence these "fresh instructions" and Baum's change of route to Arlington. For these reasons it appears that the original destination of the Baum expedition was not changed by the fresh instructions, and therefore, Burgoyne did not send Baum to capture stores at Bennington.

What could have induced Burgoyne to abandon the Connecticut river expedition, which for months had been in his thoughts by day, and probably in his dreams by night? The "corn and flour and provisions," the "food" stored at Bennington, says one writer.* What an ignoble ending of a grand, long-cherished scheme of an expedition to the Connecticut "to excite the jealousy" of New England and "disconcert the councils of the enemy," so that the road to Albany may be left open! "It must be regarded as a fact beyond dispute that the object of Burgoyne was to procure for his army food which was stored at Bennington." Not food stored anywhere, but food stored at Bennington, was Burgoyne's object, and without which the expedition "would not have been undertaken." This Bennington food must have had some peculiar quality of inspiration like the famous Olympian food on which gods and heroes fed.

There is nothing in all Baum's voluminous and detailed instructions, and nothing in anything written, except possibly some insinuations of Burgoyne on his defense, to warrant the naked assumption that Baum was to obtain "corn and flour and provisions" anywhere, much less at Bennington. "Cattle, horses and carriages," with "cattle fit for slaughter," "milk cows excepted," were the only things Baum was ordered or expected to obtain. He found at

* B. H. Hall in "Troy Times" of 26th of Sept., 1891, 17th Oct., 1891.

Sancoik "about seventy-five barrels of very fine flour, one thousand bushels of wheat, twenty barrels of salt and about £1,000 worth of pearl and potash," but he could make no disposition of these articles except to destroy them. These instructions give in "cattle" only a slight justification for the interpolation of "provisions" among Burgoyne's "cattle, horses and carriages," for the assumption that Bennington was the designed end of the expediton. And yet this assumption is the sole basis and excuse.

That Baum was not sent after corn, flour and provisions is proved by the fact that they are not named in the instructions, and by the other fact that Baum's corps was only expected to obtain enough provisons for its own consumption. This is shown by the following quotation from the instructions: "It is imagined that the whole of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight, but every movement of it must depend upon your success in obtaining such a supply of provisions as will enable you to subsist for your return to the army, in case you get no more" (from the army). Provisions were provided for by contract. Besides they could not be obtained as easily or as quickly over the longer and poorer roads from Bennington as over the short road from Lake George to the Hudson or even over the road from Lake Champlain to the Hudson which the army was employed about six or seven days in repairing and which General Kingston says was a very good road made by the rebels the year before.

It might be asserted that obtaining large supplies of cattle, horses and carriages and mounting Reidesel's dragoons were fictitous objects of the Baum expedition named by Burgoyne as so many excuses for his disregard of the king's commands, for which, knowing he would be called to account, he seemed to be preparing a plausible apology and shrewdly laying the foundation for a defense against possible charges of disobedience—so building bridges to his rear.

It might be asserted that he had no need of cattle, horses and carriages, and it does not appear difficult to prove it, and that by his own testimony and that of his officers sworn on his defense in his own behalf. He had at that time a provision train of six hundred carriages and twelve hundred horses, and another similar train of "more cumberous carriages" for other purposes. He had four hundred horses in his artillery corps when he required for actual use only ninety-six. His Adjutant General Kingston, and secretary as well, said: "I believe there might have been horses enough taken from the artillery or from the provision train to mount those dragoons."

But if Burgoyne did need horses, cattle and carriages, he did not send Baum to Bennington after them.

On the 14th of August, in writing to Colonel Baum, and replying to the latter's letter from Cambridge of the night before in which this startling information was for the first time given, "From the many people who came from Bennington they agree that the number of the enemy amounted to eighteen hundred." General Burgoyne says: "The desirable circumstance for your corps is at present to possess Bennington." This may be a softened imperative, but it is nevertheless a command to take Bennington, and it is the only scrap of evidence that we have been able to find that Baum was ever directed to Bennington. But as this written instruction to go to Bennington does not supersede but only supplements his general instructions to go to the Connecticut river and Albany, it must be read as directing Baum to go through Bennington on the previously ordered and more extended expedition. As there is not a particle of authentic evidence that Baum was ever before ordered to Bennington, and as it also appears that Baum was not sent after "corn, flour or provisions," the conclusion is fairly reached that it was this information of eighteen hundred armed men in Bennington, the presence of this threatening little army there, that induced Burgoyne to order Baum to take Bennington. And why not? Military men need not be told that Baum could not proceed on his contemplated expedition to the Connecticut and leave those armed rebels there. By inexorable military logic he must either fight and disperse them or return to the Battenkill and Saratoga. He must not leave them as a "threatening cloud" on his flank or rear. He must fight them or retreat, and retreat meant the abandonment of his cherished "diversion" to the Connecticut. Hence Burgoyne wrote: "The desirable circumstance for your corps is at present to possess Bennington." It was the "collection" of troops in Bennington, and not the collection of stores, that induced Burgoyne to order its capture.

One writer* has stated that "All these instructions that directed an invasion toward Connecticut or Connecticut river or Boston were feigned." That these instructions required Baum to feign that his troops were "the advanced corps of the army," to feign that his expedition was "to pass the Connecticut river on the road to Boston," and also to feign that "the main army from Albany is to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops from Rhode Island," is true. But that the instructions themselves were feigned or dissembled is alike unwarranted and untrue. They were bona fide instructions to do just what was named and commanded—to go to the Connecticut river and thence to Albany—everywhere feigning and dissembling, "to disconcert the councils of the

* Hon. B. H. Hall, as above.

enemy,"—everywhere feigning and pretending that this terrorizing expedition to the Connecticut was a real attack on New England. This Baum expedition was a genuine attempt to convince New England that Burgoyne was about to do what he did not intend to do, and the instructions were in effect Burgoyne's command to Baum to go on the prescribed route to Albany, everywhere feigning. But the commands were real. The route and object of the expedition were genuine. There was no "feigning" about them.

It is therefore established as we believe that Burgoyne did not fit out an expedition against Bennington and did not send Baum there to capture stores. And this second proposition proving the first, it seems clear that the battle fought at Walloomsac should be called by that name.

The foregoing has been written in part to justify history and also to counsel moderation and forbearance in the intercourse of States; to deny the offensive claims impliedly set up to most of the fighting and all the honor of this Walloomsac affair, and to assert New York's interests in a New York battle. It was a conflict in which the nation's interests more than that of any state were involved. In was waged in New York, partly by New York, partly by Massachusetts, partly by Vermont, and more by New Hampshire, and is therefore a national affair, in the celebration of which no State should assume precedence, much less exclusive distinction. But we would not lessen Vermont's just pride in the fearless courage and brave deeds of her early settlers, nor detract from the full measure of honor and renown that should come to her as the aider and inspirer in the third grand success that came to this nation in the war for independence and the first to northern arms. Much credit and much honor then to the courageous and indomitable bearing of the "New Hampshire Grants" who, though out of the union, were willing to fight for it, and did fight for it.

S. D. Locke.

E. N. Douglass

THE OHIO SOCIETY, AND OHIO IN NEW YORK, IV.

DR. CORNELIUS N. HOAGLAND.

Dr. Cornelius Nevius Hoagland, Vice President of the Ohio Society, is descended from two of the old Dutch families of America. Christoffel Hoaglandt (Hoochlandt, Hogelandt, Hochlandt, Hooglandt, or Hoagland as it has been variously spelled) was born in Holland in 1634, and emigrated in youth to New Amsterdam, where he eventually married Catharine Cregier. He engaged in mercantile pursuits on Manhattan Island at first, but later purchased a large farm on the Millstone River, in Somerset County, New Jersey—the old Hoagland homestead—where he died in 1684. He is the patriarch of a large family in America, of which Dr. Hoagland is a representative in direct line of the seventh generation.

Christopher Hoagland, great-grandfather of Dr. Hoagland, and himself the great-grandson of Christoffel, was appointed Justice of the Peace for Somerset County by Gov. Livingston in 1776, and two years later was elected to the New Jersey Legislature. Isaac Hoagland, son of the above, and grandfather of Dr. Hoagland, was a physician. He married at the age of twenty, in the midst of his course at Rutgers College and finding this action displeasing to the faculty, he left them and finished his course at Princeton. He was appointed surgeon's mate in the U. S. Army in 1796, and died in the service in a short time after, in Florida.

Dr. Hoagland's father, Andrew Hoagland, was born in 1795 in New Jersey, was married in 1828 to Jane Hoagland, and died in Ohio in 1872. On his mother's side Dr. Hoagland is descended from another Hoagland family which in America, at least, is not related to his father's line. On the maternal side he is removed six generations from Dirck Jansen Hoagland, a Hollander who came to New Amsterdam in 1657. Thus by the alliance of his father and mother, Dr. Hoagland becomes in a special and double sense the representative of the Hoagland family in America.

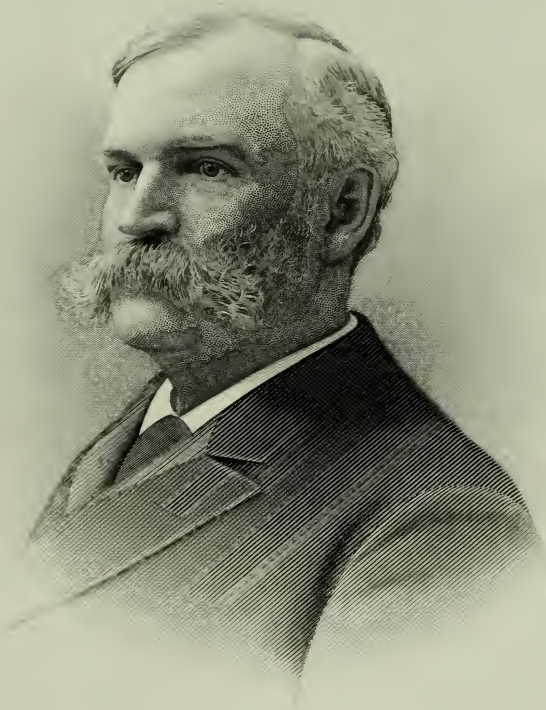
He was born November 23, 1828, in Somerset County, New Jersey, the old home of his father's family, but removed with his father to Miami County, Ohio, in 1834, at the age of six. The Journey west was made in an "emigrant wagon," a canvas covered affair, containing bedding, cooking utensils and provisions. About

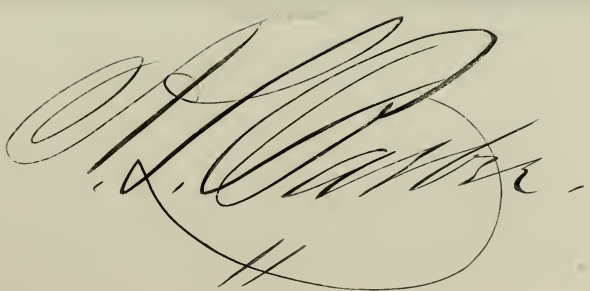
three weeks was spent on the road, and many times they were obliged to sleep in the wagon when night fell, with neither an inn nor a settler's house within sight. They first settled near Piqua, where Mr. Hoagland purchased a farm of eighty acres; but two years later he sold his property, and purchased a "stage house" or hotel in West Charleston. When about to leave the farm to take possession of his new property, Mr. Hoagland's neighbors turned out with their teams and carried his effects to the hotel, where they celebrated the opening night under the new management by an old-fashioned dance. For twenty years this inn was widely known in that region for its good cheer and the hospitality of its landlord; but in 1857 the premises were completely destroyed by fire.

The eldest son, Cornelius, attended the village school in West Charleston until 1845, also taking private lessons in Latin with a view of preparing himself for college. At the age of seventeen he began the study of medicine with the village doctor, E. L. Crane, a leading physician of Miami County, and subsequently attended courses of medical lectures at the Starling Medical college, Columbus, Ohio, and the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, graduating from the latter institution in 1852. He practiced medicine for some time in Miami County. On August 10, 1852, he married Eliza E. Morris, daughter of Judge David H. Morris. In 1854 he was elected and in 1856 re-elected to the office of Auditor of Miami County, serving two terms of two years each.

Upon the outbreak of the civil war Dr. Hoagland enlisted in a volunteer military company of Troy, Ohio, known as the "Lafayette Blues," which became Company H. of the Eleventh Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Dr. Hoagland was made first lieutenant of the company, but in October 1861, was appointed Surgeon of the seventy-first Ohio, in which capacity he served until the close of the war. He campaigned In Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Texas, and participated in the battles of Pittsburgh Landing, Atlanta, Franklin and Nashville. During the last mentioned engagement a bullet plowed the flesh covering his breast-bone, the strong lapels of a heavy over-coat alone saving him from a fatal wound. Being on the staff of Brigade and Division commanders, at various times during the service, Dr. Hoagland was placed in charge of the field hospitals, where he did efficient work.

After the close of the war he engaged in business enterprises in which he was immediately successful, and in a few years accumulated a large fortune, He removed with his family to the city of Brooklyn in 1868, where he has recently built on Clinton Avenue, one of the handsomest homes in that city. In Brooklyn, also, in 1887, Dr. Hoagland founded "The Hoagland Laboratory, "which is





certain to become one of the most important institutions in the United States. It is "instituted for the pursuit of original research in the higher branches of medical science," and special departments of physiology, pathology and bacteriology have been created. This country is not wanting in institutions which provide the elements of nearly every science, but we are sadly in need of facilities for special and exhaustive research, such as is afforded by some of the German Universities. Dr. Hoagland's gift is especially important since it provides a pioneer effort in this direction. The cost of the laboratory with the equipments, exceeded $100,000 while Dr. Hoagland donated another $50,000 as an endowment fund.

Dr. Hoagland is a fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society of London, a life-fellow of the American Geographical Society of New York, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and a life member of the Long Island Historical Society, a regent of the Long Island College Hospital, member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and a trustee of Syracuse University, Antioch College, Ohio, the Adelphi Academy, the People's Trust Company and the Dime Saving Bank, of Brooklyn, as well as a member of several social clubs and societies.

He has a family of three daughters two of whom are married. Outside of his business successes, scientific attainments, and magnificent gift to science, Dr. Hoagland is a gentleman of culture and pleasing social qualities, displaying that geniality, liberality and hospitable nature which so pre-eminently characterized his ancestors, and constitutes the richest part of the legacy of Dutch New Amsterdam to cosmopolitan New York.

AMZI LORENZO BARBER.

Amzi Lorenzo Barber is one of that group of forceful Ohio men who left that noble State to avail themselves of the larger opportunities which the metropolis afforded. Educated in the atmosphere of the scholar, his unique business success is the more distinguished. The antecedents of Mr. Barber, furnish no special indication of the unusual financial and executive abilities he has displayed, his father being a Congregational clergyman, the Rev. Amzi D. Barber. Yet the father was a man of great force of character. He was one of the large number of theological students who seceded from Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, more than fifty years ago, on account of the prohibition by the faculty of any discussion of the question of slavery.

Most of the students, and Barber among them, went to Oberlin College, then just founded, in the northern part of Ohio, this long journey, in the latter's case, at least, being made on foot. Graduating from the Oberlin Theological Seminary in 1841, in the same class with James H. Fairchild, afterward president of Oberlin College, he visited Westmoreland, New York, and was married to Miss Nancy Bailey. They settled at Saxton's River, Windham County, Vermont, soon after, and here their son was born, June 22nd, 1843.

A removal of the family to Ohio occurred in 1852, when the boy was nine years of age. The route was across the Green Mountains to Troy, thence to Buffalo by way of the Erie Canal, by steamer from Buffalo to Cleveland, and in a round-about way through Shelby and Sandusky to Bellevue, in Huron County. In 1856 the family removed to East Cleveland, and two years later to Austinburg in Ashtabula County. The son was educated in the public schools of these various towns, attending also for a time the Cleveland High School, and Grand River Institute at Austinburg.

In the spring of 1862 young Barber entered Oberlin College, graduating in 1867. His course was interrupted by a year's absence, spent in northern Michigan to recruit his health, and where he occupied himself with hunting, fishing, logging and carrying the mail. This last duty became sometimes anything but entertaining. Once in mid-winter he was obliged to proceed alone from Manistee to Little Traverse, a distance of more than a hundred miles. He should have made the trip on horseback, but the mail bags were so heavy that he was obliged to walk and lead his horse.

Graduating from Oberlin with the degree of A. B., three years later he took that of M. A. After his graduation he studied for a part of a year in the Oberlin Theological Seminary, but was called to Washington in April, 1868, about the time of the impeachment of President Johnson, to act as principal of the preparatory department of Howard University, which at that time consisted only of the Normal School.

He held the position of principal and afterwards was professor of natural philosophy in the University till 1872, when he resigned to go into business. He was first engaged in real estate transactions, but in 1878 became interested in asphalt pavements. While retaining his real estate interests in the capital to the present time, the other business rapidly grew under his hands until it assumed mammoth proportions, and engrossed his attention. From 1870 to 1876 a few coal-tar and wood pavements, under various patents had been laid in the United States, but nothing important had been accomplished, and these devices were of doubtful value. Although the Trinidad asphalt pave-

ment had been invented since 1870, up to 1876 only one contract had been made for paving a portion of Pennsylvania avenue in Washington, and the invention had only an experimental existence. But since that time, individually, and as President of the Barber Asphalt Paving Company, Mr. Barber has laid 6,000,000 square yards of pavement, in thirty cities of the United States, representing nearly $20,000,000.

The Barber Asphalt Paving Company, incorporated in 1883, and the Trinidad Asphalt Company, incorporated in 1888, of both of which Mr. Barber is president, represent an aggregate capital of about $4,000,000. The latter company is owner of concessions from the British Government granting exclusive access to the celebrated Pitch Lake of Trinidad Island. This remarkable phenomenon, one of the wonders of the world, consists of a body of a hundred acres of pitch or asphalt, which is hard at the outer edge, growing softer as one approaches the center. The island was discovered by Columbus on his third voyage to America, and it is said that he resorted to the Lake to repair his vessels. Sir Walter Raleigh and other early navigators, it is certain, resorted to Trinidad Island for similar purposes. Between 1850 and 1860 the eleventh Earl of Dundonald endeavored to create a market for this natural pitch in Europe, but previous to 1878 the demand was very small, only a few thousand tons being sent across the water. Bituminous limestone was employed in laying the roads and walks of Paris and London and other large European cities, although this material did not give the best satisfaction, being so slippery as to endanger travel and traffic. With the substitution of the Trinidad asphalt, under Mr. Barber's direction and beginning in 1878, commerce in this article has rapidly developed, until last year the output was some 80,000 tons, of which about 60,000 was sent to the United States. Mr. Barber's pavement consists of a mixture of about fifteen per cent. of the Trinidad asphalt with eighty-five per cent. of common sand, thus offering a surface which always wears rough.

But Mr. Barber's life and work extend in many pleasant ways beyond his great paving business. The social side of his character has had full and free development. He is a fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers, a member of the Ohio Society, Engineers' Club, Manhattan Athletic Club, New York Yacht Club, Corinthian Yacht Club, and of the New York Geographical Society.

In 1876 he took the degree of LL. B. from Columbian University, and he is a trustee of his alma mater, Oberlin College. He is a director of the Lawyers' Sureties Company, of the Washington Loan and Trust Company, and other impotant business concerns. He owns in Washington one of the recognized handsome homes of the city—a large

stone mansion on Fourteenth street, which was occupied one year by Chief-Justice Fuller, while Mr. Barber's family were in Europe. His summer home on Staten Island, purchased in 1888, is the old homestead of Sir Edward Cunard, founder of the Atlantic steamship line of that name.

Mr. Barber began life as a poor boy at the age of fourteen, and his business success is the more remarkable, since he possesses those literary and scholarly attainments, by some regarded as hindrances rather than helps in financial and commercial operations. He thus in an eminent degree combines the polished gentleman and energetic business man—the scholar and the practical and successful man of affairs.

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

TRENOR W. PARK.

TRENOR WILLIAM PARK belonged to that class of American citizens who manifest so decided a genius for business enterprises that they rise in a few years' time from a condition of poverty and obscurity to one of eminence, and the possession of great wealth. Mr. Park made two or three large fortunes during his life, and died a many-time millionaire. The story of his life is of special interest from the fact that his enterprises associated him with the history of various parts of this country, and even carried him to Panama. It was, indeed, while on a journey to the latter country that his death occurred from a stroke of paralysis, December 13, 1882.

He was born in the town of Woodford, Bennington County, Vermont, December 8, 1823, the son of Luther and Cynthia (Pratt) Park. His parents removed to the town of Bennington when he was two or three years old. They were poor and he had few educational advantages. Between the ages of seven and thirteen we hear of him as "the bright, precocious, keen-witted boy who peddled molasses candy to supply the necessities of his household." But even with this homely occupation he prospered in a small way, and at the age of fifteen he was the ambitious proprietor of a small candy-store in Bennington.

His aspirations, however, were much higher than this business, which he followed only as a temporary expedient. He determined to be a lawyer, began study in a law office of the town at the age of sixteen, and was admitted to the bar a few years later.

He practiced with great success in Bennington until 1852, when a political appointment changed the current of his life.

Mr. Park had been married on the 15th of December, 1846, to Laura Hall, daughter of ex-Governor Hiland Hall, of Bennington. The latter had served ten years in Congress, four years as Bank Commissioner of Vermont, four more as Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and had been appointed Second Controller of the United States Treasury. In 1851 President Fillmore appointed him Chairman of the United States Land Commission of California, to settle disputed land titles in the territory newly acquired from Mexico. This appointment of his father-in-law induced Mr. Park to remove to California in the spring of 1852, thus as has been said, interrupting the current of his life.

Mr. Park began the practice of law in San Francisco and was so skilled and successful in the management of his first case as to attract the attention of the newly established firm of "Halleck, Peachy and Billings." He was invited to become a member, and thereupon the name was changed to "Halleck, Peachy, Billings and Park," which soon became and continued for years to be the most prominent law firm in California. Mr. Park was counsel for President Alvin Adams of the Adams Express Company, throughout the long litigation which that Company passed through in Oregon and California. He also became prominently identified with the reform movement against criminality in San Francisco in 1855. He assisted James King to establish the "San Francisco Bulletin," and when that reformer was assassinated on the street, he became the attorney of the historic "Vigilance Committee" which hung five of the outlaws, transported others, and delivered the city from the reign of terror which these ruffians had established. The commercial panic in San Francisco in 1858, by its sudden depreciation of real estate values, swept away a considerable portion of the large fortune Mr. Park had accumulated. But he soon regained the lost ground. He became associated with John C. Fremont in the development of the Mariposa mine and skillfully administered the affairs of the Mariposa estate. About this time he interested himself in politics, and in the candidacy for United States Senator from California he lacked but few votes of an election.

Retiring from his California business in 1863, Mr. Park returned to Vermont. He established the First National Bank at North Bennington, and soon after was elected to the State Legislature, where he exerted great influence. He now engaged in a number of railroad enterprises in his native State. He assisted in the reorganization of the Vermont Central, furnishing a considerable part of the capital, and was one of its origi-

nal incorporators under the new name of "Central Vermont Railroad Company." He purchased the Western Vermont Railroad, and in 1868 commenced the construction of the Lebanon Springs Railroad, whereby he hoped to make Bennington an important railroad center, and supply the lack of transportation facilities in the southern part of the State. Not meeting with adequate co-operation, he sank a large part of his fortune in this patriotic enterprise.

In 1872 Mr. Park was associated with General Baxter in the ownership and conduct of the famous Emma Mine. Under his management dividends were regularly paid, and in the litigation which grew out of this property he was eminently successful and his management fully vindicated. He was for many years a director of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and his administration of its affairs was characterized by the shrewdness and ability which he displayed in all his ventures. He secured a controlling interest in the Panama Railroad and was elected its president in 1874, holding the office to the time of his death. He was associated with General J. G. McCullough in the management of this enterprise, and they had the satisfaction of seeing the value of the company's stock rise under their skillful conduct, from below par to three hundred cents on the dollar, at which price it was sold to the De Lesseps Canal Company. This happy close of the affairs of the Company was accomplished by Mr. Park only a few months before his death.

Connected with many public enterprises, Mr. Park was a man of pre-eminent public spirit. He was a trustee of the University of Vermont, and donated to that institution the Art Gallery which bears his name. He also made liberal gifts of money to swell the New York Tribune "Fresh Air Fund" to provide for the unhappy children in the crowded tenements of New York City a breathing-spell in the country; and he gave a large number of these little folks the pleasure of a summer visit of months in Bennington, Vermont. Taking special interest in the home of his boyhood, Mr. Park established the Bennington Free Library, and was a member with ex-Governor Prescott of New Hampshire, ex-Governor Rice of Massachusetts, and E. J. Phelps of Burlington, Vermont, of the Committee on the design of the Bennington Battle Monument, to perpetuate the memory of the famous engagement at that point in the Revolutionary war. He also contemplated a magnificent charity in the "Park Home" which he established at Bennington for destitute women and children. A large property was secured near the town and the "Home" was incorporated in 1882 by special act of the State Legislature. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Park's death occurred before his plans had been matured or his desire

C. W. Cannon

in the matter made known. Accordingly his heirs donated the property to the State, and a "Soldiers Home" has since been established upon it.

The estimable wife of Mr. Park had died in June, 1875. In May, 1882, he married Miss Ella F. Nichols of San Francisco who survived him. His own death occurred in 1882, as stated, while en route to Panama, on board the Pacific mail steamer "San Blas." The remains were buried at Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, a large number of notable men, personal friends of Mr. Park, and associated with him in politics and in business enterprises, attending the funeral services at the Collegiate Reformed Church, Fifth Avenue, New York. Mr. Park left one son, Trenor L. Park, of New York City, and two daughters, who are the wives of General J. G. McCullough of Vermont, and Frederic B. Jennings of New York City.

The lesson of such a career of energy, perseverance, enterprise and public spirit, carrying a youth from the humblest circumstances to a manhood of noble attainments and an affluence which enabled him to prosecute public enterprises of the greatest moment, needs no word or comment to make it significant and impressive.

MONTANA PIONEERS.

CHARLES WESLEY CANNON.

THE story never ceases to be an interesting one of the pioneers who have opened up the new country of the great West to civilization, while at the same time in a few years achieving individual business success of the greatest magnitude. In view of the rapid occupation of the new States by means of immigration, the opportunities for such rapid climbs to wealth are rapidly slipping away and giving place to a general average of comfortable competencies. A decade or two hence the phenomenal enterprises which have created the "Montana Millionaires" will be a part of the history of the past.

A typical career is that of Charles Wesley Cannon, who is descended through a long line of Huguenot ancestors from Jan Canon, the founder of the Cannon family in America. Jan Canon became a large merchant in New York City, the record showing that he was in America as early as 1692. His descendants have comprised a number of esteemed and prominent citizens of the Republic.

Charles W. Cannon was born in Cleveland, Ohio, July 1st 1836, and

at an early age removed with his parents to Iowa, which was at that time a part of what was known as the Territory of Michigan. The father established himself as a merchant in Dubuque and here the son passed his boyhood, receiving his education in the common schools. Upon the failure of his father's health, the merchant's entire business devolved upon Charles, at that time but sixteen years of age. Thus care and responsibility, which usually comes with mature years, proved in this case, as it has done in the career of more than one successful man, a severe but most valuable schooling. The boy showed enterprise and ability in the conduct of the business, and became rich in experience.

In 1859 he entered into partnership with George B. Smith, and under the name of "Cannon & Smith" the firm became one of the largest and most successful in the State of Iowa. In 1863, soon after a double bereavement by the death of their father and only sister, Mr. Cannon and his younger brother determined to leave the scene of their sorrow, and identify themselves with the far west. Mr. Cannon sold out his business to advantage, and in the spring of the year the journey was begun towards the mining region. The young men crossed the plains with their own team and wagon, taking the route past Omaha, north of the Platte River and "Lander's Cut-off." The trip was tedious, for the most part, and occasioned many hardships and privations during the five months consumed in reaching Virginia City, Montana. But there were exciting and perilous episodes. Twice they were attacked by parties of Sioux Indians, and barely escaped with their lives.

Arrived in Virginia City, they immediately began merchandising under the firm name of "Cannon Bros.," but upon the announcement of the discovery of the extensive gold placer mines in Helena the following spring, Mr. Charles Cannon immediately set out for the new Eldorado, and opened another business house under the name of "Cannon & Quade." Out of this firm, later on, grew that of "Kerchival, Cannon & Co," which as a wholesale grocery and depot of mining supplies, became one of the largest establishments in the Territory.

But Mr. Cannon with keen discernment, foresaw the bright future of Helena, and retired from mercantile pursuits in 1882, to give his entire attention to real estate and the mining business. In both of these directions he was uniformly successful and in a few years became a millionaire. To-day he is the largest tax payer in Helena, and one of the young city's most enterprising citizens.

He was largely instrumental in procuring for his adopted city her gas, electric light, and street railway systems, and he is the President and largest stockholder of each of the three companies which furnish these facilities. He is vice-president of

the Montana Central Railway, and a director of the Montana National Bank, as also of several mining companies. Outside of his enterprises in these directions, Mr. Cannon is one of the largest wool-growers in Montana. His ranch comprises three thousand acres, requires twenty-eight miles of fence to enclose it, and is stocked with nearly twenty thousand sheep, besides cattle and horses. This establishment is thoroughly equipped with the latest improved farming implements, and is a model of its kind. At Olewine, Iowa, great sheds have been constructed, where consignments of sheep for the east are detained and fed until they are in proper condition for the Chicago market. The wool from Mr. Cannon's flocks commands the highest prices for Montana wool in the local and Boston markets.

In March 1868, Mr. Cannon was married to Catherine B. Martine, only daughter of the late Capt. W. W. Martine of Ithaca, New York. Mrs, Cannon is a lady of rare culture and refinement, a leader in society, her home being open for the entertainment of her friends, who never fail of a most hospitable welcome. Two children have blessed this home, but one of them, Bernice Martinique, a beautiful girl, died in 1889, at the age of eighteen years. William Le Grand, the son, now nineteen years of age, received his early education in France and Germany and was prepared for college at St. Paul's school, Concord, New Hampshire. The family have traveled extensively in Europe and generally spend a considerable part of their winter in New York City. Both Mr. Cannon and his accomplished wife are members of the Episcopal church.

Mr. Cannon is a staunch Republican in politics, but his business enterprises have so completely engaged his time that he has uniformly refused to hold any public office. But in developing the resources of his adopted State, he has probably contributed more effectually toward the prosperity of that section and the entire country, than he could have done in a whole life time in a political career.

W. H. MAGUIRE.

WESTERN PIONEERS.

WILLIAM WELLS FAIRFIELD.

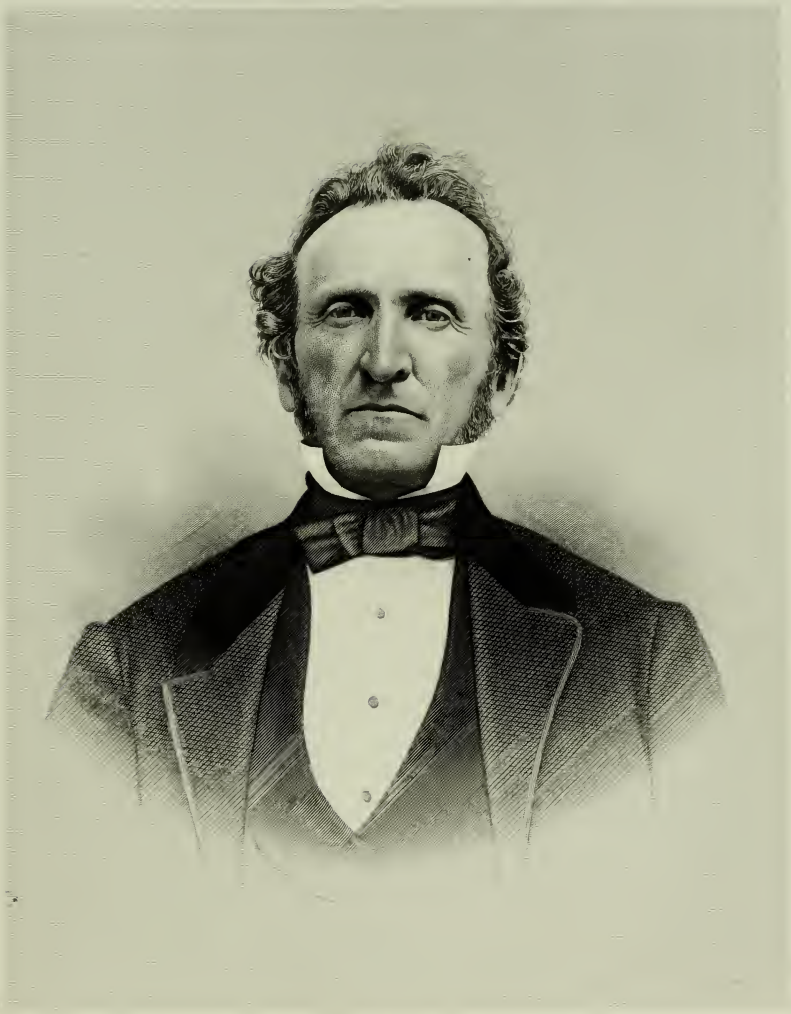
In the year 1748, Nathaniel Fairfield, a young man who had grown up in the city of Boston, and was possessed of the ambition, courage and sturdy manhood which have always been distinguishing characteristics of American pioneers, pushed out into the "Indian country" of Western Massachusetts, in search of land upon which to make a settlement. In company with Daniel Cadwell, also noted as a pioneer settler of Western Massachusetts,—he visited "Poontoosuck" and made an examination of lands in that vicinity, when the Indians were its only inhabitants.

They took with them into the wilderness a store of provisions, and when these supplies were exhausted, Cadwell returned to his home in Westfield for another supply, leaving young Fairfield, then but eighteen years of age, to look after their land interests and await his return. His domicile during the absence of his friend and fellow pioneer, was a hollow log, in which he made his bed by night, and which constituted a hiding place by day when danger threatened.

As a result of this exploring expedition, he purchased a considerable body of land, made the "clearing," and built the rude log cabin, which in those days proclaimed and established ownership. He returned to Boston and remained there until 1752, when, having married a young woman who had consented to share with him the perils of frontier life, he settled on the lands which he proposed to convert into a productive farm.

For a short time they were undisturbed, when, the Indians under some pretext or other going on the war-path, making his situation perilous, he sent his wife on horseback forty miles to their former home, following a blazed trail, while he himself prepared to unite with other colonists in driving the savages from the country.

One of his valuable possessions at that time was a yoke of oxen, which were turned out to graze on the banks of Poontoosuck River, with a bell on one of them, that he might more easily trace them should he be permitted by the fortunes of war to return to his homestead. The expedition was successful in driving the Indians out of the country, thereby insuring safety to the settlers. He returned to find his home undis-



W. W. Fairfield

turbed, and his yoke of oxen in good condition to perform the work required of them in bringing the farm under cultivation. The bell worn by one of the oxen was handed down to his descendants, and has been treasured by them as a relic of pioneer experiences. On this settlement Nathaniel Fairfield lived and prospered, and his three sons lived and died in the city of Pittsfield, which grew up in the intermediate neighborhood.

The youngest of these sons was Nathaniel, who married Martha Wells of Wethersfield, Connecticut. Nathaniel Fairfield was a prosperous man of affairs, who had five children; the first a daughter, who died in her third year, and the second a son, who was christened William Wells Fairfield, and with whom this narrative is principally concerned.

A year since, William Wells Fairfield died at his home in Rockford, Ills., having been for many years prominently identified with the development of western enterprises, and a participant to a large extent in western prosperity. The foundation of his fortune may be said to have been laid upon the day of his birth, inasmuch as upon that day his father, who was greatly rejoiced at the birth of a son, negotiated for a large tract of land, which was held for the exclusive use and benefit of the child, and from which he derived the capital for the successful investments of his later years. Of the three other children born to Nathaniel Fairfield, one son was killed by an accident on the farm in his early manhood. Another son, Ebenezer Fairfield, was for many years a prominent citizen of Adrian, Michigan; a lawyer of ability, and a candidate for lieutenant-governor of the State at the time of his death, some years since. A daughter became the wife of William Tefft, Jr., of Syracuse, N. Y., and died there in 1889.

W. W. Fairfield grew up in Pittsfield, receiving an academic education and a careful industrial training. Remaining with his father until his father's death, which occurred in Pittsfield in 1837, he became thereafter the stay and support of his mother in her declining years, and the executor of his father's estate. Some years later, health and business considerations induced him to remove to Syracuse, N. Y. There he became largely interested in the salt industry, and also a somewhat extensive owner of real estate. Early in life he had developed a genius for the successful conduct of business affairs, and during his residence in Syracuse he laid the foundation for the large fortune, which made him a conspicuous figure among Western capitalists in later years. In 1852 he visited Wisconsin, upon the advice of his physician, for the benefit of his health. Finding the change beneficial he spent much of his time at Madison, the capital of Wisconsin, and, attracted to the promising field for investment offered through the sale of public

lands, with a comfortable capital with which to operate, he became a large owner of the lands in various portions of the northwest. He traveled extensively over the territory, was widely known among the pioneers, and a general favorite on account of his frankness, honesty and uniform fair dealing.

During one of his visits to Madison he met the lady who subsequently became his wife, Mrs. Eleanor G. Siegfried, a native of Philadelphia, and a widow of William W. Siegfried, a prominent citizen of Camden, N. J., who died there in 1854, who was also at that time a visitor at Madison. Becoming acquainted with Mr. Fairfield in 1858, the friendship between them ripened into a warmer attachment and resulted in their marriage, on July 3d, 1862. The first five years of their married life was devoted to travel, and in 1867 they established their home in Rockford, Illinois, where they resided during the remainder of Mr. Fairfield's life, and where Mrs. Fairfield still resides.

A fortunate investor in lands, Mr. Fairfield was also largely interested in various important railway enterprises, one of the great corporations in which he was a stockholder being the New York Central Railway Company. He was also interested to a considerable extent in banking and other enterprises, and was a large owner of Rockford real estate, that portion of the city known as East Rockford being largely indebted to him for its growth and development.

In a quiet way he gave largely to charitable and educational projects, his principal donations being to eastern colleges in which he was always deeply interested. Politically a democrat all his life, he was nevertheless a politician only in the sense of endeavoring to secure for the community in which he lived good government, and in discharging all the obligations of good citizenship. His devotions to the principles of the democratic party was such as to secure for him the friendship of many of the men who were the recognized leaders of the party in the West.

Coming as he did of good old New England stock, Mr. Fairfield had all the physical and intellectual vigor of his ancestry, along with the prudence and good judgment which have always distinguished New Englanders. Quick to perceive an opportunity for profitable investment, he carefully avoided purely speculative ventures which are so tempting to Western business men, basing all his calculations upon the inevitable growth and prosperity of a country, great in its natural resources, and peopled by industrious, energetic, and enterprising citizens. His code of morals were also of the New England type, impelling him always to a strict observance of the Sabbath, a just consideration of the rights of all with whom he was brought into contact, and a conscientious observance of all

the proprieties of life. Thus he retained through a long life friendships which grew stronger with more intimate acquaintance, and left behind him cherished memories of a beneficent life.

During his later years he suffered from partial blindness and was unable to either read or write. His mind, however, retained all its early activity, and through his cultured wife he was kept familiar with the literature of the day, and with current events. He was physically active during all this time, giving his personal attention largely to his important business affairs. The independence and self-reliance of his early life continued to be his dominant characteristic in later years, and his death was hastened by a fall which he received on the 9th of February, 1891, while taking a walk unaccompanied by his usual attendant. Five weeks later on the 14th of March, he passed away, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and his remains were conveyed by his sorrowing widow to Pittsfield, Mass., where he rests with three generations of the Fairfield family. A marble shaft marks his burial-place, but a nobler monument to his memory is in process of erection in the city of Rockford, under the direction of Mrs. Fairfield.

This monument as it may appropriately be called—will assume the form of a parish house for Emanuel Episcopal Church, of which Mrs. Fairfield has long been a member, and will be known as "The Fairfield Memorial."

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE IOWA BAR.

PHILIP MYERS.

IN the village of Kingston, in the far-famed Wyoming valley of Pennsylvania, Philip Myers was born November 20, 1830. Before the Indians had abandoned this singularly beautiful, picturesque and fertile region, his ancestors came into it to make it their home. This was when the Delawares and Shawnees occupied the territory by sufferance or rather by direction of "The Five Nations," who claimed to be its rightful owners. The "Great Head" or Council of United Chiefs at Onondaga, had directed that the Delawares should remove from their old location at the forks of the Delaware River to "Wayomick," and when the dependent Indians ventured to protest against this arbitrary proceeding, the command to move on at once was given by a venerable Chieftain, who addressed them at a public conference after this fashion: "We conquered you and

made women of you, for these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We give you no liberty to think about it. We lift up the remaining Delawares and set them down in Wayomick; for there is a fire kindled for them, and there they may plant, but if they will not hear, the Great Head will come and clean their ears with a red hot iron."

The patriotic response of the settlers of the Wyoming valley to the call for volunteers in the Revolutionary struggle, the heroic defense of their homes by those who remained behind, and the bloody butchery of the patriots by the savage allies of the English invaders, the "Pennymite-Yankee War," in which Pennsylvania and Connecticut colonists strove with each other to retain possession of the Wyoming valley, serve to make this a region as interesting to the historian, as it is attractive to the lover of natural scenery.

From this region, Philip Myers, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, joined the colonial forces in the struggle for independence, and to this valley he returned when the war ended, to become a tiller of the soil and a pioneer in the work of carving farms out of the forests. He married Martha Bennett, and one of their sons was Thomas Myers, who in 1825, married Sarah Borbidge of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Thomas Myers was a man of local renown, and much esteemed for his manifestations of public spirit, his enterprise in promoting public improvements, and his liberal gifts to his native town, one of the most important of his services being the prominent part which he took in the founding of Wyoming Seminary.

His wife was a woman of great strength of character coupled with a sweetness of disposition which is said to have illumined already beautiful features, and rendered her one of the most attractive and lovable of women. After enduring heroically several years of suffering Mrs. Myers died, when her son Philip was but twelve years of age. In the years of his early childhood, however, he had learned to appreciate a mother's love and her counsels made such an impression upon him that they had much to do with shaping his after life.

At Wyoming Seminary he was fitted for college, and after graduating from that institution he matriculated at Dickinson college of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. From this institution he graduated with class honors in 1851, being selected to deliver the Latin oration at the Commencement day exercises. Returning to his home after graduation, he taught in the seminary at Kingston, two years. He then read law at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, with the late Judge George W. Woodward, one of the distinguished jurists of the Keystone State.

In 1855, having completed his preliminary professional studies, he was admitted to the bar. Removing to Oskaloosa, Iowa, he formed a law

partnership with Samuel Rice. The firm afterwards became Rice, Myers & Rice, and was in existence until the death of its senior member, General Samuel A. Rice—who had entered the Union army at the beginning of the war—brought about its dissolution. After this Mr. Myers continued the practice alone, being recognized as one of the able and influential members of the Iowa bar. Socially and as a churchman, he was also a prominent figure during the ten years of his residence in Oskaloosa.

In 1886, he was married to Miss Isabella Cowen, elder daughter of the late Walter Cowen, the settlement of whose estate soon afterwards made it necessary for him to change his place of residence to Ottawa, Illinois. Later he removed to Chicago. In this city he did not engage actively in the practice, though he gave considerable attention to different branches of the law, and was recognized by those with whom he had acquaintance, as a cultivated and scholarly gentlemen, and a thoroughly well informed lawyer. In 1872 he was called upon to deliver a course of lectures in the Union Law College. He also lectured in the college during the three years following, and interested himself actively in its educational work.

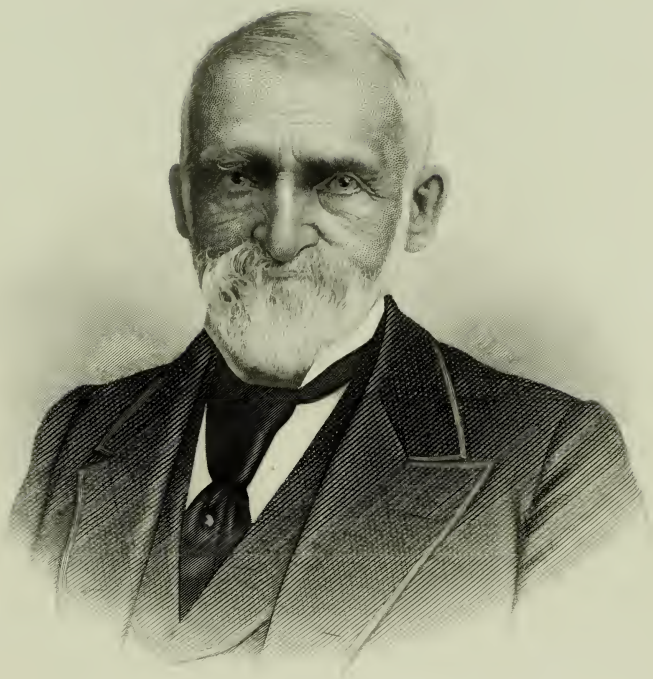
He improved an opportunity to devote a considerable portion of his time to travel, both in this country and abroad, and during his foreign travels was especially interested in the study of educational problems. He gave much attention to a study of the system under which the great Universities of the old world had been built up, and his investigations led to the conclusion, that a National University should be established in this country—under the auspices of the general government—which should be made the equal of the English and German Universities, in all that goes to make a great educational institution. He formulated a plan for the establishment of such an institution, which he advocated warmly whenever an opportunity presented itself, and noted with much interest every movement calculated to elevate the standard of American colleges. While he gave active attention to his business affairs, he yet found time to familiarize himself with the best literature of the day, and was all his life a close student of the sciences and a careful reader of ancient and modern history. Although thorough as a lawyer and successful while practicing that profession, his tastes were rather literary than legal, and he undoubtedly enjoyed better his intercourse with the great minds of his library than he did the turmoil of the court room. In whatever direction he turned his attention, he was a careful and conscientious investigator. His mind was remarkably retentive, and whatever he gathered, either from books, from his travels, or from his every day intercourse with people with

whom he happened to be brought in contact, was stored away to be used when occasion required. These characteristics coupled with graphic descriptive powers and a pleasing narrative style made him a most interesting and instructive conversationist and delightful companion.

Had he been less pronounced in his convictions, Mr. Myers might have become conspicious among the politicians of the west, because he was unquestionably a man of tact, as well as ability; but his convictions were always, with him, paramount to every other consideration. While he was something of a politician in the sense of taking an active interest in matters of public import, he was never a seeker after political preferment of any kind—in fact had a marked distaste for holding office. A member of the Republican party originally, he was in full symyathy with that party and its policies until all the issues that led up to, and grew out of, the war of the Rebellion were disposed of. With those questions out of the way, he considered the abolition of all war taxes and a thorough revision of our system of taxing imports, to be the most important work of the National Legislature. A believer in the theory that the United States is to become, in the not very distant future, one of the great free-trade countries of the world, he reached the conclusion several years since that some radical revenue reform legislation, should be enacted without delay. As this view did not harmonize with the publicly expressed sentiments of his party, he assumed an independent political attitude and cast his ballots thereafter without regard to party affiliations.

A member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he attended in Chicago, the Centenary Church, in the prosperity of which he took a deep interest. For many years he was one of the most active and enthusiastic workers of the Young Men's Christian Association—of which he was long an official—and his broad knowledge of the needs of the masses, particularly of young men, his executive ability and his sympathetic nature made his services peculiarly valuable to that organization. An advocate of temperance and sobriety, he gave aid and encouragement, as far as he could do so, to all efforts made for the reclamation of those who had fallen victims to the drink habit, and was one of the warm friends and supporters of the famous "Washingtonian Home," of Chicago.

In 1884 business and other interests called him to the east where he resided until 1890, his home during a portion of the time being in Brooklyn. Returning then to Chicago with a view to making it his permanent home, he took a deep interest in the Columbian Exposition enterprise, which he felt would go a long way towards making that city the most populous on the American continent. When the struggle which preceded



Nathaniel J. Brown

the location of the exposition ended, he was among those who looked forward with most eager interest to the time when the representatives of all nations should come together, in the greatest of modern cities, to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of an event which revolutionized the continents.

But his life was not spared to witness this interesting and imposing spectacle. In February of 1891, he began to experience premonitions of heart trouble. These attacks however, were not regarded as sufficiently serious to create uneasiness. He continued to attend to his affairs, and on the 23rd of April he entered a down town office to attend to some business of an ordinary character. Suddenly, while conversing with the gentleman upon whom he had called, his articulation ceased, his head fell forward upon his breast, and in a brief moment the light of his life was extinguished.

Thus passed away a man who for nearly forty years was identified with the professional, business and educational interests of the west, a man who made many warm friends, who had always a kindly sympathy for those in distress, who held out the helping hand whenever opportunity presented itself, and who never intentionally failed to give substantial encouragement to those in need of it. Modest and unostentatious as he was, he was known to a large circle of associates as a lawyer of fine attainments, a business man of sterling integrity, and a Christian gentleman of rare simplicity and beauty of character. His wife and one daughter, Elizabeth V. Myers, are the only surviving members of his family.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

WESTERN REAL ESTATE SPECULATION FIFTY YEARS AGO.

CHICAGO'S FAMOUS AUCTION HOUSE.

NATHANIEL J. BROWN.

AMONG the noted pioneers of the Western Middle States, who are now living, there is no one who more fully illustrates in his career the resourcefulness, the unbounded energy and activity of the men who laid the foundations of present prosperity in these Commonwealths, than Nathaniel J. Brown, pioneer lumberman, canal builder, land speculator, and promoter of various important enterprises.

As a boy, Mr. Brown became a settler on what was then the outskirts of civilization in the United States. In the retirement of his old age he

finds himself living almost at the centre of population, of an Empire which has been vastly extended to the westward. When he settled in Michigan it was a territory. Illinois had been admitted as a State only eight years before, and Missouri was the most western of the States of the Union.

His life as a pioneer began in 1826, when he removed from New York State with his parents who settled at Ann Arbor, Michigan. At that time he was fourteen years of age, having been born at Windsor, Vermont, in 1812. He was three years old when he was taken to New York State, and spent the years of his early boyhood at Rochester and in the neighborhood of Lockport. He received the principal part of his education in the public schools of New York, and soon after the family came West, turned his attention to business pursuits, for which he early evinced peculiar talent.

While he was still a mere lad he began to engage in business ventures of various kinds, some of them of considerable importance. His elder brother, Anson Brown, a man of great force of character, for many years prominent as a business man and politician of Michigan, had laid out the lower town site of Ann Arbor, had built flouring mills there and was engaged in various enterprises of considerable importance, when Nathaniel J. became associated with him. He was also postmaster at Ann Arbor during General Jackson's administration as President. One of the enterprises which Anson Brown projected was a stage line to run from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, following the old territorial road from Ann Arbor to its western terminus.

N. J. Brown became connected with this stage line as one of its agents, and while filling this position made use of the opportunities which it afforded him, to obtain information of the probable location of new towns and settlements. Every hint of this kind was taken advantage of, and being able to command sufficient means to make investments in promising localities, he became interested in Kent, Ionia, and Clinton counties, and was rewarded with rich returns.

In Kent County he early acquired title to a large body of land which was covered with a heavy growth of pine timber. This was long before the lumber industry in Michigan had assumed sufficient proportions to attract attention; but Mr. Brown was sagacious enough to preceive that he had a small fortune in this timber, even under the conditions which then existed, provided it was properly handled. Not satisfied with the home market, which was limited, he determined to get his lumber to Chicago—then beginning to build up rapidly—and to find a market for it there. With this object, he chartered the schooner "White Pigeon," owned in Detroit, brought her to Grand Haven

to await the opening of navigation.

There was a mill on his land, and as the logs could be floated to the mill on a stream which ran through the centre of the tract, he was well equipped for the economical manufacture of lumber, and had a large quantity on hand in the spring of 1835. As soon as the Grand River was clear of ice, a raft of lumber which contained six schooner loads, was launched at what is now Grandville, a few blankets and a bucket of provisions are taken on, and Mr. Brown, with a big lumberman from Maine to assist him, jumped aboard the raft and cut it loose from its moorings. No such attempt as this to carry lumber down the stream had ever been made before, nor has it been attempted since. The undertaking was perilous, but with only a single accident, in which disastrous consequences were averted by the prompt action of Mr. Brown, they reached Grand Haven and turned the raft over to the crew of the schooner "White Pigeon."

The schooner was at once loaded, and Mr. Brown accompanied the cargo to Chicago, to discover upon his arrival there, on the 4th day of April, 1835, that the markets of the village were not then "open to all comers." In fact he found himself at a serious disadvantage in trying to dispose of lumber brought from another State. He insisted that he had a right to sell his cargo, and the local dealers taking a different view of it had him brought before the authorities under arrest, but he found a way out of the difficulty by appealing to the Court of County Commissioners of Cook County. Presenting himself at the office of Col. Richard J. Hamilton—noted in local history as the man who at one time held nearly all the offices in Cook County—he secured from that official a permit to do business in Chicago for one year, The following copy of this permit will be of interest as a reminder of the day of small things in the western Metropolis:

STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
COOK COUNTY. }

Authority and permission is hereby given to N. J. Brown to vend, sell, and retail goods, wares, and merchandise in Cook County, Illinois, for and during the term of one year, if approved by the County Commissioner's Court of Cook County, upon paying into the County Treasury the sum of six dollars, his tax and the cost of this permission.

Given under my hand and private seal at Chicago, 21st day of April, A. D., 1834.

RICHARD J. HAMILTON,
Clerk of County Commissioner's Court, Cook County.

Having received from the County Commissioners approval of this document, he had little difficulty in disposing of his cargo, the price received being twenty-eight dollars per thousand feet, a figure which gave him a handsome profit. He received

payment in silver coin, which was packed in axe boxes—a thousand dollars in a box, and deposited at the warehouse of Newberry & Dale. From this firm he received drafts on Oliver Newberry of Detroit, and purchasing a horse, saddle and bridle, he set out for that city. Reaching there in due season, he made his settlements with the Detroit merchants who had furnished supplies for the previous season and then proceeded to Ionia County, Michigan, where he had set an important enterprise on foot. Before giving a history of this enterprise, which was one of the great land speculations of the period, it should be stated that he continued his shipments of lumber to Chicago, and in one year sold enough to pay for the whole body of land which he acquired, together with the mill and all the expenses incident to its operation.

During his first visit in Chicago, already alluded to, he had formed the acquaintance of its principal business men, among them being Augustus Garrett, whose fortune in later years built up the famous Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, Illinois. Garrett was at that time an exceedingly active and energetic young man, engaged in selling dry goods, town lots and various other things which could be handled with very limited capital at auction. Garrett proposed to Brown that they should form a partnership. This was met by a counter-proposition for a limited partnership which should not interfere with Mr. Brown's land speculations and other operations in Michigan.

He owned at that time a section of land located at the head of steamboat navigation on Grand River, and at about the geographical center of Ionia County, Michigan. He proposed that they should lay out a town site there, plot it and sell the lots at auction. The proposition was accepted, a surveyor plotted the land from the government map first, to save time and on the ground later. Spring and Goodrich, pioneer lawyers of Chicago, were given a power of attorney to make out and sign deeds, and the property was placed on the market, to find ready purchasers among the speculators who were then exceedingly anxious to secure holdings in western town sites.

While Garret took charge of the sales, Mr. Brown proceeded as has been stated by way of Detroit, to the newly laid out and newly christened town of Ionia, where he proposed to erect a saw mill and get at least one industry started in the town. Through Garrett's activity, lots in Ionia sold rapidly, and among other purchasers was Honorable W. L. D. Ewing, then a United States Senator from Illinois. The following winter Senator Ewing succeeded in having the Grand River district land office located at Ionia. The act passed at his solicitation, specified that the office should be located at the town of Ionia, County of Ionia, etc., and commissioners were

appointed to select a site for the building which it was proposed to erect for the accommodation of the office.

The Commissioners did not arrive on the ground until after pretty much all the lots in Brown's town site had been sold, and having an eye to investment themselves, they reached the conclusion that the letter, if not the spirit of the law would be observed, if the land office were located in the township of Ionia. This gave them an opportunity to locate the office in a rival town site, where town lots could be obtained in abundance, and upon this site instead of that laid out by Mr. Brown and his associates, the little city of Ionia has grown up. However, before this matter, which appears to have settled the fate of the town, was definitely settled, he had sold all his holdings, realizing therefrom a small fortune.

Before he left Chicago, he had arranged that all the proceeds of Ionia land sales should be invested in Chicago lots and government lands located in the Chicago land district, when they were thrown upon the market in June of that year. When he returned to Chicago he found that Garrett had managed their affairs so well that they had become the owners of several large blocks of ground in the village, and in all, of about three thousand acres of land in the Chicago land district, all of which was in the immediate vicinity of Chicago. This venture having turned out remarkable well, Messrs. Garrett & Brown then formed a general partnership, for the purpose of dealing in realty in Chicago and elsewhere. They purchased of John Bates, the first postmaster of Chicago, a lot on Dearborn street opposite where the Tremont House now stands, on which was one of the largest buildings in that part of the city, and in this way established what soon became the most famous auction house in the west. The great influx of immigration to Chicago had just set in, and in 1836, the city was full of men who came from all parts of the United States, who had caught the speculative fever and who were engaged in a mad scramble for western town lots and lands. The storehouses of Messrs. Garrett & Brown, were filled with goods of every kind sent from the east to be sold at auction or traded for town lots. Other establishments were added to the one originally opened, until the firm had become the owners of three large concerns and consignments of merchandise were received by them every day to be as rapidly disposed of. Everybody patronized the auction house, and the daily sales were centres of attraction. The firm had an unique way of advertising these sales, which some old citizens of Chicago still remember as something which has not been improved upon since. The "crier" as he was called was "Col." George, a corpulent colored man, who appeared on the streets regularly at a

certain hour, resplendent in a full military uniform and mounted on a white horse. Making all his movements with military precision, he rode about the town crying the goods, wares, merchandise, or lands to be sold that day, until the hour of sale arrived, when he took his place at the door of the salesrooms to admit the crowd.

The realty sales were the most important feature of this traffic, and a vast amount of Chicago realty was disposed of by the auctioneers in this way. Not only did they sell Chicago realty and lands adjacent to the city, but they sold out to the excited crowds of anxious speculators and investors, portions of Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and other Wisconsin towns, along with Joliet, Kankakee, Peru and other places in Illinois. They owned at one time nine thousand acres of land in and about Chicago—and their holdings at that time would now represent an almost fabulous sum. With the subsidence of the real estate excitement in 1837, the partnership between Garrett & Brown was dissolved. It is not probable that the firm which was thus dissolved had its rival among the western land speculators of fifty years ago, in the magnitude of its operations and the extent of territory covered.

Mr. Brown was especially noted for the originality of his ideas and the shrewdness of his methods. When the first territorial legislature of Wisconsin met at Belmont in 1836, it was generally understood that one of the first acts of the session would be one designating the location of the territorial capital, and speculators were fully alive to the importance of this action, and to the value of the opportunities which it would afford for profitable investments.

They were therefore all on the lookout for the earliest authoritative information as to the action of the legislature, and scores of them were ready to rush to the land office at Milwaukee, to locate lands in the neighborhood of the capital, as soon as the matter of location was definitely settled. Mr. Brown was one of those who proposed to have some interest in the Capital town site, and he did not propose to take what was left after others had made their selection. He therefore quietly sent Jerry Ford, owner of the town site of Jackson, Michigan, afterwards famous as a speculator in flour in New York City —to Belmont, to watch the legislature. Ford took with him three of the fastest horses he could find, stationing them along the road between Milwaukee and Belmont. Brown remained in Milwaukee ready to act upon the advice of his agent in Belmont; and when the act locating the Capital was finally passed, Ford conveyed to him on horseback, the news of that action, eighteen hours in advance of any official or other report received in Milwaukee. This, of course, gave him abundant oppor-

tunity to make his selection of lands in the neighborhood of Madison—which became the Capital—and he located in all for himself and friends fifty-six tracts of eighty acres each, at a cost of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. In addition to these purchases from the government he sent a special messenger to Buffalo, and purchased from a resident of that city a tract of more than fourteen hundred acres of land, on a part of which the State University of Wisconsin is now located. Another profitable investment was the purchase at that time of a quarter section of land located at the mouth of the Milwaukee River, from the estate of a settler who had been killed by the Potawotamie Indians. Purchased by Mr. Brown at a cost of four thousand dollars, he disposed of it later for twenty-seven thousand dollars, and constituting as it does at the present time a considerable portion of the city of Milwaukee, it is now worth millions of dollars.

In Chicago, the firm of Garrett, Brown & Bro., a brother of N. J. Brown, having become interested with him—exercised for a considerable time an important influence in shaping and controling the financial affairs of the little city, they being able to command large means on account of the magnitude of their operations and through their business connections. As an instance of the extent of this influence, old settlers recall the fact that a controversy sprang up at one time between them and The Chicago Branch of the Illinois State Bank, the result of which was that Messrs. Garrett & Brown withdrew their deposits from the bank and then began buying up its issue of currency. As fast as they were able to gather in this currency it was presented at the bank for redemption in coin.

The coin in the bank began to run low, and still the currency purchased by Garrett & Brown kept coming in for redemption. To meet the demands made upon it and maintain its credit, the bank had to dispatch special messengers to Springfield to draw upon the resources of the parent bank. In the meantime the bank officers sued for peace, and amicable relations were again established.

Few, if any, of the men found in the west during this early period commanded larger resources than did N. J. Brown. He formed early in his career a Banking Association with Lyman A. Spaulding, who was extensively interested in the flour trade at Lockport and elsewhere. They established at Ann Arbor what was known as the Bank of Wastidaw, with a capital of $100,000, and the Brown Bros. of New York, as their financial agents. This connection was one which aided him largely in carrying on his extensive and successful transactions.

All the earlier years of Brown's life were years of intense activity, and not infrequently of perilous adven-

ture. He was always an expert horseman, and in his explorations of the country he made many long rides on horseback which were memorable in their character. On one occasion, when a boy, being sent from Ann Arbor to Detroit to secure, with the utmost speed possible, a sum of money from the old Bank of Michigan, he made the trip to Detroit on horseback, a distance of forty miles, and returned the same day, having traveled in all eighty miles.

On another occasion in later years, when engaged on the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, he rode from his home to Lockport, where he made his estimates at the office of the Canal Commissioners, rode from there to Chicago, where he drew the money due him from the bank, and returned to the place from which he had started, having traveled in all seventy-three miles in one day.

In the winter of 1836, he went by stage to Galena, for the purpose of making some investments in the lands of the lead region; after purchasing such lands as he desired there, he purchased a horse and saddle and rode from Mineral Point, Wis., to Dubuque, Iowa, crossing the Mississippi on the ice. From Dubuque he rode to Davenport, Iowa, passing but a single house on the way, and crossing all streams on the ice. From Davenport he crossed over to Rock Island and proceeded over the prairies to La Salle and Ottawa, Illinois, guided only by the compass which he carried with him.

Arriving at Fox River, he was informed that he could cross the stream on the ice about a mile above Ottawa. Acting upon this information, he proceeded up the river as directed, but before venturing on the ice he took the precaution to dismount. It was well that he did, because no sooner had his horse gotten fairly on the ice, than he broke through, going down almost out of sight. Springing back on the bank, Brown rescued the horse from his perilous position and returned to the hotel at Ottawa. The next day he succeded in crossing the river, by going four miles up stream, and fording it under a milldam, returning to Chicago without further adventure.

When work began on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, Mr. Brown was solicited by General Wm. F. Thornton, President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, to undertake the completion of two sections of the canal, running through what is now the village of Lemont. This work had been undertaken by a contractor who had gotten into serious difficulty with his employees and on that account was compelled to give it up. The two sections embraced one mile of a deep cut through solid rock, where the famous limestone quarries have since been developed, and the work being undertaken was rapidly carried forward by Mr. Brown.

The State did not, however, as is well known, discharge its obligations to the constructors of the canal.

When this great public improvement was projected, the United States Bank was the great fiscal agent of the country, and cashier "Nick" Biddle, of Philadelphia, was the prince of financiers. It had been arranged that the bonds should be floated through this agency, and six per cent interest bearing bonds of the State of Illinois, were to be taken at ten per cent above their par value. When, however, President Jackson made war on the bank, and his secretary of the Treasury, Roger B. Taney, removed the government deposits therefrom, it not only brought disaster to the bank but to all other interests in any way identified with it. The State of Illinois was one of the greatest sufferers in the financial panic which ensued, and as a result, was unable to meet its obligations. Banks suspended specie payments, public improvements of all kinds were stopped, manufacturing industries ceased to develop, speculation subsided, and cultivation of the soil seemed for a time to be about the only resource of the State, a resource it may be added which has been the most potent element in increasing its wealth, population and general prosperity. After the State defaulted in its payment for work done on the canal, Mr. Brown and other contractors employed at their own expense Wm. F. Thornton, President of the Canal Board, to go to Europe, where he succeeded in negotiating the sale of a million dollars worth of the canal bonds, which these contractors had subscribed for at par, to the Baring Bros. of London. Upon his return, to their surprise and disappointment, the funds realized from this sale were divided pro rata among the canal contractors, and notwithstanding his efforts to secure that to which he was entitled, Mr. Brown suffered an enormous loss. In compliance with an act of the legislature passed some years later, this claim against the State was placed on file with others at Springfield for the purpose of adjustment, but that adjustment has never yet been effected. In this connection it may be stated that Mr. Brown holds the view that section fifteen of the canal lands, said section being the famous "Lake Front" of Chicago's business district, which along with other lands of the canal grant was allotted by the general government to the State of Illinois for the use and benefit of a canal or railroad from the lake to the Mississippi River, and for no other purpose —still belongs to the State, and should be sold to pay the just claims of contractors, and their heirs and assigns, against the State. Of the large sum of money which Mr. Brown should have received for his work on this canal, he got a mere pittance, and like most of his colleagues in the work of canal construction he was left seriously crippled financially. He had added to his attainments, however, a knowledge of the geology of the country in the neighborhood

of Lemont. He had noted the splendid quality of the immense deposits of limestone which he found there and and had shrewdly calculated the value of this stone for building and for other purposes, when Chicago should become a large city, and other cities and villages should spring up to create a demand for such building material. He accordingly acquired a large body of "Stone Land" and after the financial cloud which hung over the west so long, had begun to show a silver lining, he built there a country residence and turned his attention to the development of the stone quarries which had now become among the most famous in the United States. The completion of the canal and the building of railroads furnished necessary transportation, and some of the most famous structures in the west were built, within a few years, of stone taken from these quarries; chief among them being the old Court House of Chicago, the Illinois State House at Springfield, and the Iowa State House at Des Moines. For some years the quarries have been leased by Mr. Brown to operators who pay him a liberal royalty on all the stone taken out, which amounts to a large annual income.

Since his residence in Lemont began, Mr. Brown—known locally as "Governor" Brown—has always been recognized as the most conspicious figure in the place. From his earliest manhood he has been remarkable for the aptitude with which he adapted himself to circumstances and made the best of every situation in which he found himself placed. Kept by force of circumstances where he was compelled to build up a new industry, he has made the best of his opportunities, and at the same time has gathered about him a large number of people who had profited by his enterprise. He has always been a friend of the poor and of the laboring classes, and a few years since was called upon at one time by a large number of friends, employes and associates, who presented to him, through an accomplished orator, a gold headed cane as a token of their regard and esteem. In response to the address delivered upon this occasion, Mr. Brown declared to his old friends of Lemont that he had "been with them and would remain with them and be one of them, until the sands of the valley should roll down on his coffin."

Always a man of large resources, he has been one of the most active of the pioneers and a promotor of the commerce and a builder of the industries of Illinois and the Northwest. Nor has his interest in the progress and improvement of the country with which he has been so long identified ceased with his advancing years; on the contrary, he is one of those most deeply interested to-day in converting the canal—in the construction of which he was actively engaged more than fifty years ago—into a drainage chan-

nel for Chicago, a navigable waterway to connect the great Lakes with the Mississippi River, and a vast water power to be made use of by manufacturers. It is well known that the canal has never been completed according to the original design, the level being raised and sides contracted in order to cheapen construction. Mr. Brown now takes the view that with the resources at the command of the Chicago Drainage Commission the old right of way should be entered upon, the channel deepened, and the canal completed according to the original design. This he believes would not only furnish the drainage which Chicago seeks, and, through a system of locks and dams, establish a water power unequaled in the United States, but would, in addition, bring to Chicago the commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers with their tributaries, build up the interior towns of Illinois, and add vastly to the wealth and importance of the greatest of Western States, while her chief city would be crowned with new glories and provided with new opportunities for commercial conquests.

A Democrat in early life he abandoned his party when the southern wing of it fired upon Fort Sumter, and united with the supporters of President Lincoln in the effort to put down the rebellion. Since that time he has always affiliated with the Republican party.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

EDITORIAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

It is our opinion that no work can be too minute, or special, or local, in the way of historical research, if only there be a reasonable expectation that results can be gathered up and sifted for use in historical writing of a broader kind. And how often is the setting of facts in a broader field improved, enhanced, vivified, by a bit of local coloring, perhaps accidentally caught by an industrious investigator, from just such local work as referred to in our opening words. These words were suggested by the reading of an account of what the Danvers (Mass.) Historical Society is proposing to do:—"that of rescuing from oblivion the names of those who rest in our numerous burial grounds, of which it is said there are not less than one hundred within the limits of the old town of Danvers. It is a work of time, patience and labor, and in many cases must of necessity fail of full results. In some of these old grounds there are scores of unmarked graves, which it will be very difficult, in many cases perhaps impossible, to identify. But it is intended to prosecute the work to as near completeness as the nature of the case will admit." Again,—

"At the meeting of Nov. 3, the subject discussed was that of 'Names once common in Danvers now extinct.' Andrew Nichols, read a paper giving quite a list of such names, with brief notes of some of the more prominent persons named. Discussion followed in which nearly every one present had something to contribute in incident, anecdote or historical fact in connection with those once residents of the town, but whose very names are forgotten by all save a few; while others live only in tradition or musty records of colonial days. As it may be not without interest, we give a few of the names of those formerly residents of Danvers which are no more known among us, though in some instances their descendants of other names still live:—

"Haddock, Hobart, Holten, Parris, Ingersoll, Judd, Brabrook, Badger, Cue, Kettle, Lindall, Lothrop, Rea, Sibley, Cole, Bagley, Cromwell, Cloyce, Cotton, Hathorne, Giggles, Temple, Thrasher, Watts, Wadsworth, Prince, Greene, Cutler, Buckley, Bishop, Tarbell, Buroughs, Pease, Corwin, Dalglish.

"These names taken at random, and many others no less worthy of mention, but whom space forbids to name. Among them were many of some note in their time, not a few, indeed, prominent in our annals, men of position and of fame, whom we are proud to number as our own—such as Ingersoll, "the good deacon," as he was called, a man notable in many ways; Joseph Greene, pastor of

the village church, also a man of spotless character, "an Israelite indeed;" Lindall, the upright judge; Wadsworth, for 53 years pastor of the church, prominent in good works; Samuel Holten, the brightest and most famous name in our history,—these are but a few of those, who passing away have left none to bear their names, and often none of their race."

At the January stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a paper of unusual interest was presented by Mr. C. F. Adams on "The genesis of the Massachusetts town and the development of town-meeting government." This paper caused quite full discussion and will be printed in the next serial number of the society's proceedings It was remarkably thorough in its treatment of the subject, and was based on an examination of the original records, both church and town, of Hingham, Weymouth, Dorchester, Dedham and Cambridge, as well as of Boston and Braintree, all of them organized prior to 1636, and thus among the original Massachusetts towns.

"The evidence thus obtained," said Mr. Adams, "is to my mind conclusive that both town and town meeting government, as seen in New England, are sprung from a simple English germ, fructifying in New England soil, and so far from there being any evidence in the records of these towns that the Massachusetts town and town meeting government were derived from ancient Saxon and Germanic sources—the 'tun' and the 'folk mote'—it seems clear that the town was merely a convenient, though somewhat vague designation of adjacent territory for proprietary, religious, political and military purposes, while the town-meeting, as a form of municipal government, came into existence gradually during the first 20 years of the settlement, and through a process of evolution, or rather of reproduction, as simple as it was natural." These conclusions were supported by numerous citations from the original records.

A. C. Goodell, jr., to whom Mr. Adams had sent a copy of his paper, expressed in a letter his hearty assent to Mr. Adams' main conclusions. "I see no way," he wrote, "of avoiding Mr. Adams' conclusion that the 'primordial-cell' doctrine of the township as an element in the creation of the State, is not sustained by the simple, accessible facts of history. Moreover, I think his views, supported as they are by the record evidence he adduces, must be considered irrefragable and final."

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain expressed his general agreement with the views of Mr. Adams, and then spoke in terms of warm appreciation of the paper on "The origin, organization, and influence of the towns of New England," presented in January, 1866, by the late Hon. Joel Parker, and printed in the ninth volume of the proceedings of the society. He also referred at length to the peculiar circumstances under which the Massachusetts towns were founded, and to the absence of any formal act of incorporation, as we understand the term, for a century after the settlement of the colony.

Dr. Edward Channing pointed out the weakness of the Germanic theory of the origin of the New England towns, which is largely based on statements of the accuracy of which Cæsar and Tacitus could have had no knowledge, and leaves wholly out of view the composite character of the English people. At the same time he accepted a modified theory of the Old World origin of the New England towns, believing that the founders of New England had had an experience at home which they brought with them. He entirely rejected the "primordial-cell" theory.

The death of Dr. John Dawson Gilmary Shea, removes from our midst a most indefatigable worker in the field of historical research. Many are the matters of interest and value which he has rescued or preserved from oblivion,—a fact which a mere perusal of the subjoined list of his works will at once establish. The "Critic," from which this account of his literary activity is taken, gives an account of the origin of the name Gilmary. He was baptized John Dawson; but as he was sickly or weak in health during his childhood years, his father, half playfully, half contemptuously, used to call him "Mary." He grew fond of the pet name, and on attaining manhood and fame would not abandon it; but he prefixed *Gil* to *Mary*. In the Celtic tongue Gil means servant or devotee; and as a devout Catholic his surname was gracefully significant of these feelings of his heart for which all right-minded persons will honor him, and which besides determined so much of his literary work.

We quote from the "Critic," as follows: "The first fruits of his careful study and of the great quantity of material which he had collected was a book about the 'Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,' which was published in New York City in 1853. In 1860 he published the first book of a series of fifteen volumes of grammars and dictionaries of Indian languages, entitled a 'Library of American Linguistics,' several of which he edited and prepared. The articles on Indian tribes in Appletons' Cyclopædia were all written by Dr. Shea. In 1857 he printed the first of a series of twenty-six small volumes from early manuscripts, chiefly relating to missions. In these he adopted the beautiful typography and ornamentation used by Cramoisy, the King's printer at Paris, who published the 'Jesuit Relations.' These volumes were snapped up by collectors both here and in Europe, and are highly valued."

"Dr. Shea observed the very bad condition of the text of Roman Catholic Bibles, scarcely two of which were the same, and he collected all the leading translations and every edition printed in this country, and published a bibliography of them in 1859. He printed lists of the errors and induced several publishers to correct the plates which they possessed. Finally, with the concurrence of Cardinal McCloskey, he re-printed the original of Challoner's Bible of 1740, comparing the text three times with the Vulgate. Among other works of this laborious and prolific writer are a 'History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States;' 'Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi;' 'Life of Pius IX.;' 'Catholic Churches in New York City;' and 'The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States.'"

Beginning in 1858, for eight years he edited the 'Historical Magazine.' In 1888 he became editor of the 'Catholic News,' and remained in charge of the paper until his death. Four volumes of his latest work, the "History of the Catholic Church in the United States" have been published, and the fifth and concluding volume is just ready for the printer. It will be edited and his work finished by other hands without delay. He leaves a large and very valuable library, especially rich in Indian Linguistics, and early and rare editions of books about the early history of America, besides many unique manuscripts.

RECENT HISTORICAL PULICATIONS.

"THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION." By John Fiske. In two volumes. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.: Boston and New York: 1891.

In Prof. Fiske's two books previously noticed in this magazine, his philosophic mind found free scope to search for underlying principles, and to announce broad generalizations, unique yet simple. In the "Beginnings of New England" historical narrative formed, or needed to form, but a small part of the treatment. Again in the "Critical Period" it was the movement of political bodies, and the work of statesmen establishing a constitution for the people, that mainly engaged the attention. The book before us, in contrast with these others, is necessarily a narrative of events. Prof. Fiske proves himself as skilful a narrator as he is a master in speculative thought.

Not much remains to glean in the fields of research or inquiry harvested by the untiring industry and keen all-penetrating eye of a Bancroft. Hence in the mere mention of facts or events, we find hardly anything added to those brought forward by our own distinguished historian of the United States; and Prof. Fiske lays no claim to the introduction of new matter. He says: "My design was not so much to contribute new facts as to shape the narrative in such a way as to emphasize relations of cause and effect that are often buried in the mass of detail." Shall we be thought heretical if we venture to suggest that this "burial" sometimes takes place in Bancroft. The "mass of detail" is immense and invaluable. But we are a little bewildered by it; and Bancroft's elaborate and careful grouping does not help remedy the difficulty much to the popular mind. Then it must be confessed that Bancroft's style is not very smooth or engaging. We do not glide right on and on till we are immersed head over heels in interest. This is quite different with Prof. Fiske, Everything stands forth clear and lucid, the events are welded together; we pass from one to another, caught by the ease of the style and the skill of the setting, so that we read on and on, and after we get through, the whole run and purpose of a campaign, with the salient details, stand vividly before the mind. We are not surprised that these chapters "took" well as lectures; we remember hearing one of them with unabated attention, and we cannot but be pleasantly struck with the naive modesty of the sentence: "I was greatly surprised at the interest thus shown in a plain narrative of events already well known, and have never to this day understood the secret of it." We think we have indicated the secret in what we have said about the treatment.

We are compelled to add a word of censure. Can it be possible that a man like Prof. Fiske is capable of the narrow quality which is sometimes ascribed to New England historians: that they can do no justice to New York? He writes finely and justly about the Boston Massacre of March, 1770, but without a hint of the first blood—shed in the same cause, under similar circumstances, and of equal significance,—at Golden Hill in New York City. He says again: "In July [1770] the New York merchants broke the non-importation agreement. . . . The wrath of the other colonies

was intense." But why is it not said that the New York merchants were the first to suggest this agreement, that they were the heaviest sufferers by it, and, what is of the last importance in the present connection—the reason they broke it was that Boston and Philadelphia merchants were shamelessly violating it. Bancroft is more just and declares: "New York alone had been true to its engagements . . . it was impatient of a system of voluntary renunciation which was so unequally kept. With equal wantonness the fact that the tea ships were refused a landing and relentlessly sent back at New York, is utterly left unsaid, but mention is made of Boston, Charlestown and Philadelphia. It seems hardly conceivable that Prof. Fiske can be guilty of any unscholarly narrowness, yet these omissions are painfully significant.

Nevertheless, we heartily commend his "American Revolution" to the general reader. We close with an instance of its power of fascination. When the volumes first came to our hands, we were in the midst of a novel by a first-rate author; we determined to stop a moment or two merely to cut the pages, but as we cut them we also glanced over the contents, and ere long we found that we had completely forgotten the novel, in the absorbing interest awakened by so well told a story of the perfectly familiar incidents of our revolutionary war.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, held its regular monthly meeting March 7. Ex-Senator Cornelius Cole gave an address on his "Trip Across the Plains to California in '49."

The New Haven Historical Society, Connecticut, held its regular meeting Feb, 26. L. A. Wells read a paper on some letters of Col. Nathan Whiting who was descended from Governor Bradford. He was born in 1724, and distinguished himself in the French and Indian wars. The letters which describe his adventurers were written from camp to Miss Mollie Saltonstall who afterwards became his wife.

The Louisiana Historical Association (New Orleans) is rapidly making an exceedingly interesting and valuable collection of war records.

At the regular meeting of the Sagadahoc Historical Society (Bath, Maine), a paper on "Ancient Augusta" was read by E. C. Plummer, and one on five ancient churches in the vicinity of Bath by Andrew Jackson, illustrated by photographs of these old buildings. Secretary Douglas read a paper on the famous Friend's Church at Durham.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, held a meeting March 10th. Dr. G. E. Ellis presiding.

Dr. S. A. Green communicated some notes as to the probable date of the so-called Winthrop map of Massachusetts. Dr. Ellis, the President, paid a tribute to the late Dr. Shea.

Rev. E. G. Porter read extracts from the diary of Prof. Stiles, giving an account of a horseback journey in September, 1754, from New Haven to New York and Philadelphia.

The Beverly Historical Society, Mass., held its first meeting on Feb. 24th, in the Burley Mansion—a part of the fine estate, it has recently acquired by the will of the late Edward Burley.

The Montana Historical Society (Montana),

has bound volumes of State papers from 1864 to 1890. It is a matter of interest to know that this valuable collection has been made possible by the generosity of the proprietors of these papers.

The Nebraska State Historical Society, (Lincoln), will publish in June, Vol. IV of their Reports. This will contain, besides papers read before its annual meeting in January, selections from the journal of Rev. Moses Merrill, a missionary among the Otoes from 1832 to 1841.

The Newburgh Historical Society (N. Y.), held its annual meeting Feb. 22d, and E. M. Ruttenber, the historian, was elected president. The Society has recently acquired through President Ruttenber the interesting collection of papers owned by the old Newburgh Bay Historical Society. Rev. Robt. Bruce Clark of Goshen, read a paper on the "Formation of the American Constitution."

The Oneida Historical Society, (Utica, N. Y.), held a regular meeting on March 8th. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The burial place of General Herkimer is not marked and cared for as it ought to be in honor of so distinguished a patriot; and, whereas, a bill is now before the legislature, which being passed would provide necessary funds for the propose named:

Resolved, That the members of the Society and others be requested to seek to create public sentiment in favor of the bill, and to further the interest of the legislators on the subject.

General Darling will read in April a paper on "Prehistoric Archæology of America." To add to the interest of the paper, drawings of prehistoric relics will be exhibited.

The Montgomery County Historical Society (Pa), held its annual meeting on Feb. 22d. Mrs. Holstein read a paper on "What the Women of Montgomery County did during the War," based on reports from the several townships.

At the meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on March 7th, Dr. Stille read one of a series of papers with which the members of that vigorous Society are preparing the ground for an exhaustive history of the State.

The Tennessee Historical Society (Nashville), held its regular meeting on March 9th.

The Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma), was held on Feb. 22d. Hon. Elwood Evans read an interesting paper on the discovery of the Columbia River. The following gentlemen have engaged to present historical papers at the stated meetings of the Society. Hon. Allen Weir, Joseph A. Kuhn of Post Townsend, Gen. Kautz of Vancouver, and Col. Granville O. Haller. This newest of the State Historical Societies has already a membership of over two hundred.

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